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TO
THE MOST HIGH,
AND MOST POTENT
MONARCH,
JAMES.

OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE,
AND IRELAND KING; THE MOST
CONSTANT AND MOST LEARNED
DEFENDER OF THE FAITH;
INLARGER AND VNITER OF
THE BRITISH EMPIRE; RESTORER
OF THE BRITISH NAME; ESTABLISHER
OF PERPETVALL PEACE, IN
CHVRCH, AND COMMONWEALTH;
PRESIDENT OF ALL PRINCIPALLY
VERTUES AND NOBLE ARTS:

JOHN SPEED,
HIS MAIESTIES MOST
lovvly and most loyall Subiect


and Seruant, consecrateth these his labours, though
vnworthy the aspect of so high an
Imperiall Maiestie.



THE CONTENTS OF THE CHOROGRAPHICALL PART

THE FIRST BOOKE.

Describing the whole Kingdome in generall, with those
*Shires, Cities, and Shire-townes, which are pro-
perly accounted for English.*

Countries and Counties.	Fol.	Countries and Counties.	Fol.
 Ark-shire	27	Man Island	91
Bedford-shire	41	Middlesex	29
Buckingham-shire	43	Mounmouth-shire	107
Cambridg-shire	37	Northampton-shire	55
Cheff-shire	73	Norfolke	35
Cornewall	21	North & East Ridings	81
Cumberland	87	Northumberland	89
Darby-shire	67	Nottingham-shire	65
Devon-shire	19	Oxford-shire	45
Dorchester-shire	17	Rutland-shire	59
Durham.Bishoppick	83	Saxons Heptarchie	3
England Generall	5	Shrop-shire	71
Essex	31	Somerfet-shire	23
Glocester-shire	47	Stafford-shire	69
Great Britaine	1	Suffolke	33
Hant-shire	13	Surrey	11
Hertford-shire	39	Suffex	9
Hereford-shire	49	Warwicke-shire	53
Huntington-shire	57	Westmorland	85
Islands	93	West-Riding	79
Kent	7	Wight Island	15
Lanca-shire	75	Wiltshire	25
Leicester-shire	61	VVorcester-shire	51
Lincolne-shire	63	Yorke-shire	77

THE SECOND BOOKE.

Containing the Counties of VVales.

Countries and Counties.	Fol.	Countries and Counties.	Fol.
Anglesey Island	125	Glamorgan-shire	105
Brecknock-shire	109	Merioneth-shire	117
Caernarden-shire	103	Montgomery-shire	115
Caernarvon-shire	123	Penbroke-shire	101
Cardigan-shire	113	Radnor-shire	111
Denbigh-shire	119	Wales generall	99
Flint-shire	121		

THE THIRD BOOKE.

Scotlands Kingdome in one Generall. 131

THE FOVRTH BOOKE.

Containing the Kingdome of IRELAND.

Countries and Counties.	Fol.	Countries.	Fol.
Ireland Generall	137	Connaugh	143
Mounster	139	VVlster	145
Leinster	141		

THE

THE CONTENTS OF THE HISTORICALL PART.

THE FIFTH BOOKE.

CONTAINING,

Chap.	Fol.	Chap.	Fol.
1 The Site & Circuit of Great Britaine	155	5 The Gouernment of Great Britaine	170
2 The names attributed to Great Britaine	157	6 The Gouernors of Great Britaine	172
3 The ancient Inhabitants of Great Britaine	161	7 The pictures & attires of the ancient Brit- taines; as also of the Picts and their ori- ginals.	179
4 The manners of the ancient Britains	166		

THE SIXTH BOOKE.

Containing the successions of the Monarchs of Great Britaine vnder the Romans.

Chap.	Fol.	Chap.	Fol.
1 Caius Iulius Cæsars first comming into Britaine.	183	30 Antoninus Gordianus	238
2 Cæsars second expedition into Great Bri- taine.	185	31 Iulius Philippus	240
3 Octavius Cæsar Augustus.	188	32 Traian, Decius	241
4 Tiberius Nero	190	33 Trebonianus Gallus	242
5 Caius Caligula	191	34 Iulius Emilianus	243
6 Claudius Drusus	193	35 Licinius Valerianus	244
7 Nero Claudius	197	36 Licinius Galienus	245
8 Seruius Sulpitius Galba	201	37 Flavius Claudius	247
9 The Gospels first plantation in Great Bri- taine	202	38 Aur. Quintilius	248
10 Marcus Saluius Otho	208	39 Valerius Aurelianus	248
11 Aulus Vitellius	209	40 Claudius Tacitus	250
12 Flavius Vespasian	210	41 Annus Florianus	251
13 Titus Flavius	212	42 Valerius probus	251
14 Flavius Domitian	213	43 M. Aurelius Carus	253
15 Cocceius Nerua	216	44 Dioclesian Iouius	254
16 Vulpin Traian	217	45 Constantinus Chlorus	257
17 Ælius Hadrian	218	46 Val. Maximianus	259
18 Antonius Pius	220	47 Constantinus Maximus	259
19 Marcus Aurelius	221	48 Licinius Licinianus	262
20 Commodus Antoninus	224	49 Fla. Val. Constantinus	262
21 Heluius Pertinax	225	50 Fla. Val. Constantius	262
22 Didius Iulianus	226	51 Fla. Iulius Constanc.	264
23 Septimius Seuerus	227	52 Cla. Iulianus the Apostata	264
24 Bassianus Caracalla	231	53 Fla. Iouianus	267
25 Septimius Geta	233	54 Fla. Valentinianus	269
26 Opilius Macrinus	234	55 Fla. Valens	272
27 Antonius Hellogabalus	235	56 Fla. Gracianus	272
28 Alexander Seuerus	236	57 Fla. Valentinianus	274
29 Gaius Verus Maximinus	237	58 Fla. Theodosius	275
		59 Arcadius	275
		60 Honorius	278
		61 Theodosius 2.	278
		62 Clodius Balbinus	278
		63 Valentinian	278

THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

Shewing the Saxons Kings, and English Monarches.

Chap.	Fol.	Chap.	Fol.
1 The downefall of Britaine	281	8 The Kingdome of the East-Saxons	300
2 The Saxons originall	284	9 The Kingdome of Northumberland	302
3 The manners of the ancient Saxons	286	10 The Kingdome of Mercia	306
4 The Saxons first arriuage into Britain	289	11 The Kingdome of the East-Angles	309
5 The Kingdome of Kent	293	12 Britaines withstanders of the Sax- ons	312
6 The Kingdome of the South Saxons	295	13 Hengist the first Saxon Monarch	324
7 The Kingdome of the West Saxons	296		

14 Ela

The Contents of the Historicall parts.

Chap.	Fol.	Chap.	Fol.
14 Ela	325	30 Kenwolfe	347
15 Cherdik	326	31 Egbert sole Monarch	348
16 Kenrik	327	32 Ethelwolfe	350
17 Cheuline	328	33 Ethelbald	352
18 Ethelbert the first christian Saxon	329	34 Ethelbert	353
19 Redwall	332	35 Ethelred	354
20 Edwin	333	36 Elfred	356
21 Ofwald	336	37 Edward the elder	360
22 Ofwy	337	38 Ethelstan	363
23 VVilfhere	339	39 Edmund	365
24 Ethelred	340	40 Edred	367
25 Kenred	341	41 Edwy	368
26 Chelred	342	42 Edgar	369
27 Ethelbald	343	43 Edward the Martyr	373
28 Offa	344	44 Ethelred	375
29 Egfrid	346	45 Edmund Ironside	381

THE EIGHTH BOOKE.

Chap.	Fol.	Chap.	Fol.
1 The Danes originall	385	4 Harold	394
2 The Danes first attempts for Eng- land	387	5 Hardicanut	396
3 Canut the first Danish King	390	5 Edward Confessor	398
		7 Harold	402

THE NINTH BOOKE.

<i>Chap.</i>		<i>Fol.</i>	<i>Chap.</i>		<i>Fol.</i>
1	The Normans original, and Dukes	431	13	Richard the second	591
2	The William Conqueror	415	14	Henry the fourth	611
3	William Rufus	427	15	Henry the fifth	623
4	Henry the first	434	16	Henry the sixth	650
5	Stephen	445	17	Edward the fourth	674
6	Henry the second	455	18	Edward the fifth	693
7	Richard the first	472	19	Richard the third	710
8	Iohn	483	20	Henry the seventh	727
9	Henry the third	508	21	Henry the eight	753
10	Edward the first	541	22	Edward the first	803
11	Edward the second	554	23	Mary Queene	815
12	Edward the third	565	24	Elizabeth Queene	831

THE TENTH BOOKE.

JAMES, our dread Souveraigne. 883

A l'honneur de l'auteur et son oeuvre

L Etrefsuiffant ouvrier de la ronde machine,
 Pour (on chief d'auvre teint cel : Il le séparé :
 Et quoy que des plus grands threfors du ciel parée
 Son lufre affuettit au temps et aruine.
 D'un Demidieu ouvrier d'une fabrig' diuine,
 Par la plume fe void la brefche réparée,
 La ruine drefcée, et la force affeurée
 Contre la mort, que tant de beautez a affafine.

*La police, le nom, l'innincible courage,
Les Princes, Provinces, et tout qu'est d'auantage
Du Breton belliqueux, luisent en son Histoire :
Pour un ouvrage donq' a tous tant admirable,
Faisons, faisons, Bretons, d'un burin memorable,
Graver le nom de SPEED au temple de Memoire.*

T. BARKHAM.



HENR. SPELMAN Mil. Lectori

Non lene, nec temere laudo tibi seria, lector
Gratum opus & dignum consule (crede) vides.
Noster hic Ortellius, sic nostrum hunc exhibet orbem.

*Vires emineat, tota Britannia, simul.
Ora, sinis, fluvij, portus, nemus, oppida, tractus.
Regna, duces, populi, fœdera, bella, quies.*

Rich. Saint George Norrey *King at armes, in fauour of this worke.*

[illegible]

To my friend M^r. JOHN SPEED, being very sick.

Great loue, and little skill may cause me to missey.
But certainly this sickness cannot make thee die:
Though cruel symptoms, and these thirteene yeeres assay
For thy deare country, doth thy health & strength decay.
Yet stith thy toylsome labour, and thy industrie.
Is for thy Countries sake, her fame on hie to raise:
Shes shall thy temples crowne with euerlasting bayes,
And in despite of death, shall cause thy memorie
To liue in endles fame with all posteritie.

Now may thee see her beauty, and her riches store,
What erst she was in curie age, and change of state,
And present greatness such as meeter hereofore,
Since this great Monarch rul'd from North to southerne
And fith thy life is to thy country dedicate, (store,
I et none presume thy lawrell from thy head to reave
For this hir story, which thy skillfull hand did weave:
But live, & weary it [Speed] until the worlds great fate
Shall bring all earthly things unto their utmost date.

ALEX. GILL.

In exactissimi huius operis Authorem, Eulogium *Tho. Barkham.*

Vincta diu, rumpat despecta, silentia lingua,
Culmina ut immensis memor exsuperata laboris
Speide tibi: insueti iactor licet, (optime,) curâ,
Quam tibi pro merito possim circumdare palmam
Qui cœcant populi, quæcunque sub orbe Britanno
Digna referis, non despectu, scriptoque, loquere,
Sanguineas signas, atque armorum bella, palestras;

*Nobilitantque apud patriam compagine rerum,
Ad nostra exactum deducis tempora filum.
Ergo erit hac magni merces non parva laboru,
Egredium pariunt hac quod monumenta decorem
Ipsa sibi, ventura quod hac mirabitur aetas,
Totaq. perpetuas debes Respublica grates.*

To the right well deserving Mr. JOHN SPEED the
Author of this worke.

IN this Booke, (Bibliothec, or Booke of Bookes;
TIMES Library, PLACES Geographic)
All that is shewne for which the curious looks
Touching this LAND, for Place, or Historic.

*Hadst thou among the Romanes li'd when they
Did signiorize the World; A Signiory
Should then (at least) haue guerdon'd thy Surrey,
Thy Mappes, Descriptions, and thine Historie.*

*In which, thou hast with paine, with care, and skill,
Surueid this Land more neere then ere it was :
For which, thy Wit thou strain'd hast to thy Will,
That wils as much as Witte can bring to passe.*

*But, thou dost lye when all Artes saue the^e eight
(Illiberall liberall Arte) a begging goe;
That Arte alone, with her true friend Deceit,
Gets all, then all seekes but that Arte to know.*

*The faire Hibernia that Westerne Isle likewise,
In euery Member, Artire, Nerue, and Veine,
Thou by thine Arte dost so Anatomize,
That all may see each parcell without * paine.*

But, by thy Arce though nought be purchased
But emptie Fame (that feeds, but fattens not)
Yet shall it feed thy NAME till DEATH be dead;
While emptie noble Names away shall rot.

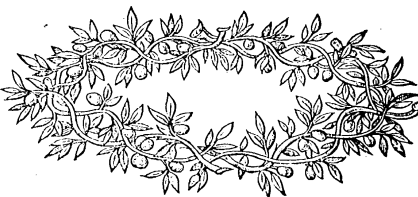
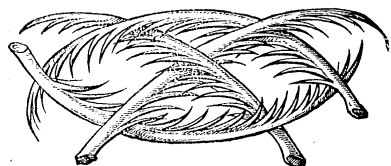
*Heere Time, and Place, like friendly foes doe warre
Which should shew most desir'd Particulars;
But Place giues place, sith Time is greater farre;
Yes Place, well rang'd, gets glory by these warres.*

*The Leaues this Booke contains, and Maps here graunt,
Are still as Feathers to thy Fames faire Wings,
To fanne fresh Aire vpon the face of Heauen;
And, raise the same about all ending Things:
That when Confusion wracks this double FRAME,
A Spirit shall mone on CHAOS Call'd thy Fame*

No helps thou hadst, nor no assisting aide
In this attempt: but, Vertue gaue thee might
That well to doe, that well thou hast affaide
which shall (in grace) out-live immortall sight.

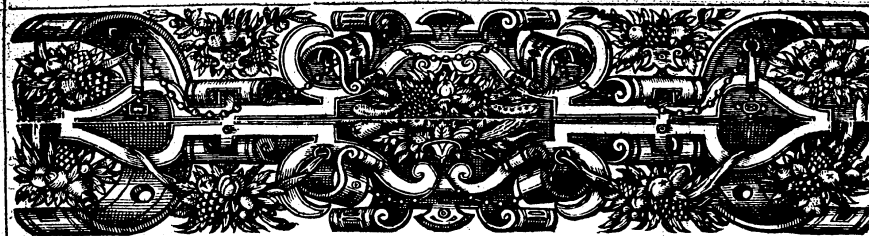
The vnfaigned louer of thy person,

10. DAVIES



F Him that this GREAT Taske hath done
 (Great for the goodnesse manie waies)
 FAME doth affirme he well hath wonne
 ARTS highest Prize, and Palme of praise.
 In Climes, and Realmes remote throughout,
 His merits merit rare report:
 For none the like hath brought about;
 Or equaliz'd in any sort.
 The Shafts of his endeours, shot
 At Gaine, and Pleasure; both haue hit:
 His Obseruations haue begot
 On priuate, publicke Benefite.
 Chiefe Cities, Townes, and Countries many
 (Which this vast Globe of Earth affords)
 I oft haue view'd; but, neuer any
 So well describ'd by Mappes and Wordes.
 His traueled Body, toiled Mind
 (To bring this VVorke at last to rest
 In Period which his Plot design'd)
 Should now rest famous with the best.
 The Romans such Deserts did Crowne
 With Lawrell, which their Soile brought forth;
 But I, of Branches farre off growne,
 Bring Wreaths to this worke, more of worthe.
 The Palme (wherein rare vertues bee,
 And, for a Conquest, Crownes a King)
 The Oliue, and the Cedar Tree,
 Faire, fat, and fruitfull; these I bring.
 In Egypt, Syria, and the Land
 Of Promise, (named by holiest High)
 I could not see, nor vnderstand,
 For vertue, any Trees come nigh.
 As these (worth praise) are profitable,
 They being of the worthiest kind:
 So in best fence, hath Speed bene able,
 To please (worth praise) the worthiest Minds.
 In short, to giue him then, his due,
 This Art his better neuer knew.

IO. SANDERSON.



THE PROEME. TO THE LEARNED AND LOVERS OF GREAT BRITAINES GLORY.



Having thus farre travelled in the protract,
 and description of this famous Empire of GREAT
 BRITAIN, I might here haue rested, and claimed
 the priuiledge that yeeres and imbecillitie haue brought
 me vnto: had not a further desire in others vrged it a mat-
 ter incident, historically to lay downe the originals of those
 Nations and successions of those Monarchs, which either
 by birth or conquest haue aspired to the Imperiall Crowne.

And albeit I finde my selfe both tired in the former, and most vnfit to prosecute this
 latter, yet will I endeouour to giue herein my best assayes, though as my labours, so
 my wants also, thereby will be made more vulgar to the world.

For if those men were blame-worthy against whom Heraclite exclaimeth, who
 with long toile and great trouble finde a little pure substance in a great deale of base earth: how
 shall I then free me from the like imputation, that from so many mines of pure met-
 als, haue gotten so little Oare, and the same neither well tried in my defectiue for-
 nace, nor yet artificially cast off through the default of the mould, wanting both skil
 for to fashion, and measure to performe, the true proportions that in such a proiect is
 to be required; and how often these my defects haue dissuaded my proceedings, is
 best knowne to him that is the searcher of the heart.

But by what fate I am enforced still to goe forward, I know not, vnlesse it be the
 ardent affection and loue to my native Country; wherein I must confesse that Na-
 ture in those gifts hath bene both liberall, yea and prodigall, though Fortune as spa-
 ring & salt-handed against me, euer checking the Bit with the Reines of necessity,
 and curbing the meanes that should illustrate my labours: which moues me some-
 times to thinke that if the great Philosopher Theophrastus, had cause on his death-
 bed to accuse Nature, for giuing man so long a lesson, and so short a life; then I against
 Fortune, may as iustly exclaime, that hath assigned me so great a labour and so little
 meanes. And therefore let it not seeme offensive that I draw my waters from the Ce-
 sterns of others, who am not able to fetch them at the spring-head my selfe: Neither
 that I strike vpon the same Anuile vnto their sound, though nothing so loud, nor
 with the like strength, wherein yet this fruit at least wil (I hope) redound of my en-
 deuours

M m. 2.

Heraclite.

Theophrastus.

2. Sam. 19. 35.
Socrates.

Deut. 6. 6. 7.

Deut. 4. 32.

Thales.

Cicero.

Simonides.

Cassidore.

Bale in Ley-
lands New-
yeeres gift.

Gen. 49. 29.

Ierem. 37. 1.

Mat. 13. 57.

Ierem. 9. 1.

Luk. 19. 41.

Mat. 15. 26.

Habak. 2. 9.

Gene. 13. 10.

Tho. Lanquet.

deuours that I shall incite the more learned: if not otherwise, yet in emulation of me, to free the face drawne by *Apelles*, from the *censure* of the fault or defect in the *foot*, and not onely to amend, but euen to new-mould the whole. Which thing though my dayes are neere spent; and with *Barzillai* I may say that *musicke to me is now vnpleasing*: yet doth my eare thirst after the set of that *straine*, as *Socrates* thoughts ranne euer on his Booke: who the night before he was to suffer death, was desirous to learne *musicke*, because he would die learning still something. *Moses* when he foresaw the destruction of his *Common-wealth*, which whilst it stood, was the glory of the *earth*, and a paterne to all *kingdomes* succeeding, left this for a *Law* among the rest, and euen to remaine for euer, that the fathers should teach their children, and should commit vnto writing those things which the Lord in their dayes had done, and enioyned the children, Likewise to enquire of the times that were past, euen from the first creation of man: For when as *Empires* and *Kingdomes*, *Common weales* and *Cities*, do end and perish, yet the *Histories* thereof do remaine and liue; And that made *Cicero* to say as he did, that *Salamina* should be utterly forgotten, before the things that were done in *Salamina* should perish: And therefore as among the wise answers of *Thales*, the *Histories* of *Countreys* are to be accounted for *principals*, either as *Cicero* calleth them the *Mistres of life*, and *expositions of Times*; so likewise let vs from the *lyricall Poet Simonides* learne this further, That he is perfectly happy which knowes his native country to be truly glorious. And as *Cassidore* calls him a worthy *Citizen* that seeketh the commodity of his country: So contrariwise he is by *Bale* esteemed but a fruitles clod of earth, that sucks the sappe of his soile onely to himselfe, whose memoriall shall perish as the dispersed *smoake* in the clouds, though for a time he mount aloft in his swelling pride. This naturall loue and true affection to our native Country, we may further learne from the ancient *Patriarks* and *Fathers* themselves, who besides a desire that they had to theirs, continually to liue therein during life, commanded their bodies to be buried therein after death: from whose *Bowels* they first had assumed their *breathes*, and in whose *bosome* they layd their *bones*, as in their last bed of rest. Yea, of the vnreasonable creatures, the *Birds* and *Beasts*, we may learne this loue, that alwayes are willing towards their home. And if it happen that *Countreys* grow vnkinde as *Homers* did, that in his old age and blind, suffred him to beg his bread; or that a *Prophet* in his owne country is not esteemed, as *feremy* felt it, and *CHRIST IESVS* taught, yet did the one for his peoples captiuitie, with his eyes a fountaine of teares, and the other for his countreys destruction lamented and wept, holding it vnlawfull to take the childrens bread, and to giue it vnto others.

That this our Country and subiect of *History* deserueth the loue of her inhabitants, is witnessed euen by *foraine writers* themselves, who haue termed it the *Court of Queene Ceres*, the *Granary of the Westerne world*, the *fortunate Island*, the *Paradise of pleasure and Garden of God*; whose *Typographicall descriptions* for the whole *Iland*, and *Geographical surueyes* for the seuerall parts, exceed any other *kingdome* vnder the cope of *Heauen*; that onely excepted which was conquered and diuided by *Josuah*. And for fruitfulness and temperature may be accounted another *Canaan*; watered with *riuers* that doe cleaue the earth, as the *Prophet* speaketh, and make the land as rich and beautiful, as was that of *Egypt*. Our *Kings* for valour and Sanctity, ranked with the *worthiest* in the world, and our *Nations* originals, conquests, and continuance, tried by the touch of the best humane testimonies, leaue as faire a *Lustre* vpon the same stone, as doeth any other, and with any nation may easily contend (saith *Lanquet*) both for antiquity, and continuall inhabitants from the first time that any of them can claime their originals.

And although our many *Records* are perished by the *inuacons* of *strangers*, through their couetous *Conquest* of so faire a Land; or in the *ciuill dissensions* of homebred *aspirers* that haue sought the possession of so rich a *Crowne*, yet *Truth* hath left vs no lesse beholding vnto her, then mightier *Nations*, and them that would be far more famous.

Neither

Neither is it to be wondred at, that the *Records* of GREAT BRITAINE are eaten vp with *Times teeth*, as *Ouid* speakes, when as in *Times ruines* lye buried their *Registers*, that haue bene kept with a stronger guard, as *Titus Liuy* in the entrance of his *History* affirmeth of the *Romanes*. As for those things (saith he) as are reported either before, or at the foundation of the City more beautified and set out with *Poets fables*, then grounded vpon pure and faithfull reports, I meane neither to auerre nor disproue. Of whole vncertainties, let vs a while heare the reporters themselves speake, before we proceed to the certaine successions of our *British Monarchs*: vntill which time the credit of our *History* may wel be laid to waigh with (if not downe peize) many others. *Varro* (that learned *Romane writer*, who liued an hundred yeeres before the birth of our *Sauour Christ*) calleth the first world to the *Flood* vncertaine; and thence to the first *Olympias* fabulous: Because in that time (saith he) there is nothing related (for the most part) but fables among the *Greekes*, *Latines*, and other learned *Nations*. And therefore *Plutarch* beginneth the *lives* of his worthy men, no higher then *Thefens*: because (saith he) what hath bene written before, was but of strange things, and sayings full of monstrous fables imagined and deuised by *Poets*, which are altogether vncertaine and most vntrue. And *Diodorus Siculus* (that liued in *Augustus Caesars* time, a great searcher after *Antiquities*, and for thirty yeeres continuance a traueiler into many *Countreys*, for information and further satisfaction) writing his *History* called *Bibliotheca*, conteyning forty Bookes, and yeeres of continuance one thousand, one hundred thirty and eight, of his first sixe himselfe giueth this censure in his *Proeme*. These Bookes (saith he) contayning the *Acts* of ancient men, before the destruction of *Troy*, with the ancient *Histories* aswell of *Grecians* as *Barbarians*, are called *fabulous*: Which moued *Lucretius* the Poet to demand this question.

Cur supra bellum Thebanum & funera Troia;
Non alias quondam cecidere Poetae?

Why haue not Poets in their workes of fained stories brought,
Things done before the Warres of Thebes, or Troys destruction wrought?

Yea and of *Troys* story it selfe, if we may beleeeue *Thucydides* (whom *Bodine* commendeth for an absolute *Historian*) though it be ancient (saith he) yet a great part thereof is *fabulous*. And *Tully* out of *Plato* complayneth of as much: For you *Grecians* (saith he) as children in learning, deliuer onely things vncertaine, and haue mingled fables with the *Warres* of *Thebes*, and of *Troy*, things (perhaps) which neuer were, but gathered out of the scattered *Verses* of *Homer* and others, not digested by *Aristarchus*, and are yet vncertaine and obscure. And that the *Greekes* indeed were but babes in *Antiquity*, *Josephus* in his *Nations* defence against *Appion*, sufficiently doth proue, where he affirmeth, That the inuention of their *Letters* was not so old as the *siege* of *Troy*, inso much that the *Poesie* of *Homer* (then the which there is none more ancient among them) was not committed to writing, but sung by roate. And the *Latine* tongue it selfe by *M. Cato* is said, not to haue bene in use foure hundred and fifty yeeres before the building of *Rome*. And *Titus Liuy* their famous *Historian*, freely confelleth, That the use of *Letters* and learning among the *Romanes*, was rare and hard to be found before the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*. Yea, and of the vncertainty of *Romes* foundation, how lauish so euer *Historians* haue written, not onely *Fenestella* hath continued whole *Pages*, but *Plutarch* likewise in the life of *Romulus*, hath many sayings, whereof this is one. The *Historiographers* (saith he) do not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cause the great name of *Rome* (the glory whereof is blowne abroad through the world) was first giuen vnto it; some affirming, that the *Pelagians* after they had runne over a great part of the world, lastly stayed themselves in that place where *Rome* was new built, and for their great strength in *Armes*, gaue name to that City *Rome*, which signifyeth power in the *Greeke* tongue. Other say, that certaine *Troians* after their *siege*, in certaine vessels sailed

Ouid. Metam.
lib. 15.Histories vncertaine to the Flood, and from the Flood to the first Olympias fabulous.
Plutarch.

Diodorus Siculus.

Lucretius.

Thucydides.

Tully.

Josephus contra Appion. lib. 1.

M. Cato in a fragment of his.

Titus Liui.

Fenestella. Plutarch in the life of Romulus.

ued themselves by flight, and being put into the *Thuscan Sea*, anchored neere to the River *Tyber*: whose *mines* being extremely *Sea-sicke*, through the counsell of *Roma's Lady*, the wisest and worthiest among them, set fire on the whole *Fleete*; whereupon their *husbands* (though sore offended) were enforced to make use of their present necessity, and neere vnto *Palantium* planted this *City*, whose *fame* presently grew great, and in honour of *Lady Roma* named it *Rome*; and from hence they say the custome of *kissing* in *salutations* came, after the example of these *mines*, who to appease the *husbands* wraths with smiles and *embracings* kissed their mouths. Some will haue the name from *Roma*, the daughter of *Italus* and of *Lucaria*, or els of *Telephus* the sonne of *Hercules*, and of the wife of *Aeneas*. Others of *Ascanius* the sonne of *Aeneas*. Some againe from *Romanus* the sonne of *Ulysses* and of *Cyrce*, will haue it named *Rome*. Others from *Romus* the sonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *Troy*. There are that bring the name thereof from one *Romus* a tyrant of the *Latines*, who droue the *Thuscans* out of those parts. And they who thinke that *Romulus* (as that is most generall, and carieth the most likelihood to be *Romes founder*;) do not agree about his *ancestours*, as more at large in *Plutarch* appeareth. And therefore with *Thucydides* we may well say, *It is a hard and difficult matter to keepe a meane in speaking of things, wherein scarcely can be had a certaine opinion of truth.* And the rather, for that the writers themselves haue blamed each others of *affectation & falsehood*, as in *Iosephus* we may see; who affirmeth, That *Hellanicus* dissented from *Acusilaus*, *Acusilaus* with *Diodorus* correcting *Herodotus*; *Ephorus* accused *Hellanicus* of vntueths; so did *Timæus* reprove *Ephorus* of as much; *Philistus* and *Callias* dissented from *Timæus* in his History of *Sicily*, and *Thucydides* accounted a lyar by some. *Caesar* is taxed by *Asinius Pollio* (saith *Suetonius*) to be partiall in his *Commentaries*; And *Tacitus* by *Tertullian* is blamed for vntueths; *Fabius Maximus* is reprehended by *Polybius* for defectiue writing the *Punicke warres*; and himselfe againe with *Silenus*, *Timæus*, *Antigonus*, & *Hierom*, as much found fault with by *Dionysius Halicarnassæus*, for writing the *Romane histories* so vnperfectly. And a man may use the very same speech against *Dionysius*, saith *Bodine*. These things thus standing, let vs giue leaue to *Antiquitie*, who sometimes mingleth falsehoods with truth, to make the beginnings of *Policies* seeme more honourable: And whose power is farre scrued into the worlds conceit, that with *Hierome* we may say, *Antiquity is allowed with such generall applause, that knowne vntuethes many times are pleasing vnto many.* Yet with better regard to reuerend *Antiquity*, whom *Jobs* opposer wills vs inquire after, and to our owne relations in deliuering their censures, let this be considered; That more things are let slippe, then are comprehended in any mans writings, and yet more therein written, then any mans life (though it be long) will admit him to reade. Neither let vs be forestalled with any preiudicate opinions of the reporters; that in somethings may iustly be suspected, or in affection, which by nature we owe to our naturall Countrey; nor consent (as *Luie* speaketh) to stand to the ancientnesse of reports, when it seemeth to take away the certainty of truth. To keepe a meane betwixt both, my selfe with *Bildad* doe confesse, that I am but of yesterday, and know nothing, and therefore will relate the originall names and Nations of this famous fland, with the successions of her Monarches and Historicall actions, so farre only as is most approued by the best Writers, and will leaue other clouds of obscurity to be cleared by the labours of a more learned penne.



Thucydides lib.
2. cap. 7.

Iosephus contra
App. in li. 1.
Hilanicus.
Acusilaus.
Diodorus.
Ephorus.
Timæus.
Philistus.
Callias.
Thucydides.
Suetonius in vi-
ta Caesar. Seli.

55.
Tacitus.
F. Maximus.
Sileus.
Antigonus.
Hierome.
Dionysius
H. 1.
Bodine.

Hierom in his
Prolog. in Job.

Job. 3. 8.

Titus Liui.
lib. 8.



THE SITE AND CIRCVIT OF GREAT BRITAINES MONARCHIE.

CHAPTER I.



BESIDES those fruitfull
Ilands that dispersedly are
scattered about the *Mayne*,
like to beautifull pearls that
incomparably a *Diademe*, the
Ile of GREAT BRITAIN
doth raise it selfe
first to our sight, as the Bo-
die of that most famous &
mighty Empire, whereof

many other Kingdomes and Countries are parcels and
members. Being by the Almighty so set in the maine
Ocean, as that there is thereby the High Admirall of the
Seas, and in the terrestriall Globe so seated, as that she
is worthily reputed both The Garden of Pleasure, and
The Storehouse of Profit, opening her *Haues* euery
way, fit to receiue all forraine trafficke, and to vtter
her owne into all other parts: and therefore (as the
Souveraigne Lady and Emperesse of the rest) deserues
our description in the first place.

(2) This Iland is so spacious and ample, that *Caesar*
(the first *Romane* discoverer thereof) supposed
that he had found out another World: for to his seem-
ing it appeared, that the Ocean was rather contained
within that *Mayne*, then that *Mayne* to be compassed
with the Ocean about. And *Iulius Solinus*, for her cir-
cuit and largenesse, saith that it deserueth the name of
Another World. But *Aristides* a Greeke Author speaks
much more properly, who by way of excellencie term-
eth BRITAIN, The Great Iland: As likewise
Tacitus, that vnderooke to describe BRITAIN
by his owne knowledge, who saith, that of all Ilands
knownen to the *Romans* it was the greatest: And so
doth *Dionysius* in his description of the World.

(3) But as *Strabo* compares the then known
World, to a Cloake, *Rutilius Numatianus* Italy, to an Oken
leafe, and *Dionysius* Spaine, vnto an Oxe-hide: so the
said *Tacitus* in the life of *Agricola*, from *Luie* his an-
cient, and *Fabius Rusticus* his moderne, doth liken the
fashion thereof to a long Dish, or two-headed Axe:
whose forme notwithstanding may better be exposed
to the eye, in the draught before scene, then can be ex-
plained in words to conceit, or vnto any other thing
bee compared besides it selfe: especially seeing that
so many good Writers haue had but very bad suc-
cesse in their resemblances of Countries. And this of
them is rather vnlike to either, it wee speake of the

whole, which then was vnknown, as it seemeth by
Tacitus. And the huge enorme tract of ground be-
yond *Caledonia*, which runneth vnto the furthestmost
point, growing narrow and sharpe like a wedge, was
first redoubled with the *Romane* fleet by *Iulius Agri-
cola*, and BRITAIN discovered to bee an Iland,
one hundred thirty and six yeeres after *Iulius Caesar*
first entrance therein.

(4) Some haue beene induced by the narrow-
nesse of the Sea, and likeness of the Soile, to thinke
that BRITAIN was sometimes ioined to the con-
tinent of France: whereunto *Seruius Honoratius* sub-
scribeth in his Commentarie vpon the first Eclog of
Virgil, who there mentioneth

— Penitus toto diuisos orbe Britannos,
The Britaine people quite from all the world disioin'd.
As likewise by *Claudian* another ancient Poet it
is stiled,

— nostro deducta Britannia mundo,
The Britaine Soile remoov'd from our worlds continent.

And *Vinianus* with them affirms, that in the be-
ginning Britaine and *Gaulia* were both one Land. The
like doth *Virgil* verifie of the Ile of *Sicilie*, which in
times past hee reports to haue bene one with *Italie*.
Others hold, that all Ilands had their first separation
from the *Mayne* by the rage of the general Deluge,
and that the mountains thereby shewed their tops a-
boue the plaine grounds, and the plaines setting lower,
became deepe vallies. When or howfoeuer, by
Gods diuine ordinance and wilddome, wee see that
these Ilands situated in the Seas, doe no lesse serue and
adorn the Ocean it selfe, then the *Lakes* and *Pooles* of
water doe the drie land, and all of them (as members
of one masse) to minister sustentance for the life of all
things liuing, and pleasures to the use and seruice of
man.

(5) The Iland of BRITAIN, of all others
the most famous (by *Catullus* reputed the furthest to-
wards the West) is bounded on the South with *Nor-
mandie* and France, vpon the East with Germany and
Denmarke, vpon the West with Ireland and the Atlan-
ticke Ocean, and vpon the North with the vast *Decca-
lidon Seas*. The length thereof, measured by the gra-
duations to both extremes, that is, from the *Lizard*
Point Southward in *Cornwall*, which lieth in the *Lat-
tude* of 50. degrees and 6. minutes, to the *Strathly*
head in *Scotland* (being the furthest point of this Iland
towards

BRITAIN
discovered to be
an Iland 136.
yeeres after Iu-
lius Caesar en-
trance into it.
Tacitus in vita
Agric.

BRITAIN
thought one
continent with
FRANCE.
Seruius Hono-
rat.

Claudian.

Vinianus.

Sicilie thought
once one con-
tinent with
Italie.
Domini-
nus
Niger.
Thought of some
that all Ilands
had their first se-
paration from
the Mayne by the
rage of the gen-
eral Deluge.

Catullus.

Britaines length.

Britaines breadth.

BRITAIN in the 8. Climate for Latitude, and for Longitude placed between the parallels fourteenth and twenty six.

In the furthest North part of BRITAIN 5 nights so flout, as the space betwixt the daies going and coming can hardly be perceived. *In uita Agricola.*

Cesar. Com. lib. 5. The cold in Britaine less then in France.

Petrus in Virgil. Georgie.

The Arabick Geographic.

British Seas warme. De natura Deorum lib. 2. *Clementis Felix*, admitted to *Ar-nobius*, as his eighth booke.

Britaines fea-windes in summer allwaie the heat.

In uita Agricola.

In uita Cesar. cap. 47.

Britaine aboundeth with all sorts of Graine.

towards the North) set in the degree 60. and 30. minutes containeth (according to the scale of the terrestrial globe) fix hundred twenty foure miles: not to trouble the Reader with other accounts, seeing the same fo exactly to agree with the spaces of the *beacons*. And the extent of the Land in the broadest part is from the Lands end in Cornwall in the West (situated in 14. degrees and 37. minutes of Longitude, according to Mercator his *Atlas*) vnto the Island Tenet in the East of Kent (lying in 22. degrees 30. minutes) and containeth miles 340. as they haue deliuered, that with curious search haue laid the dimension thereof.

(6) The site of this Island is set by the *Mathematicians* in the eighth Climate for Latitude, and the Longitude likewise placed betwixt the Parallels fourteenth and twenty six: a feat as well for *Aireas Soile*, both fruitful and milde; and for length of daies, pleasant and delightful: for in the height of Summer the day is laid to be eighteen equinoctiall houres long, whereof sixteen and a halfe are spent from Sunne to Sunne. Yea and *Tacitus* saith, that in the furthest North part of the Island the nights are so short, that betwixt the going out and coming in of the day the space is hardly perceived, and the Sunne seems neither to set nor arise: Because (saith he) the extreme and plaine parts of the earth proiect a low shadow, and raise not the darkness on high, so the night falleth vnder the skie and starre. Better might hee haue said, by reason of the inclination of his Circle to the Horizon descending not directly, but passing obliquely, razing as it were vnder their Horizon.

(7) The aire, saith *Strabo* and *Tacitus*, is rather inclinable to showers then to snow. And *Cesar* commendeth it to be more temperate, and the cold lesser, then that in France, as not subiect to either extremes, as the more Northerne and Southerne Countries are: to which temperature *Cesconius Getulicus* a very ancient Poet seemeth to haue respect, when of this Island thus he verifieth:

*Non illic Arias uerno ferit aëra cornu,
Gnosia nec Geminis præcedunt cornua Tauri.
The horned Ram there butteth not the aire of tender Spring:
The Twins, nor Bull do to this soile vntimely seasons bring.*

(8) And although the Seas thereof are accounted and called by *Nubienfis* the *Arabian*, The darke and dangerous Seas, in regard of the mitty vapors that therfrom arise, yet in the winter season those clouds are dispersed into still showers of raine, that doe dissolve the rigour and great extremity of the cold: yea and those Seas themselves stirred and working to and fro with the windes, doe thereby wax warme (as *Cicero* saith) so that a man may easily perceive within that world of waters a certaine heat inclosed. And *Miminius Felix* proueth that GOD hath a speciall regard to the feuerall parts of the world, as well as to the whole, saith, that BRITAIN, though otherwhiles wanting the aspect of the Sunne, yet is it releeued with the warmth of her enuironing Seas; and as much refreshed, as we may well say, by those sweet and gentle windes that in the height of Summer are sent from those faires, and doe abate the rigor of the Sunnes great scorching heat; and yecletheth not only entercoure for traffique into all parts of the World, but plentifully aboundeth with all sorts of fish, to the great benefit of the Inhabitants; and bringeth forth Pearles, as *Tacitus* sheweth, which were usually cast out with the flood, and gathered at the ebbe. These Pearles, though not altogether so orient as they in *India*, by *Amanius* in his 23. booke and 12. chapter, are called *Rich Gemmes*. And *Pliny* in his ninth booke and thirty fifth chapter, vseth the like term: The desire whereof, (as *Suetonius* saith) drew *Cæsars* affection for the Conquest of BRITAIN.

(9) The soile (saith *Tacitus*) setting aside the Olive, the Vine, and such other plants as are onely proper to hotter Countries, taketh all kinde of Graine, and beareth it in abundance: it shooteth up quickly, and ripeneth slowly: the cause of both is the same, the over-much moisture of the soile, and the aire. And

Cesar writeth, that for timber it was stored of all kindes, as in *Gallia*, the *Beech* and *Firre tree* onely excepted. For abundance of Graine, Britaine is said to bee The *East of Queene Ceres*, by *Orpheus* the old Poet; and the *Granary* and *Storehouse* for the *Western World*, as *Charles* the great teamed it: and by our owne Antecessors in the blacke Booke of the *Eschequer* it is called a *Paradise of pleasure*. From whence the *Romanes* were wont yearly to transport (with a fleet of eight hundred vessels bigger then Barges) great store of corne for the maintenance of their Armies. But vnto the particular relation of each seuerall blessing belonging to this most happy Land, we will not againe enter, seeing that in euery County wee haue sufficiently, and no more then truly, spoken thereof. Only, if you please, heare what hath bene said of this Land by the *Romane Orators*, and first in the *Panegyricke* to *Constantius* the Emperour.

(10) O happy BRITAIN, and more fortunate then all other Lands beside, which first didst see *Constantine* Emperour! For good cause hath nature endowed thee with all blessings both of aire and soile: wherein there is neither excessive cold of Winter, nor extreme heat of Summer: wherein there is so great abundance of graine, that it sufficeth both for bread and drinke. There the forests are free from savage beasts, and the ground void of noisome serpents: in whose stead an infinite multitude of tame cattle there are, with their vaders strutting full of milke, and laden with fleeces to the ground. And verily (that which for the use of our lines wee most esteeme) the daies are therein very long, and the nights neuer without some light, for that those vnto most plaine by the sea side cast, and raise no shadows on high; and the aspect both of skie and starres passeth beyond the bound of the night: yea the very Sunne it selfe, which vnto vs seemeth far to set, appeareth there only to passe by a little, and goe aside.

And in another, spoken to *Constantius*, the father of *Constantine* the Great, thus is said:

Though BRITAIN be but a single name, yet surely the States losses haue bene manifold, in forgoing a Land so plentifull in fruit and graine, so rich in pasture, so full of mines and veins of metall, so gainfull in tributes and reuenues, so accommodated with many hauens, and for circuit so large and spacious.

And a Poet of good antiquity, of natures motherly affection towards this our Island, hath thus written:

*Tu nimio nec stricta gelu, nec fydere feruens,
Clementi celo temperique places.
Cum pareret Natura parens, variisque fauore
Diuideret dotes omnibus vna locis.
Seposuit potiora tibi, matremque professa,
Insula sis felix, plenaque pacis, ait.
Quicquid amat luxur, quicquid desiderat usus,
Ecce proueniet, vel aliunde tibi.
Nor freezing cold, nor scorching hot thou art;
Thy aire a heavenly temper, sweetly breath'd:
So pleas'd Dame Nature when she first bequeath'd
To euery soile of her rich gifts a part;
Then Mother-like best choice for thee she sought:
Be thou (quoth she) the blessed Isle of peace.
What euer pleasure yeelds, or wealths increase,
From thee shall grow, or shall to thee be brought.*

(11) And that BRITAIN hath bene taken for those fortunate Islands whereof the Poets haue imagined a perpetual spring time, is certaine by *Isidore* Terzies a Greeke Author of good account. And in *Robert of Auesburie* we read, what time Pope *Clement* the sixth had elected *Lewis* of Spaine to be Prince of the *Fortunate Islands*, raising him powers both in *Italie* and *France*, the English *Liger* Embassadors, that lay then in *Rome* for King *Edward* the third, were so deeply set in the opinion, that this preparation was made against BRITAIN, that they wrote their suspitions conceited, and presently with-drew themselves into England, to certifie the King of these delignes. And it seemeth Pope *Innocent* the fourth was of the same mind, when (as *Masih. Paris.* writeth) hee said, *Vere horum deliciarum est Anglia: vere puteus inexhaustus est: Et ubi multa abundant, de multis multa*

Cesar. Com. lib. 5.

Britaine called the seat of Q. Ceres.

Romans laded 800. vessels with corne to Britaine for their armies elsewhere. *Zofimus.*

Panegyricke to Constantinus.

In Britaine neither excessive cold of winter, nor extreme heat of summer. Britaine aboundeth with all plenty of foode for mans sustenance and delight.

Britaines nights neuer without some light.

Panegyricke spoken to Constantinus.

BRITAIN full of mines of metall.

Remayne.

Isidore Terzies.

Robert of Auesburie. Britaine taken for the fortunate Islands.

Adam. 1246.

Pope Innocent maketh suit to the King of England to see Britaine.

Joseph bell. Indul. lib. 7. cap. 13.

BRITAIN sustained at once no less then 12. Kings commanding great powers.

multa possunt extorqueri, &c. Certes the Kingdom of England is the very Paradise of pleasures, a Well which can neuer bee drawn drie: where many things doe abound, and whence many things may bee extorted, &c. With which his conceit he was afterward so farre transported with a longing desire, as hee made great meanes and earnest suit to the King of England (as the said Author writeth, ad ann. 1250.) that hee might come into England to see that Country which was euery where so much renowned. In a word, BRITAIN is so rich in commodities, so beautifull in situation, and so resplendent in all glory, that if the Omnipotent (as one hath said) had vouchsafed to fashion the world round like a ring, as hee did like a globe, it might haue bene most worthily the onely Gemme therein. Whole Vallies are like Eden: whole Hilles are as Lebanon: whole Springs are as Pisgab: whole Rivers are as Jordan: whole Walles is the Ocean: and whose defence is the Lord Iehouah.

(12) The body then of this Imperiall Monarchie sheweth not onely the greatnesse of it selfe in it selfe, but also extendeth her beautiful branches into many other Countries and Kingdomes farre iacent and remote. This greatnesse is made the more sensible, for that the Island in times past sustained at once no less then eleuen Kings in their royall estates, all of them wearing Crownes, and commanding great powers. Such was the *Heptarchie* of the Saxons (euene Kingdomes, seated on the South of *Sauerius* his Wall. Two Kingdomes thence had their sites in that Northerne part, and their feuerall Kings of Scots and Picts ruling on both sides the Clude, euen vnto the *Deucalidian Seas*. And two Kingdomes (if not more) diuided into North and South, and their Kings of the

ancient Britaines ruling the West part of this Island beyond the *Clawds Offa*, or *Offa his Ditch*, commonly called *Wales*.

(13) The Islands likewise belonging to this Empire had Kings of their owne, as that of *Man*, the *Orkades*, and in *Irland* at one time five Kingdomes reigning together. France also is annexed, and so was *Cyprus* sometimes with some Prouinces of *Syria*, subdued by King *Richard* the first, surnamed *Cœur-de-lion*. And at this present in the new World of America a Colonie of BRITAIN is situated in that part now called *VIRGINIA*; whereby the borders of our *Soueraignes* command and most rightfull title may bee enlarged, & the Gospell of *Iesus Christ* further preached, which no doubt will in time be embraced, to the saluation of many, and great honour to the BRITAINES. And that the borders of this most roiall Tent haue bene wide spread in former times, *White of Basingstoke* is of opinion, who affirmeth that the limits of the British Empire in old time was from the *Orkades* vnto the *Pyrenean Mountains*. And that King *Aethelstan* after his conquest of those Northerne parts with that of *Denmarke* wrote to his title: which further is confirmed by the Charter of King *Edgar* for the foundation of the Cathedral Church at *Worcester*, wherein likewise he so styled himselfe. The enlargement whereof we pray to be accomplished, especially in those parts where God is not known, according to the saying of the Prophet, that the curtains of our habitations may bee further spread, with increase on the right hand and on the left: and that our feed may possesse those GENTILES, and dwell in their Cities: whereby the ninth Nation may bee conuerted vnto CHRIST, as eight others before this time by English-men haue bene.

D. Powell in his Chist of Wales, in Rhodri the Great.

The Ile of Man belonging to Brittaines kingdom within it selfe. Cyprus and some prouinces subdued to Brittain.

A Colonie of Brittain in VIRGINIA.

White Basingstoke.

The limits of the British Empire in times past from the Orkades vnto the Pyrene Mountains.

Ils. 54.

Eight Nations conuerted to Christ by Englishmen.

THE NAMES THAT HAVE BEENE ATTRIBVTED VNTO THIS ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER II.



The first Inhabitants of this Island being merely barbarous, neuer troubled themselves to transmit their Originals to posteritie: neither if they would, could haue done, being without Letters, which onely doe preferre and transerre knowledge vnto others. And say they had letters, yet was it not lawfull for them to commit their affaires to writing, as *Cesar* doth testifie of the *Druides*, the only wise and learned men among them, that had the managing both of Iustice and religious Rites. And had they committed these things to writing, yet doubtlesse had they perished in the reuolutions of so many ages as are passed, and so many conuerfions or cuersions of the State. *Gildas* and *Ninnius*, the Brittaines first Historians, confesse plainly, that they had no vnderstanding of the ancient affaires of this Island, but from forraigne Writers; and neither that about two hundred and odd yeeres before the birth of our Saniour Christ. At

S touching the first Inhabitants and original Names of this Island, things so farre cast into the mistie darkness of obfcuritie and obliuion, that there is no hopeleft vs, so lately born, to discouer them; especially knowing that the first Inhabitants being merely

which time *Polybius* a most graue Writer, and an attendant vnto *Scipio*, saith, that the Regions Northward from *Narbona* (as this is) were utterly unknown; and whatsoever was written or reported of them, was but a dreame. And therefore vntill such time as the *Romane* Writers reach forth their hands to direct vs, wee shall wander, as without a guide, and shall seeme to heape more rubbish vpon former ruines.

(2) Yet let this bee granted, that the Original names of Countries and Prouinces were first assumed from their possessors, whereof *Isidore* in the feuenth Chapter of his first Booke of *Antiquities* is a sufficient Witnesse, who in the disperfion of *Noahs* sonnes and his nephewes, nameth the Countries according to their families. So did the children of *Dan* name *Laij* after their father: *Tair* his Cities that he conquered in the Land of *Gilead*: and *Iudea* from *Iudah* whose King was of him. And that this also was the practise of the *Gentiles*, *Perionius* doth shew, who saith, that himselfe knew no Nation in the earth, which would not haue their names either from their Prince, Captain, or King: the example whereof hee inserteth, that Spaine was so named from *Hispalus*, Italy from *Italus*, and the like.

(3) And accordingly from *Samoseth* the sixth sonne of *Tapheth* (whom *Moses* calleth *Mefech*) the brother of *Gomer*, and of *Iauan*, whose seed is said in the tenth of *Genesis* to haue replenished the Isles of the Gentiles,

Polybius.

Romane Writers the best directors for the antiquities of Britaine.

The original names of Countries and Prouinces assumed first from their possessors. Iudg. 18. 29. Iudg. 10. 4.

Perionius de originali. Gallice. Spaine named from Hispalus; Italy from Italus. Samoseth the first sonne of Tapheth the first Inhabitant of this Land, who converted Samothras 55. yeeres after the flood.

Strabo.
Tania added to
diuers countries,
by the Grecians.
In Carnotensis.

160	THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS	Book 5.	Chap. 3.	OF GREAT BRITAIN.	161
England coming of Angles, terre. Danmarch compounded of Dan and March. S. Hieron. in Gen. Phlegon. Grecians inhabited well neere all the sea coasts of the whole world. Athenas. The certaintie of the Greeks inhabiting in Britain. Breueus Hist. lib. 3. Vlysses Altar in Caledonia. Thule thought to be one of the Isles of the Oracles in Scotland. Low countries. Thule much mentioned in Greek writers. Lazarus Baynes. As other nations glory that they deuise many words from the Greeks, so may we. Athenas. For so by the Scriptures account I place the time. In Britaine great store of large trees. Phileas Taurominis. Caesar. In Scotland Firre trees for masts.	and became England, Doth not Franc-land proceed from a French and Saxon word? Came not Poleland from a Polonian word, which with them betokeneth a plaineland and was not Danmarch compounded of Dan and the Dutch word March, which signifieth a bound or limit? Neither have we cause to wonder at this Greek addition T A N I A, seeing that S. Hieronim in his questions vpon Genesis, proueth out of most ancient Authors, that the Greeks inhabited along the sea coasts and Isles of Europe thoroughout as far as to this our Island. Let vs read, faith he, Varroes bookes of Antiquities, and those of Silinius Capito, as also the Greeke writer Phlegon, with the rest of the great learned men, and we shall see, all the Islands well neere, and all the sea coasts of the whole world, to haue been taken up with Greek inhabitants, who, as I said before from the mountaine Amanus and Taurus euen to the British Ocean, possessed all the parts along the sea side. And verely, that the Greeks arriued in this our region, viewed and considered well the site and nature thereof, there will be no doubt nor question made: if we obserue what Athenasus hath written concerning Phileas Taurominis who was in Britaine in the yeere one hundred and sixty before Cæsar's coming: if we call to remembrance the Altar with an inscription vnto Vlysses in Greek letters, erected in Caledonia as Solinus faith, and lastly if we marke what Pytheas before the time of the Romans here, hath deliuered and written as touching the distance of Thule from Britaine. For who had euer discovered vnto the Greeks, Brittain, Thule, the Belgick countries, and their sea coasts especially, if the Greeke ships had not entered the British and German Ocean, yea and related the description thereof vnto their Geographers? Had Pytheas, thinke you, come to the knowledge of six daies sailing beyond Britaine, vnlesse some of the Greeks had shewed the same? Who euer told them of Scandia, Bergos and Nerigon, out of which men may faile into Thule? And these names seem to haue been better known vnto the most ancient Greeks, then either to Pliny or to any Roman. Whereupon Melanestheth, that Thule was much mentioned and renowned in Greek writers: Pliny likewise writeth thus; Brittain an Island famous in the monuments and records both of the Greeks and of vs. By this means therefore, so many Greeke words haue crept into the British, French, and withall into the Belgick or Low-Dutch language. And if Lazarus Baynius, and Budæus doe make their want and glory in this, that their French-men haue been of old quærens, that is, louers and studious of the Greeks, grounding their reason vpon few French words of that Idome, which receiue some marks and tokens of the Greeke tongue: if Hadrianus Iulinius ioyneth no lesse, because in the Belgick words there lie conuerty Greeke Etymologies: then may the Britains make their boast in whose language many words there be deriued from the Greeks. Thus saith M. Cambdens iudgement for Britannia. Which name we find first mentioned by Polybius the Greeke historiographer, who liued and traueled with Scipio thorow most parts of Europe, about 265. yeeres before the birth of Christ. And after him Athenasus a Greeke authour of good account, and before the yeere of grace 179. mentioneth the name of Britaine, and that vpon this occasion: King Hiero, faith he, framing a ship of such hugeness and burden, as was admirable to the world, was much troubled for a tree, whereof he might make the maine mast: which at last with much adoe was found in Britaine, by the direction of a Swineheard: and by Phileas Taurominis the Mechanick conueied into Sicilie, whereby that want was sufficiently supplied. To this let not the Criticks from Caesar say, that Britaine brought forth neither Beech nor Firre, as he in his first booke of commentaries affirmeth (if by fagus he meant the Beech) seeing that the same kind doth most plentifully grow in all parts of this Island, and the Firre-trees for masts in the North west of Scotland vpon the banks of the Lough argieck of such great height and thicknesse, that at the root they beare 28. handfulls about, and the bodies mounted to 90. foot of height they beare at that length 20. inches Diameter, as hath been measured by some in commission, & so certified to his Majesty: and at this present growing vpon the lands of the right worthy Knight Sir Alex-	ander Hayes his Majesties principal Secretary for Scotland. But among the Latine Writers Lucretius was the first that before Cæsar mentioneth Britaine in these verbes: Nam quid Britannum calum deferre putamus, Et quod in Aegypto est, quæ mundi claudicat Axis: We see the difference in the spheres where Britaines Summe doth goe. From Egypts Clime, wherein Charles waine is forced to draw so low. (8) Other names hath this Island beene termed by, and that either by way of note for her situation, as Insula Cæculi, the Land in the Sea, so written in the sonet or parodia made against Viridius Bassus, and by Claudian confirmed, whose fides (faith hee) the azure Sea doth wash. And in a very ancient manuscript it is found written, Insula florum, an Island of flowers, for the abundance of Graine therein growing: as also for her subiection to the Romanes, hath beene called by Agestippus, the Romane World, and by her owne Historian Gildas, Romania: for being first subdued by them, the very name of seruitude (faith hee) stucke fast to the soile. And Prosperus Aquitains in expresse words calleth it, the Romane Island, and so did the South-faiers when the statues of Tacitus and Florianus the Emperours were by lightning ouerthrowen, who prophesied, that an Emperour should arise out of their familie, that should send a Pro-consull to the Romane Island. Vpon the like cause of conquest and subiection we read in Amianus, that what time the Island had assaid a dangerous reuolt in the raigne of Valentinianus the Emperour, Theodosius as then Gouvernor of Britaine, reducing them vnder their wonted obedience, in honor of Valentinianus, caused the Island to be called VALENTINIA, which name notwithstanding died either with, or immediately after the death of the said Emperour. (9) But about the same time, when as by Gods decree the Romanes fullnesse was come to the wane, and the greatnesse of their glory did abate, by the downefall of that one Empire many Kingdomes beganne to arise, and to haue their Rulers, Lawes, and Limits of themselves. Among the rest, this Island Britaine thortle came to be diuided into three feuerall Kingdomes, and each of them to retain an absolute power in their owne dominions, and known by their feuerall and proper names. The first was Scotland from Scotia, and that from Scythia, as the best suppose, whose Southerne bounds was the famous Wall from Carlisle to Newcastle, and from thence the enorme tract of all that Northern promontorie was called Scotia, or Scotland. The second was Cambria, of vs called Wales, fitted in the West of this Island, inclosing those waste mountaines with a ditch drawn from Basingwarke in Flintshire in the North, to the mouth of Wyne nere Bristol in the South, so separated by great Offa the Mercian King. And the third was Angle-land, the East, the most fruitfull, and best of the Island, lying coasted with the French and German Seas, so named when the vnted Heptarchie of the Saxons was ruled by King Egbert, who by his edict dated at Winchester, Anno 819. commanded the same to be called Angle-land, according to the name of the place from whence his ancestors the Angle-Saxons came, which was out of the continent part of Denmarke, lying betwixt Iutland and Holsatia, where to this day the place retaineth the name Engloen. And therefore Calpurnie is to be rectified, that would haue the name from Quene Angela, and Goropius, of good Anglers; either from Pope Gregorie his attribute of Angell-like faces; or from others that would faile it from Angula the Giant-like brother to Darius; or force it from Angulus Orbis. (10) Neither indeede was it called England before the daies of Canutus the Dane; but with Angle-land, retained still the names both of Alhon and Britaine, as in a Saxon Charter made by King Edgar the tenth in succession from Egbert, and nolesse then one hundred forty and nine yeeres after this Edict is scene, where in the beginning he stileth himselfe thus: Ego Edgar totius Althonis Basileus, &c. And in the end of the same charter thus: Edgar Rex totius Britannia Domoc-	Lucretius. Britaine called Insula Cæculi. Britaine the Romane world. Prosperus Aquitains. A prophesie of the Romane fourth sayre concerning Britaine. This Island Britaine named the Roman Land. Amianus Marcell. lib. 38. cap. 7. This Island named Valentia. Many countries arise by the Romanes downefall. This Island Britaine diuided into three Kingdomes. The first, Scotland, whose partition fourthward is from Carlisle to Newcastle. The second, Cambria or Wales, whose partition is from Basingwarke to Wyne. The third, Angle-land coasted with the French and German Seas. This Island named Angle-land of place in Denmarke called Engloen. Gregorie 1. This Island not called England before the daies of Canutus the Dane. This Island vntill called both Angle-land, Althion, and Britaine, before Canutus daies.	mem cum sigillo S. Crucis confirmant. And yet vpon his Coines wrote himselfe Rex Anglis, wherby wee see the reliish of the former names not vterly extinct, though a new was imposed by the Saxons. (11) This last name this Island still retained, though two feuerall Conquests of two feuerall Nations were made of the same. Neither did William the Conquerour attempt to alter it, it founding belike lo Angel-like in his cares, accounting himselfe most happy to be King of so worthy a Kingdom: the glorie whereof is further enlarged by the ranking of Christian nations, assembled in their general Councils, wherein England is accounted the fifth, and hath place of precedence before kingdomes of larger territories. This name of England continued for the space of feuen hundred eighty and three yeeres, vnto the coming in of our Soueraigne Lord King I A M A S, in anno 1602. who by the hand of G O D hath vnited all these Diademes into one Imperial Crowne, and reduced the many Kingdomes in one Island, vnder the gouernment of one Monarch: and after the manifold conquests, interruptions, and diffensions, hath settled an eternal amitie; and extinguishing all differences of names, hath giuen the whole Island the ancient name of GREAT BRITAINS, by his Edict dated at Westminster, quarring the royal Armes of his feuerall Kingdomes in one royall Scutcheon, and for his most, as is most meet, BEATI PACIFICI.	Hath continued and kept the name England the space of feuen hundred eighty and three yeeres. Now reduced to the name of Great Britaine.

Brennus a Britaine
or a Cimbrian.
Virgil. *catall.*
lib. 5. cap. 1.
Quintilian.

The *Turci*, the
Jones, *Medes*, and
Virgians come
of *Nashi* na-
tives.

Britains or Cu-
merians the off-
spring of *Gomer*.
Idore.
Armenia the
fountain region
of all Nations.
Places nearest
Armenia first
peopled.

The occasions
why people dis-
parted.

Each Nation
peopled from
places neere.

Britaine had her
first inhabitants
from the *Gauls*.

Britannia Camb-
deni.

Cesar, *Comment.*
lib. 5.

The sea-coasts
of Britaine
peopled out of
Belgia.

Cesar, *Com. lib.* 5.
A part of *Gauls*
and Britaine go-
vern'd by one
Prince.

Tacitus in *vita*
Agricola.

The *Caledonians*
import a German
dialect.
The *Silures* from
Spain.

Britaine most
likely to be peo-
pled by the
French.

Aprian, *Alexand.*
in *vit. Celt.*

doth testify. And for *Brennus* their *Grand-Captaine*, our *Historians* report him to be a *Britaine*: as likewise *Virgil* (though in taunting wife) termeth that *Grammarians* the *Britaine Thucydides*, whom *Quintilian* as- firmes to be a *Cimbrian*.

(6) And if of the rest of *Noahs* nephews, seated in feuerall countries, the *Nations* proceeding from them, are known by their original names, as the *Turkes* of *Togorma*, whom the *Temes* to this day I term, the *Jones* from *Iuan*, the *Medes* from *Madai*, the *Thracians* from *Tiras*, and so of the rest, whose names as yet found not much vnlike to their first planters; why then shall not we thinke, that our *Britains* or *Cumerians*, are the very off-spring of *Gomer*, and of *Gomer* tooke their denomination, the name so neere accordeth? Such granted it is, that they planted themselves in the vtmost borders of *Europe*, as *Idore* hath said. For the *Ark* resting in *Armenia*, and the people thereof flowing like waters from the spring, replenish'd those parts first that lay next their site: as *Asia* the lesse, and *Greece* before *Italy*: *Italy* before *Gauls*, and *Gauls* before *Britaine*. And if we consider the occasions, that might be offered, either for disburdening the multitudes of people, for conquest, desire of nouelties, or smallness of distance, or commodities of the aire and soile, we may easily conceiue this *Iland* to haue been peopled from thence. For it standeth with sense that euery country receiued their first inhabitants from places neere bordering, rather then from them that lay more remote: for so was *Cyprus* peopled out of *Asia*, *Sicilie* and *Candie* out of *Greece*; *Corfica* and *Sardinia* out of *Italy*, *Zeland* out of *Germany*, *Iland* out of *Norway*, and so of the rest. Now that *Britaine* had her first inhabitants from *Gauls*, sufficiently is proued by the name, site, religion, manners, and languages, by all which the most ancient *Gauls* and *Britains* haue bene as it were linked together in some mutuall society; as is at large proued by our *Arch-Antiquary* in his famous worke, to which I refer the studious reader.

(7) And although the inner parts of the *Iland* were inhabited, as *Cesar* saith, of such whom they themselves out of their own records, report to haue bene borne in the *Iland*: yet the sea coasts were peopled by those, who vpon purpose to make war, had pass'd thither out of *Belgia*, and *Gauls*, who still caried the names of those cities and states, out of which they came: as the *Belges*, the *Attrebatii*, *Parisi*, and the like names of people both in *Gauls*, and in *Britaine*, that after the warres there remained. Which is the more confirmed in that both the *Provinces* were gouerned by one and the same Prince, as *Cesar* in his owne remembrance knew, and nameth one *Diuitiacus* to hold a good part of *Gauls*, and also of *Britaine* vnder his gouernment. Yea and *Tacitus* the most curious searcher into *Britains* affaires, in the life of *Agricola* thus deciphereth them. Now (saith hee) what manner of men the first inhabitants of *Britannia* were, forraigne brought in, or borne in the land, as among a barbarous people, it is not certainly known. Their complexions are different, and thence may some coniectures bee taken: for the red haire of the dwellers in *Caledonia*, and mighty limmes, import a German descent. The coloured countenances of the *Silures*, and haire most commonly curled, and site against *Spain*, seeme to induce, that the old Spaniards pass'd the sea, and possessed those places. The neere to France likewise resemble the French, either because they retainde of the race from which they descended, or that in Countries butting together, the same aspect of the heaues doth yeld the same complexions of bodies. But generally it is most likely, the French being neere, did people the Land. In their ceremonies and superstitious persuasions, there is to be seene an apparant conformitie. The Language differeth not much: like boldnesse to challenge and set into dangers: when dangers come, like feare in refusing: sauing that the Britains make shew of great courage, as being not mollified yet by long peace.

(8) Whereby we see, that these *Cimbrians* (of whom, as *Aprian Alexandrinus* saith, came the *Celts*,

and of them the *Gauls*, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Camillus* affirmeth, with whom both *Plato* and *Aristotle* agree) were the ancient progenitors of these our *Britains*: and them, with the *Gauls*, to be both one and the same people, is allowed by *Pliny*, that placeth them both in the continent of *France*; for so *Eustathius* in his *Commentarie* vnderstandeth *Dionysius* *Afar*, that these *Britains* in *Gauls* gaue name to the *Iland* now called GREAT BRITAIN, as *Pomponius* *Latus* and *Beda* before him had done. These things considered, with the neere esse of their sites for ready entercourse, made both *Cesar* and *Tacitus* to conceiue as they did. Neither were these things following small motiues vnto them: for their religion was alike, saith *Lucan* and *Tacitus*: their boldnesse in warres, and manner of armes alike, saith *Strabo*, *Tacitus*, *Dion*, *Pliny*, *Herodian*, and *Mela*: Their building alike, saith *Cesar* and *Strabo*: their ornaments and manners alike, saith *Pliny* and *Cesar*: their wits alike, saith *Strabo* and *Tacitus*: their language alike, saith *learned Bodine*: and in all things the unconquered *Britains* to the ancient *Gauls* alike, saith *Tacitus*. And all these doe warrant vs (me thinkes) to come from the *Cimbrians*, whole sonnes, and our fathers, were the *Celts* and *Gauls*: the bands of whose amities were so linked together, that the *Britains* gaue aid, and assisted the *Gauls* against *Cesar*, which was no small cause of his quarrell against them.

(9) Not to deriue the truth of our historie from the fained inuentions of a forged *Berosus*, that bringeth *Samothres* to people this *Iland*, about one hundred fiftie two yeeres after the *Flood*, to giue lawes to the Land, and to leaue it to his posteritie, for three hundred thirty five yeeres continuance: although hee be countenanced by *Amandus* *Zirixus* in the annotations of *White of Basingstoke*: and magnified vnto vs by the names of *Dis* and *Meshech* the sixt sonne of *Iapheth*, from whom this *Iland* with a Sect of *Philosophers* tooke their names, saith *Textor*, *Bale*, *Holinshed*, and *Caius*: yet seeing this building hath no better a foundation but *Berosus*, and he not only iustly suspected, but long since fully conuicted for a counterfeiter, we leaue it, as better fitting the pens of vulgar *Chroniclers*, then the clif of iudicious Readers: whilest with *Laertius* we iudge rather, that those *Sophes* were termed *Samothres*, and they not from *Samothra*, as *Villicus* would haue vs beleuee.

(10) Neither foundeth the musike of *Albions* legion tunable in our eares, whom *Berosus* with full note, and *Amnius* alloweth to be the fourth sonne of *Neptune*, and him the same that *Moses* calleth *Naphthali*, the fourth sonne of *Mizraim*, the second sonne of *Cham*, the third sonne of *Noah*, (because his fictions should be countenanced with the first) who being put into this *Iland* by *Neptune* his father (accounted forsooth the god of the Seas) about the yeere after the *flood* three hundred thirty and five, ouercame the *Samothreans*, as easily he might, being a man of great strength in bodie, and largeness of limmes, that hee is accounted among the *Giants* of the earth. Him *Hercules* furnamed *Lybicus* in battle assailed for the death of *Offris* his father, and after forty four yeeres tyrannie (saith *Bale*) slew him with his brother *Bergion* in the continent of *Gallia* neere to the mouth of the riuer *Rhodanus*: whence *Hercules* trauelled into this *Iland*, as *Giraldus* (from *Gildas* the ancient *Briton* Poet) coniectureth, whose fift dialogue of Poetrie hee had seene; and therather beleueed, because *Ptolemy* calleth that head of Land in *Cornwall*, *Promontorium Herculis*, and left the possession of the *Iland* vnto them of *Cham*, contrarie to the meaning of the *Scriptures*, that made him a *Captiue*, but neuer a *Conquerour* ouer his brethern, whiles their first *Policies* were standing.

(11) The last, but much applauded opinion, for the possesing and peopling of this *Iland*, is that of *Brute*, generally held for the space of these last four hundred yeeres (some few mens exceptions refered) who with his dispersed *Troians* came into, and made conquest of this *Iland* the yeere of the worlds creation

Plutarch,
Plato,
Aristotle.

Britains and
Gauls both plac-
ed in the Con-
tinent of *France*

Pomponius Latus,
Beda *bist. Angl.*
lib. 1. cap. 1.

Lucan,
Britains and
Gauls alike in
many respects.
Strabo, *Tacitus*,
Dion, &c.
Cesar, *Strabo*.

Bodine.

Tacitus.

The *Celts* and
Gauls our fa-
thers.
Bale *Cent. 2.*
Britains assisted
the *Gauls* against
Cesar.

Berosus thought
a forged author.

Holinsh. *bist. lib.* 1.
cap. 1.
Vitell. *bist. Brit. lib.*
1. cap. 1.
Genes. 10. 2.

Textor, &c.
Feb. Caius in
Antiq. Canterb. lib. 1.

Laertius in *vit.*
Philosophorum,
cap. 1.
Villicus.

Holinshed.
An vniuersall
 storie of
Britains
first peopling.

Samothra this
Iland Britaine
conquered by
Caius posterities

Pompon. *Mela*.

Bale.

Giraldus.

Hercules in *Brit-*
taine left the pos-
session thereof to
Caius posterities.

An opinion
much applau-
ded.

Brute and his
Troians conque-
red this *Iland*.

Brute descended
from *Iupiter*.

Pliny,
Varro.

A false descent
may not be
challenged.
Geoffrey of
Monmouth died
in Anno 1155.
Acta 17. 28.

Monmouth his
exalt.

Henry of Hun-
tingdon died in
Anno 1249.

Henry Hunting-
ton also recor-
deth *Brutes* line
and arrivall in
Britaine.
Geoffrey ap
Arthur.
A booke hereof
found.

Will. Lamb. Ter-
amb.
Ninius and *Tal-*
iesin bring the
Britains from
Brute.

Died in Anno
1142.

Malmesb. de
Gallia verum
Anglorum lib. 1.

Beda *bist.* *Angl.*
lib. 1. cap. 16.

Lin.
Iustine,
Cesar,
Suetonius,
Agricola,
Julianus,
Eusebius,
Nicetor,
Ambr.
Socrates,
Harding *Chro.*
chap. 11.
John *Flauil.*
Quicula *V. pict.*

Stowe.

Cicero de *Som.*
Sopitione.
Amianus *Mar-*
cel. lib. 22. cap. 14.
Histories must
be weighed with
iudgement.

2887. and after the *uninerfall flood* 1231. in the eighteenth yeere of *Hebi* his *Priesthood* in the land of *Israel*, and before the incarnation of *Christ* our *Sauour* one thousand fifty nine. This *Brute* is brought from the ancient *Troians* by descent, yea and from the persons of the heathen deified Gods: as that he was the sonne of *Syluius*, who was the sonne of *Afcanius*, the sonne of *Aeneas*, the sonne of *Anchises* by *Venus* the *Goddesse*, and daughter to *Iupiter* their greatest in account. And if *Pliny* and *Varro* hold it praiseworthy to challenge descents (though fallily) from famous personages, whereby, as they say, appeareth an inclination to vertue, and a valorous conceit to perswade vnto honor, as sprung from a race diuine and powerfull: then by all means let vs liue to him of *Monmouth*, who hath brought his Nation to ranke in degree with the rest of the *Gentiles*, which claime themselves to be the Generation of the Gods.

(12) But why do I attribute the worke to him, as the Author, fith he professeth himselfe to be but the translator of that history out of the *British* tongue, which *Walter the Archdeacon* of *Oxford* brought out of *Normandie*, and deliuered vnto him? For the further confirmation thereof, and more credit to his story, *Henry* of *Huntington*, who liued in the time of king *Stephen*, and wrote likewise the history of this land, bringeth the line of *Brute* from *Aeneas* the *Troiane*, and his arriuage and conquest to happen in the time of *Hebi* his *Priesthood* in the land of *Israel*, as *Geoffrey ap Arthur* hath also done: not taking (as some thinke) any thing thereof from him; but rather out of an ancient booke intituled *De Origine Regum Britannorum*, found by himselfe in the library of the Abbey of *Bec*, as he trauelled towards *Rome*: which history began at the arrivall of *Brute*, and ended with the acts of *Cadwalader*, as by a treatise of his owne inditing, bearing the same title, hath bene compared, and found in all things agreeing with our vulgar history, as industrious *Lambert* affirmeth himselfe to haue seen. And *Ninius* is said by the writer of the reformed history, to bring these *Britains* from the race of the *Troians*, four hundred yeeres before that *Geoffrey* wrote: yea and long before *Ninius* also, *Taliesin* a *Briton* Poet in an Ode called *Hanes*, of *Taliesin* his countrie of life, in these words, *Mia deyllyn ywya at Weddilion Troia*, that is, *I came hither to the Remnants of Troy*.

(13) That *William of Malmesbury* (who wrote in the daies of King *Henry* the first) was before him of *Monmouth*, is most certain, yet doth he make mention of *Arthur* a Prince (saith he) deserveth rather to be aduanced by the truth of records, then abused by false imputation of fables; being the only prop and upholder of his country. And *Beda* his ancient also, nameth *Ambrosius Aurelianus* to be King of the *Britains*, long before that *Geoffrey* was borne: So was *Brennus* mentioned by *Lin.*; *Belinus*, (if he be *Belgus*) by *Iustine*; *Casibela* by *Cesar*; *Cunobelin* by *Suetonius*; *Arviragus* by *Marial*; *Lucius* by *Eusebius*; *Coel*, *Constantius*, *Carausius*, and others by *Eutropius*, and *Paulus* *Diaconus*; and *Helena* by *Nicephorus*, *Ambrose*, and *Socrates*. These are the affirmatives that giue countenance to the *Archdeacon* of *Monmouths* translation, and credit to *Brutes* conquests and successours; yea and *John* *Harding* his *Herauld*, in his home-spun poetry, can easily emblaze his armes to be *Gules*, charged with two lions rampant endorsed *Ore*; and the same to be borne by the Kings of *Troy*. And his banner displayed at his entrance is said to be *Vert* a *Diana* of gold fitch, crowned, and enthroned, the same that *Aeneas* bare, when he entered the land of the *Latines*. But the censures of these relations I leaue to the best liking of iudicious Readers, only wishing them to be vnlike the inhabitants vnder the rocks of the *Cataracts* of *Nilus*, whereof *Cicero* and *Amianus* make mention, who were made deafe by the continuall noise of the fall of *Nilus*: left by the found and loud voices of these writers, the exceptions of others can not be heard, which from the fullness of their penes I will likewise declare, without offence, I hope, vnto any.

(14) First (with a reuerend reuerentiation had to the sacred histories) *Varro* the most learned *Latine* writer, diuiding times motions into three feuerall parts, that is, from the creation to the *flood*, which he termeth altogether vncertaine: from the *flood* to the first *Olympiad* (by *Berosus* computation set in the yeere of the world 3154. and thirty one of the raigne of *Tos*, king of *Indah*: seven hundred seventy and four yeeres before the birth of our *Sauour*) he calleth *fabulous*: and the last age from the first *Olympiad* to himselfe he nameth *historical*. Now the story of *Brute* beginning two hundred sixty yeeres before the first *Olympiad*, falleth in the time wherein nothing els is related, either of the *Greeks* or *Latines*, the only learned writers; but fables and tales, as both himselfe and others haue told vs, much more then, among the barbarous, vnlettered, and vniuersall nations, as all these parts of the world then were.

(15) Whereupon *Gildas* our ancientest home-borne writer, (cited and in whole sentences followed by venerable *Beda*, who termeth him the *Britains* *historiographer*) in this of *Brute* is silent, and in his lamentable passions neuer dreames of him, but as one ouerwhelmed with griefe bewaileth the wickednesse of the time wherein he liued, who was borne, as himselfe saith, in the forty fourth yeere after the *Saxons* first entrance, about the yeere of *Christs* incarnation 493. and died, as *Bale* cieth out of *Polydore*, the yeere of our redemption 580. *Ninius* also another ancient writer, who liued about eight hundred yeeres since, taking in hand the *Chronicles* of the *Britains*, complaineth that their great Masters and doctours could giue him no assistance, being ignorant of skill, and had left no memoriall of things passed, nor committed their acts vnto writing, whereby hee was enforced to gather what he had gotten from the *annals* and *Chronicles* of the holy fathers. *Beda* likewise, whose history ended in anno 733, beginneth no sooner then with *Julius Caesar* entrance; notwithstanding he had the assistance of the *Abbat Albinus*, who was brought vp vnder *Theodoros* *Archbishop* of *Canterbury*, and had begun the history of this land with most diligent search from the records of the kingdom of *Kent*, and the provinces adjoining; as also being further assisted by *Daniel* *Bishop* of the *West-Saxons*, who sent him all the records that were to be found of the same *Bishoprick*, *South-Saxons*, and the *isle of Wight*. The like helpe had he from *Abbat Effius*, for the country of *East-Angles*; from *Cymbertus* and the brethren of *Lestinge* for the province of *Mercia*, and *East-Saxons*. And from the brethren of *Lindisfarne*, for the country of *Northumberland*; besides his owne paines in collections, knowledge and experience: all which he did digest and historically compile, and before the publication thereof sent it to king *Ceolulph* at that time reigning in *Northumberland*, to be approved or corrected by his most learned skill: yet in none of these found he that history of *Brute* nor his successours, which as some would haue it, was then vnknown in the world.

(16) After him *Elward*, as *William* of *Malmesbury* calleth him, or rather (as he writeth himselfe) *Patricius* *Consul* *fabius* *Quosfor* *Ethelwerdus*, a diligent searcher of antiquities, a reuerend person, and of the blood roiall, wrote four books, briefly comprising the whole history of *England*, from the beginning of the world vnto the time of king *Edgar* wherein he liued; of *Brute* nor his *Britains* speaketh a word; but passeth with silence to the *Romans* and *Saxons*. What need I to cite *Ingulphus*, who died anno 1109. *Florentius* of *Worcester*, that flourished in the daies of King *Henry* the first, or *William* of *Malmesbury*, that wrote vnto the end of his raigne; all of them writers before *Geoffrey* of *Monmouth*, but none of them mentioning this story of *Brute*. This moued *William* of *Newburgh*, borne (as himselfe saith) in the beginning of King *Stephens* raige, & liuing at one and the same time with this *Archdeacon* of *Monmouth*, too too bitterly to inueigh against him and his history, euen to soone as the same came forth: as in the proeme of his booke is to be

Varro.

Times motions
diuided into
three parts.
Berosus.

The third only
historical.

The story of
Brute fabulous.

Gildas.

Beda *bist.* *Angl.*
lib. 5. cap. 22.
Gildas saith
no mention of
Brute.

Bale out of
Ninius also saith
nothing of him.

Beda *bist.* *Angl.*
lib. 5. cap. 22.
Beda beginneth
but at *Julius*
Cesar.
Beda had the
help of the *Ab-*
bat *Albinus*.

Of *Daniel* *Bi-*
shop of *West-*
Saxons.

Of *Abbat* *Effius*.

Of *Cymbertus*
and brethren of
Lestinge.
Of the brethren
of *Lindisfarne*.

The history of
Brute not to be
found in *Beda*
his time.
Elward.

Elward speaketh
nothing of
Brute.
Ingulphus,
Florentius of
Worcester.

William of
Malmesbury.
All these writers
before *Geoffrey*
and yet none
mention *Brute*
but he.

William of New
boroughs Chron-
icle mentioning
against Willy-
am Arthur.

Merlines wizard.

A device to put
by this William
of Newburghs
accusation.

Descript. Camb.
cap. 7.
He flourished in
anno 1210.
Caradoc Cam-
bernis callith
Pru shifflith the
fabulous story of
Isephus.

The discourse of
the vintners
written by John
Weathamstead.
A census had no
fame whole
per per name
was Syluius.

A ridiculous
thing to vint-
per gentility.

Wifedome the
true nobility.

Seneca Epist. 44.

Merlines books
inhibited.

An Ad inhibi-
tion fantastical
preditions.

Malo edubies
tithony of
Arthur.

be seen. And that the words are his and not our own, take them from him as they lie. In these our daies (saith he) there is a certain writer risen up, devising fictions and tales of the Brittaines out of the vaine humors of his owne braine, extolling them far above the valorous Macedonians, or worthy Romans; his name is Geoffrey, and may well assume the surname Arthur, whose tales he hath taken out of the old fables of the Brittaines, and by his owne invention augmented with many untruths, foiling them over with a new colour of the Latine tongue, and hath inuaded them into the body of an history. Adventuring further to divulge under the name of autentick prophecies, deceitfull coniectures and foredoomings of one Merlin (a Wizard), whereunto also he addeth a great deale of his owne. And againe: In his booke which he hath intituled the Brittaines History, how shamefully, and with a bold countenance he doth lie, there is no man that readeth therein can doubt, unless he hath no knowledge at all in ancient true histories; for having not learned the truth of things indeed, he admitteth without discretion and iudgement, the vanitie and untruths of fables. I forbear to speake (saith he) what great matters this fellow hath forged of the Brittaines acts before the Empire and coming in of Cæsar. Thus saith Parus.

But I know the answer to this so great an accusation: namely, that this William making suit vnto David ap Owen Gwyneth, Prince of North-wales, for the Bishopricke of Saint Asaphs, after the death of Geoffrey, and thereof failing, fully scandalized and impudently belied that most reuerend man. Which surely had been a great fault, and might of vs be beleueed, had not others of the same rank and time, verified afmuch.

(17) For Syluester Giraldus, commonly called Cambrensis, that flourished in the same time with the said author, made no doubt to terme it *The fabulous story of Geoffrey*. The like is verified by John Weathamstead Abbat of Saint Albanes, a most iudicious man that wrote in anno 1440. who in his *Germanie* giueth sentence of this history as followeth. *The whole discourse of Brutus* (saith he) *is rather poeticall, then historicall, and for diuers reasons is built more vpon opinion then truth, first because there is no mention thereof made in the Romanes story, either of his killing his father, or of the said birth, or yet of banishing the sonne. Secondly, for that Akenius began no such sonne who had for his proper name Syluius by any approved Author: for according to them, he began only one sonne, and his name was Iulius, from whom the family of the Iulii took their beginning. And thirdly, Syluius Posthumus, whom perhaps Geoffrey meaneth; was the sonne of Aeneas by his wife Iunonia, and he begetting his sonne Aeneas in the thirty eighth year of his reigne ended his life by cause of naturall death. The kingdom therefore now called England, was not heretofore, as many will haue, named Britaine of Brutus the sonne of Syluius. Wherefore it is a vaine opinion and ridiculous to challenge noble blood, and yet to want a probable ground of the challenge: for it is manhood only, that enobleth a nation; and it is the mind also with perfect understanding, and nothing els, that gaineth gentility to a man. And therefore Seneca writeth in his Epistles to Plato, that there is no King but he came from vassals, and no vassall but he came from Kings. Wherefore to conclude, let this suffice (saith he) that the Brittaines from the beginning of their nobility haue been courageous and valiant in fight, that they haue subdued their enemies on every side, and that they utterly refuse the yoke of seruitude.*

(18) Now that William of Newborough, had sufficient cause (say some) to exclaime against the fantasies of Merlin, and the fictions of Arthur, is made manifest in the sequel, not only by the decree of that obtruded Council of Trent, wherein was inhibited the publication of *Merlines books*; but also (in effect) by the statute enacted the fifth yeere of our last deceased Queene Elizabeth of blessed and immortal memorie, wherein is forbidden such fantastical preditions, vpon occasions of *Armes, Fields, Beasts, Badges, Cognizances, or Signets*, such as *Merline* stood most vpon; and likewise William of Malmsbury saith that Arthur being the only proppe that vpheld his country, de-

serued rather to be aduanced by truth, then abused with fables wherewith that story is most plentifully stored. And also, that *Weathamstead* had reason to account *Brutes* acts and conquests to be rather poeticall then any waies warranted by the records of truth, appeareth by the silence of the *Romane* writers therein, who name neither *Brute* nor his father in the genealogie of the *Latine* Kings; and if any such were, (saith the contradictors) how could they be ignorant of the vintime death of their king, slaine by the hand of his naturall (though in this act vnaturall) sonne? or what should moue them, being so lauish in their own commendations, to be thus silent in their *Brutes* worthinesse, that with seuen thousand dispersed *Troians* warred so victoriously in *Gallia*, conquered a kingdom of *Giants*; subdued a most famous *Iland*, raigned gloriously, and left the same to his posterity; none of them, either in prose or poetry once handled, but left to deltiny to be preferred by a long ensuing meanes, or to perish in obliuion for euer? And surely this moued the whole Senate of great Clerks to giue sentence, that neuer any such *Brute* raigned in the world; such as were *Boccace*, *Vines*, *Hadrian Iunius*, *Polydore*, *Buchanan*, *Vignier*, *Genebrard*, *Molinus*, *Bodine*, and others.

(19) Yea, and there are some *Criticks* that faue would take aduantage from the defenders of *Brutes* history themselves, as from *Sir John Prys*, that produceth many vncertaine examples of the original of other nations; which granted, (say they) doth no waies confirme the truth or certainty of our owne; neither is it any honour to deriue these *Brittaines* from the summe of such conquered people as the *Troians* were. *Humphrey Lhuyd* likewise denying absolutely the deriuation of the *Brittaines* name from *Brute*, and bringing it from two compounded words, (as we haue said) doth thereby weaken the credit of his conquest of this *Iland* to their vnderstanding, as also the catalogue of his successors, which are said to raigne successiuelly for many hundred of yeeres after him. And another indolent *Britissh* writer, hauing the helpe of two most ancient *Britissh* copies, the collections of *Caradock of Carnaruan*, their owne *Bardies* euerly third-yeeres visitation, and twenty seuen authors of good account, (all of them cited in the preface of his *Chronicle*) besides his helps had in the offices of records for this realme; yet ascending no higher then to the person of *Cadwalader*, Prince of Wales, whose reign was in the yeere of *Christs* incarnation 682. and no lesse then one thousand seuen hundred twenty and sixe yeeres, after that *Brute* is said to come into this *Iland*, doth not warrant (say they) the story that is included betwixt, but rather euen the same is entangled with many doubtfull vncertainties, and so left disputable by the said compiler himselfe; as namely whether that this *Cadwalader* whom the *Brittaines* claime to be their king, be not the same *Cheuwald* whom the *Saxons* would haue theirs; both liuing at one time, both in acts alike, and names neere, both abandoning their kingdomes, both taking the habit of religion, both dying in Rome, both buried in one Church, nay, say they, in one Sepulchre. The like he bringeth of the *Brittaines* tuor, and the *Saxons* one, in the like coherences of names, acts, deuotions, and deaths: so that this history of *Brute* carieth not so smooth a current for passage as is wished, nor is that *Gordons* knot so easily vnloosed.

Againe, the Reformer of the *Britissh* history himselfe, although he hath written one whole chapter in defence of *Geoffrey Monmouth*, and frainteth to make his booke authentickall, complaining often and accusing learned and vnpartiall *Cambden* seuerall times, for blowing away sixty of the *Britaine* Kings with one blast: yet when he compareth the generations with the time, is forced thus to write: *From Porrex to Mynogen are twenty one Kings in a lineall descent, and but yeers ninety two: now diuide 92. by 21. and you shall finde, that children beget children, and these (saith he) by George Owen Harry in his booke of pedegrees dedicated to his Maiesesty appeareth to be in a lineall descent, besides three or foure*

Brute nor menti-
oned in the ge-
nealogie of the
Latine Kings.

Neuer any such
king in the
world as Brute,
Boccace, Vines,
Hadrianus Iunius,
Polydore, Buchanan,
Vignier, Genebrard,
Molinus, Bodine, and others.

No honor to the
Britains to be de-
rived from the
Troians.

The Brittaines
histories weak-
ned by them-
selves.

D. Powell begin-
neth his history
of Wales but at
Cadwalader.

Cadwalader story
also doubtfull.

Ran Chiff.

Rob. Fabian.

John Lewis.

Maister Cambden
accused by the
defender of Mon-
mouth.

A further dis-
proofe of Brutes
history.

And yet he should
haue said,
Rabbi Isaac,
Aug. de ciuit. Dei,
lib. 10. cap. 43.
Hierome.

The Authours
owne opinion of
Brutes history.

Brutes conquest
in the eighteenth
of Heli his priest-
hood.

1. Sam. 4. 18.

Heli his priest-
hood in anno
mundi 2887.

Baruch 6. 2.
Joseph contra
Apion, lib. 1.

Herodotus in
Euterpe.

Judge. 8. 28.
Clement Alexand.
Stromat. 1.

Menelaus return-
ed from Troy
when Hiram
gaue his daughter
in marriage to
Salomon.

2. King. 11. 3.
Brutes his con-
quest rather in
Altaba her time.
Joseph. cont. Ap-
pion, lib. 1. & 2.

Phoenician re-
cords.
Carthage built
after King Hi-
ram raigned
155 yeeres.

Virg. Aeneidis
lib. 2.

Tacitus annal. lib.
16. cap. 1.

four collateral. And yet goeth further: *I thought the Scripture* (saith he) *allege Iudah, Hezron, Salomon, and Ezekiah, to be but young when they began their Kingdomes, which (as Rabbi Isaac saith) might be at thirteene yeeres of age: And although Saint Augustine say, that the strength of youth may beget children young; and Hierome bringeth in instance of a boy that at ten yeeres of age begot a child: yet this doth not helpe to excuse the mistaking of yeeres for the Iohn Kings above mentioned.*

Thus far *John Lewis*: and for the exceptions made against *Brute*: wherein I haue altogether vied the words of others, and will now (without offense, I hope) adde a supposall of mine owne, seeing I am fallen into the computation of times, which is the onely touch-stone to the truth of histories, especially such as are limited by the bounds of the sacred Scriptures, as this for *Brutes* entrance is. And that the same cannot bee so ancient (supposing it were neuer so certaine) as the vulgar opinion hitherto hath held, the circumstance of time, to my seeming, sufficiently doth proue.

(20) For *Brutes* conquest and entrance are brought by his Authour to fall in the eighteenth yeere of *Heli* his Priesthood in the Land of *Israel*, and so is fastned into a computation that cannot erre. Now the eighteenth yeere of *Helies* government, by the holy Scriptures most sure account, is set in the yeere of the worlds creation 2887. after the vnterfall flood 1231. and before the birth of our blessed Saviour 1059. yeeres. *Brute* then liuing in this forced time, was foure descents from the conquered *Troians*, (as he of *Monmouth* hath laid downe) which were *Aeneas*, *Ascanius*, *Syluius*, and himselfe: so that by these generations successiue in order, the very yeere almost of *Troies* destruction may certainly be pointed out and known: which in searching hath beene found so doubtful, that by some it hath beene thought to be a meere fable. Yet with more reuerence to antiquitie obserued, let vs cast and compare the continuance of these foure generations vnto *Brutes* Conquest, not thorning them with *Baruch*, to be but ten yeeres to an age; neither lengthning them with *Iosephus*, who accounteth one hundred and seuentie yeeres for a generation: but with more indifference let vs with *Herodotus*, who wrote neerer these times, allow thirty yeeres for a succession, as hee accounteth in his second booke. Now foure times thirty make one hundred and twenty, the number of yeeres that these foure Princes successiuelly did liue: by which computation likewise measured by Scripture, the ruination of *Troy* fell in the thirtieth eighth yeere of *Gideons* government in *Israel*, and was the yeere after the worlds creation 2768. But the authoritie of *Clement Alexandrinus*, alleged out of *Menander*, *Pergamenus*, and *Letus*, doth teach that time of *Troies* destruction, and placeth it fully two hundred and thirtie yeeres after, euen in the raigne of King *Salomon*: for in his first booke *Stromat. 1* thus he writeth: *Menelaus from the overthrow of Troy came into Phœnicia, at that time when Hiram King of Tyrus gaue his daughter in marriage vnto Salomon King of Israel. Where, by him welce, that Troies ruines and Salomons raigne fell both vpon one time. And so Brute hath lost of his antiquity, by this account, 230. yeeres; and entred not in Helies Priesthood, but rather in the vlturpation of Iudahs Kingdom by Athalia, and in the yeere of the world 3118.*

(21) To whom let vs ioine *Iosephus*, an Authour of great credit, and without suspition in this case, who in his Nations defense against *Apion*, in both his bookes, confidently affirmeth himselfe able to proue by the *Phœnician* Records of warrantable credit, that the City *Carthage* was built by *Dido*, sister to *Pigmalion*, one hundred fiftie and five yeeres after the raigne of King *Hiram*, which was *Salomons* friend, and one hundred forty three yeeres and eight months after the building of his most beautifull Temple. Now wee know by *Virgil*, from whom all these glorious tales of *Troy* are told, that *Carthage* was in building by the same *Dido* at such time as *Aeneas* came from *Troies* ouerthrow, through the Seas of his manifold aduentures. If this testimo-

nie of *Iosephus* be true, then falls *Troies* destruction about the twentieth yeere of *Iouis* raigne ouer *Iudah*, which was the yeere of the worlds creation 3143. wherunto if we adde one hundred and twenty yeeres for the foure descents before specified, then will *Brutes* conquest of this *Iland* fall with the twelfth of *Iothams* raigne in the Kingdom of *Iudah*, which meets with the yeere of the worlds continuance 3263. And so hath he againe lost of his antiquity no lesse then 375. yeeres.

(22) And yet to make a deeper breach into *Brutes* storie, and to set the time, in a point so vncertaine, as from which neither circle nor line can be true drawn; *Manethon the Historian Priest of Egypt*, in his second booke cited by *Iosephus*, affirmeth that the *Israelites* departure from *Egypt* was almost a thousand yeeres before the warres of *Troy*. If this be so (as it seemeth *Iosephus* alloweth it so) and one hundred and twenty yeeres more added, for the foure descents above mentioned, the number will fall about the yeere of the worlds creation 3630. long after the death of *Alexander the Great*, and *Greeke Monarch*. By which account the great supposed antiquity of *Brute*, is now lessened by seuen hundred fiftie and two yeeres; and the time so fantelized betwixt his and *Cæsar*s entrance, that two hundred forty six yeeres only remaine: a time by much too short for seuentie two Princes, which successiuelly are said to raigne each after others, and from *Brute* to *Cæsar* recorded to haue swaied the regall Scepter of this *Iland*.

(23) But vnto these obiections I know the answer will be ready; namely, the diuersities of Scriptures account, being so fundrie and different, that the storie of *Brute* cannot thereby bee touched, but still standeth firme vpon it selfe. Indeed I must confesse, that from the first Creation, to the yeere of mans Redemption, the learned *Hebrewes*, *Greekes*, and *Latines*, differ much, and that not only each from others, but euen among themselves so farre, that there can be no indifferent reconciliation made, as by these seuerall computations may be seene, as followeth:

Hebrewes:	Baal Seder-Holem	3518.
	Talmudistes	3784.
	New Rabbins	3760.
	Rabbi Nahfson	3740.
	Rabbi Leni	3786.
Greekes:	Rabbi Moses Germidif	4058.
	Iosephus	4192.
	Metheodorus	5000.
	Eusebius	5190.
	Theophilus Antioch	5476.
Latines:	Saint Hierome	3941.
	Saint Augustine	3931.
	Isidore	5210.
	Orosius	5190.
	Beda	3952.
	Alphonfus	5984.

And yet do these disagreements helpe little the Obiectors if this be considered, that the maine foundation of these diuersities consisteth chiefly in the first world before the Flood, wherein it is manifest, that the reputed *Septuagint* addeth to the *Hebrew* Originall five hundred eighty and six yeeres. And from the Flood to *Abrahams* birth, is accounted two hundred and five yeeres more then *Moses* hath. As likewise the like is done in the latter times: for from the Captiuitie of *Babylon* to the death of *Christ*, one hundred thirty and seuen yeeres are added, more then the Sunnes course hath measured: so that it seemeth the differences were not great for the times of *Heli*, *Salomon*, nor *Iudahs* Kings, in whose raignes *Brute* is brought to people and possesse this *Iland*. But leauing these diuersities, and to come to a certaine, let vs calculate the yeeres of the holy historie according as *Functius*, *Beroaldus*, and sundry other Theologicall Chronologers

Brutes conquest
rather in Iotham
his time.
2. King. 15. 34.

Manethon cited
by Ioseph. cont.
Apion. lib. 1.
Israelites depart
from Egypt 1000.
yeeres before the
warres of Troy by
Iosephus account.
Ioseph. cont. Apion.
lib. 1.
Brutes conquest
rather after Alex-
ander the Great.

Two hundred
forty six yeeres
a time too short for
the raigne of se-
uentie two Kings.

A supposed an-
swer.

The great diffe-
rences in com-
putation of yeeres
among Writers.

These differen-
ces were chiefly
before the Flood.
Septuagint.

Ioseph. Antiquit.
lib. 1. cap. 7.

Functius.
Beroaldus.

The accounting of yeeres by the Scripture is a most fane manner of computation.

From the creation to the Flood 1656.

From the flood to the ficutie fifth of Abraham life 427.

Joshua 24.2.

From the promise to Abraham, till the Law, 430.

Galath. 3. 17.

From the Law, to Salomon Temple, 480.

1. King. 6. 1.

From the foundation of the Temple, to Salomon death, 36 yeeres.

1. King. 11. 42.

From Salomon death, to the burning of the Temple, 390 yeeres.

2. King. 25. 8.

Ezra. 4. v. 2. & 5.

From the burning of the Temple, to the end of Judah captivitie, 91 yeeres.

Jer. 25. 11.

14. 45. 1.

2. Chron. 36. 21. 22. 23.

Ezra 1. 1. 2.

From the first yeere of Cyrus, vnto the death of Christ, 490 yeeres.

Dan. 9. 24.

notlogers haue done; who from the Scriptures most fure account, fo tie the ftoies of times together, that like to a golden chaine, the links are faftned each to other, and the whole fo compleat, that a yeere is not mising from the fall of man, vnto the full time of his redemption.

(24) First then from the Creation to the Flood are reckoned yeeres 1656. gathered by a triple account, from the ages, begettings, and deaths of the fathers. The like is thence obserued for foure hundred twentie and feuen yeeres, that is, to the ficutie fifth of Abraham life, wherein God began to tie the times accounts in holier fummets: for Terah, the first recorded Idolater, was the last in honour that had the Sunnes course measured by mans life. And now the bounds of time tie the Promise to Abraham, to bee before the Law foure hundred and thirty yeeres, as the Apostle to the Galatians affirmeth. From the Law to the building of Salomons Temple, and that in the fourth yeere of his raigne, were yeeres foure hundred and eightie: and from that foundation, to his death, were thirtie six yeeres: for his whole raigne was fortie. From his death and Kingdomes diuifion, vnto the burning of that Temple, which was executed in the nineteenth of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babel, were yeeres three hundred and ninetie, as by the daies of Ezekiels siege and sleepe appeareth in the second and fifth verses of his fourth Chapter. From the burning of the Temple, to the end of Judah captivitie, were yeeres fiftie and one, for the whole time of Babels bondage contained feuentie yeeres, as Jeremy 25. 11. whereof nineteene were expired; and fifty one remaining vnto the first yeere of Cyrus their deliuerer, whom the Lord in that regard calleth his anointed 1. say. 45. 1. In the first yeere of whose Monarchie he published an Edict for the returne of the Iewes and new building of their Temple, as in the books of Chronicles and of Ezra is seene. And from this first yeere and proclamation of King Cyrus, vnto the last yeere and death of Christ our Saviour the great yeere of Iubilee, the acceptable time, wherein he trod the winepresse alone; to the finishing of the ceremonies, the taking away of sinne, the reconciling of iniquitie, the bringing in of everlasting righteousness, to the sealing vp of vision and propheticke, and to the appointing of the most holy; were yeeres foure hundred and ninety, as the Prophet Daniel from the Angel Gabriel receiued, and vnto vs hath deliuered Dan. 9. 24. all which added together make the number to be three thousand nine hundred and threescore yeeres. And by this said computation, I haue accounted Brites story, as all others wherein I shall bee occasioned to speake.

(25) Lastly, if from among these misty cloudes of ignorance no light can be gotten, and that we will needs haue our descents from the Troians; may we not then more truly deriue our blood from them through the Romanes, who for the space of foure hundred threescore and six yeeres were planted amongst vs? in which continuance it is most certaine, they tooke of our women to be their wiues, and gaue their women to be wiues vnto vs, seeing that some of their Emperors did the like themselves, and from whose blood, faith Beda, the Britaines Ambrosius lineally descended. And if beauty and parts be the instigators vnto loue, as in the first world wee see it was, no doubt then the features of the Britains were mouing Angels vnto the Romanes, whose faces euen in those times were accounted to be angelicall, and whole personages as yet, are respected as the best (if not better) then any other in the world. But that the Romanes themselves descended from the Troians, or Aeneas should be the roote of the Julian family, how fouler the fictions of Poets as a spring tide haue flowed from the fulnesse of their penne, yet Tacitus their best writer accounteth those things not far vnlike to old fables, wherein he iudgeth that Nero to win credit before the Consuls, and to get reputation in the glory of eloquence vnderooke the pleading of the Iliens cause, declaring the Romanes descent from Troy: and the Iulij from the loines of Aeneas, which notwithstanding he censurcth as a fable. And Iosephus in the dispersion of Noahs sonnes and families, affirmeth that Romus was the Originall of the old Romanes and he of Chus and Cham, if he meane as he speaketh. To conclude; (by what destiny I know not) nations desire their originals from the Troians; yet certaine it is, that no honor from them can be brought, whose city and fame stood but for fix descents, as vnder the raignes of Dardanus, Erichonius, Troos, Iliou, Laomedon, and Priamus, during which time they were thrice vanquished; twice by Hercules in the daies of Laomedon, and the third time raled by the rage of the Grecians in the raigne of King Priamus, and the Troians themselves made as it were the scum of a conquered people. And therefore as France hath cast off their Franco King Priamus his sonne, Scotland their Scotia King Pharaos daughter, Denmarke their Danus, Ireland their Hiberus, and other Countries their Demi-gods; so let BRITAINES likewise with them disclaime their BRUTE, that bringeth no honour to fo renowned a Nation, but rather cloudeth their glorie in the murders of his parents, and imbateth their descents, as sprung from Venus that lasciuious Adulteresse.

Britaines may more truly deriue their descent from Troy by the Romanes. Britaine tooke the wiues of the Romanes, and they of the Britaines. Beda hist. Anglie. lib. 1. cap. 16. Gen. 6. 1.

Romanes to bee descended of the Troians is a fable. Tacit. ann. 12. 1.

Ioseph. 1. 7. Romus the originall of the old Romanes.

To haue a descent from Troy, cannot be an honour to any Nation. Troians thrice vanquished.

Brute embateth the descent of the Britaines.

Herodian.

Pliny also addeth another ornament, and faith that the Britaine wored on their middle finger.

The Brittaines would not be clad, because they would shew the gay paintings of their bodies.

Plinius. Oribasius calleth that herb, Pistrum; and the Britains call that colour, glasse; whence our English word glasse, (called also Pistrum in Latin) may seem to be taken, by reason of the colour thereof.

Plinius. Some Britaine clad in leather. Solinus.

Tertullian. Britannorum signata.

Marcial.

Maister Cambden.

Picts of the British race.

Called Picti by the Romans, that is, the painted people.

Cesar. com.

Maximianus.

Tacitus in vit. Agricola.

Caledonians the Northern People. Solinus the Westerne.

Tacitus.

Strabo.

Xiphilinus. Martialis. Eutropius.

Plutarch.

They liued to a great age.

Diodorus Siculus.

Strabo.

ueth a doubt. They died their bodies (faith he) with woad; but whether to make a gallant shew, or for what other cause else is vncertaine. And yet Herodian here in absolutely determineth, where hee faith, that the Brittaines knew no vse of garments at all, but about their waistes and neckes wore chaimes of iron; supposing them a goodly ornament, and a prooffe of their wealth: and their bare bodies they marked with sundry pictures representing all manner of liuing creatures, and therefore they would not be clad, for hiding the gay paintings of their bodies: To which painting Pliny also agreeth, and describeth that hearbe woad; to bee like to the Plantaine in Gallia, naming it Glastrum, with the iuice whereof (faith he) the women of Britaine, as well wiues as young women, anoint and die their bodies all ouer, resembling by that tincture the colour of the Ethiopians, in which manner they vie at solleenne feasts and sacrifices to goe all naked. And Dio Nicæus out of the epitome of Xiphilinus, faith, that the custome of that Nation was, to abide in tents all naked and vnshod. Notwithstanding, Cesar doth elsewhere report, that they clad themselves in leather, which perchance is meant of the cuillier sort of them, and in time of battle. Solinus likewise speaking of the Brittaines, faith, their Country is peopled partly with Barbarians, who by meanes of artificiall incisions of sundry formes, haue from their childhood diuers shapes of beards incorporate vpon them; and hauing their markes deeply imprinted within their bodies, looke how their growth for stature; so doe these pictured characters likewise increase. Neither do these sauage Nations repute any thing a greater testimonie of their patience, then by such durable skarres to caule their limmes drinke in much painting and colour. These skarres by Tertullian are termed Britannorum signata, The Brittaines markes. And vnto this skie-colour, or blewish dyings, it seemeth Marcial had relation in his praises of Lady Claudia:

Claudia ceruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis,
Edita cur Latie pectora plebis habet?
Sith Claudia comes of Aurdre Britaines race,
Whence comes her minde fo deckt with Roman grace?
And of this vse of painting, as our great Antiquarie iudgeth, both the Brittaines had their primitive deriuation, and the Picts (a branch of British race) a long time after, for that their accustomed manner, were called Picti by the Romanes, that is, the painted people.

(3) The haire of their heads, faith Cesar, they let grow, and wore long, which naturally was curled, and of colour yellow, (as in the Panegyricke Oration ascribed to Maximianus, and spoken in praise of Maximianus, is to be seene) all other parts of their bodies being shauen, fauing only the head and vpper lippe. Yet their complexions were much different, as by Tacitus wee see, who auoucheth that some of those Ilanders were red of haire, as the Caledonians in the Northern Promontories; the haire of the Silures coloured and curled, like to the old Spaniards; and those nearest vnto Gallia resembled their complexions, though not altogether so yellow, faith Strabo. But their wit by Tacitus is preferred before them, and their statures more talk as Strabo affirmeth, whose lineaments shewed a good making of body, and measurable proportion in all parts answerable. Their women faire, and of exceeding good features, as is described by the Romane Writers. Such was Bonduca, faith Xiphilinus; Claudia and Helena, faith Martialis and Eutropius.

(4) That the strength of nature wrought long in the Brittaines, we read out of Plutarch, who reporteth that the people liued one hundred and twenty yeeres, for that, faith he, their cold and frozen Country kept in their naturall heat: whose conditions by Diodorus Siculus are commended to be plaine and vpright, farre from the wilnesse and craft of the Romanes. And by Strabo their dispositions are partly resembled to the Gauls, but yet somewhat more rude and plaine; and those most ciuill, who were the inhabitants of Kent, by reason of their oftner conuersing with other Nat-

ons, as Cesar sheweth. But the farther from the continent, the more rude, and lesse acquainted with other kind of riches besides cattell, as Pomponius Mela affirmeth.

(5) Now touching their domestick matters. Their buildings were many, and like to them of the Gauls, faith Iulius Cesar; notwithstanding they giue the name of Ternes to certain comberse woods, which they haue fortified with rampires and ditches, whither they retreat, and resort to escape the inuasions of their enemies. Which stand them in good stead, faith Strabo: for when they haue by felling of trees, mounted, and fenced therewith a spacious round plot of ground; there they build for themselves houses and cottages, and for their cattell fet vp stalls and folds, but those for the present vie onely; and not for long continuance. Which as Diodorus Siculus faith were usually thacked with reeds; but the cities without walls, and the country without townes, as Dion describeth the Calidoniens and Maets.

(6) Their wines were ten or twelue a peece, as Cesar hath alledged, which they held common among brothers and parents, yet the issue reputed his, who first married the mother when she was a maide: and Dio indeed affirmeth no less, adding withall, that the children thus begotten, were fostered and brought vp in common among them. And Eusebius likewise testifieth, that many Brittaines together kept one wife in common to them all. This community in marriage moued Iulia the Emperesse of Senerus, to twite the wife of Argetaceus, that the fashion of the women of Britaine in accompanying with men, was very impudent; to whom the replied and said, we Britissh women do indeed herein differ from your Roman Ladies; for wee satisfie our appetite, by accompanying with the worthiest men, and that openly, but you with euery base fellow, in a corner.

(7) For their diet; it was a heinous matter with them to eat either Hen, Hare, or Goose, faith Cesar, which notwithstanding they bred for their pleasures; neither fed daintily at full and rich tables, as Diodorus Siculus affirmeth, but rather in necessity could liue vpon barkes and roots of trees, and with a kind of meat no bigger then a beane, after which for a good time they did neither hunger nor thirst, faith Dio Nicæus: who likewise testifieth that the Brittaines, did till no ground, neither eat fish, though their riuers thereof be plencouly stored, but liue vpon prey, venison, and fruits: to which also Cesar addeth milke, whereof (faith Strabo), they had not then skill to make cheefe. And according to Solinus, their vsual drinke was made of barley. But for tillage Pliny seemeth to contradict Dio, affirming that the Brittaines manured their grounds with Marle in stead of dung, which argueth no such simplicity in gardening, planting, and in other like points of husbandry as Strabo doth take them with. And this foresaid temperance of diet differeth much from that, which Saint Hierome chargeth their neighbors the Anthropophagi of Ireland, who vied to feed on the buttocks of boies, and womens paps, as their most dainty and delicate dish.

(8) For their religion, or rather diabolical superstition, was as the rest of the world, (some few excepted) when Satan had clouded the truth of Gods doctrine, by the foggy mists of confused darknesse. For Tacitus makes their superstitious, and ceremonies to be the same in conformity with the Gauls. And what that was, Dio Cassius in his Nero, and Solinus in his history, doe declare; who doe ascribe to them the most inhumane offering of mans flesh in their sacrifices. And besides their ancient Idols, such as Dis, Iupiter, Apollo, Diana, and the like, they worshipped Andates for their Goddesse of Victory, vnto all which they performed no small adornings and honors, imputing their prosperities vnto them: vnto whom also they erected temples with such magnificence as they then had; whose walles, as it seemeth, long after remained, whereon some of those prophane portraiture with deformed lineaments were seene by mournfull Ch-

Of their domestick matters. The Brittaines towns are their walled cities, faith Strabo.

Diodorus Siculus.

Dion.

The Britains multiplicity of wives.

Cesar.

Eusebius Praes. preparat. 6.

Iulia her reproofe to a British woman.

The answer.

Dion. Cas. lib. 76.

The Britains diet. Prohibited meats.

Cesar.

Diodorus Siculus.

The Brittaines of a very sparse diet.

Dio Nicæus.

They eat no fish.

Cesar.

Vassilfull to make cheefe.

Strabo.

Their drinke of barley.

Solinus.

Plinius.

Strabo.

Hieronymus aduersus Iovinianum lib. 3.

Of their religion and learning.

Dio Cassius.

Solinus.

The Brittaines inhumane sacrifices.

The names of their Idols.



THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT BRITAINES.

CHAPTER IV.



not fo pleasing or acceptable as were to be wished, for

Auing thus farre spoken of the ancient Names of this famous land, and of the Nations acknowledged to be the first Planters and Possessors thereof; it remaineth that somewhat be mentioned of the Manners and Customes of those people and times, though

that the clouds of ignorance and barbarous inciuillitie did then shadow and ouer-spread almost all the Nations of the earth: wherein I desire to lay imputation no further then is sufficiently warranted by most autentick Writers: and first from Cesar, who formost of all the Romanes discovered and describ'd our ancient Brittaines.

(2) Touching their persons: All the Brittaines (faith Cesar) used to die themselves with woad, which seteth a blew colour vpon them, and that maketh them more terrible to behold in battle. But Pomponius Mela therein moueth

Of their Persons. Cf. Comment. lib. 5. where hee vith the word luteus

Gildus.

The Britains I do exceed in gifts for number.

Plinie.

Magick highly honord of the Britains.

Cesar.com.6.

The Druides determine almost all controuersies.

Excommunication of great force in the time of the ancient Britains.

Among the Druides one Primate and chiefe over the rest.

They assemble once a yeere at a place in France to treat controuersies.

Here appeareth that Academies were then amongst the Britains, and from their example deriued into other countries. They are exempted from war.

Their scholars will learne a great many verses by heart.

They vse the Greek letters in their skill should be too common.

Their Theologie is, that the foule dieth not, but

des, carrying a sterne and grim countenance, after the wonted heathenlike manner: *here we see (saith he) upon these desert walles, the ugly features of the Britains Idols, meere diabolical, and in number almost exceeding those of Egypt.* So by *Tacitus* they are noted with the common custome of the *Gentiles*, which was that they fought for the direction of their *Gods* by the looking into the entralls of *Beasts*, yea and of men too; and that they honored the Altars of their *Gods* with the sacrifice and blood of such as they tooke captiue in wars. And *Plinie* writing of *Magick*, faith, that in his daies the art thereof in *Britaine* was highly honored, and all the people thereunto so much deuoted, yea and with all such complements of ceremonies in the same to be performed, that a man would thinke the *Perfians* had learned all their *Magick* skill from them. *Priests* and instructors had they, whereof the chiefe were called *Druides*, whose office was imploied about holy things, faith *Cesar*, for they had the managing of publicke and priuate sacrifices, and to interpret and discusse matters of religion. Vnto them doe resort great numbers of young men to learne at their hands, and they be had in great reuerence. For they determine almost all controuersies, and matters in variance, as well publicke as priuate. And if there happen any thing to be done amisse, if there be any further committed, if there rise any controuersie concerning inheritance or bounds of lands, they take the matter into their power, and award either recompence or penalties in the case. And if there be any, be he priuate person, or be it corporation, that will not stand to their iudgement, they interdict him, which punishment among them is held most grieuous. They that are so excommunicated are accounted in the number of the wicked and vngracious: all men shun them, all men eschue their company and communication, left by conuening with them, they should defile themselves and recieue harme. If they demand law, they may not haue it: neither may they enioy any place of honor. Ouer all these *Druides* there is one *Primate*, which hath chiefe authority ouer them. When he is dead if there be any of the rest that excellen in worthinesse, he succedeth: or if there be any equal, he is chosen by voices of the rest, and diuers times they strue for the souerainty by force of armes.

These men at a certaine season of the yeere, in the borders of the *Carantes* (whose country is counted the middle of all *Gallia*) do sit together in a place hallowed, whereunto resort from all sides all such as haue any controuersies: and looke what is decreed and iudged by them, that they stand vnto. This order of discipline is thought to haue had beginning in *Britaine*, and from thence to haue been brought into *Gallia*. And at this day, they that are desirous to attaine this skill more exactly, do commonly repaire thither to learne it. These *Druides* customably are exempted from the wars, neither do they pay taxes and tallages with other folke: for they are priuiledged as from the warres, so from all other burthens. Allured with so great rewards, many euen of their owne accord, do register themselves in that order, and diuers are sent thither by their parents and kinsfolke. Where they are reported to learne a great number of verses by heart. Whereof it cometh to passe, that diuers continue twenty yeeres in learning. Neither do they thinke it lawfull to put them in writing, whereas in all other things, for their accounts, as well publicke as priuate, they vse the Greek letters.

This order they seeme (in mine opinion) faith he, to haue taken for two considerations: partly because they will not haue their discipline published among the common people; and partly because they will not that they which shall learne, trusting too much to their bookes, should haue the lesse regard of remembrance: in that it hapneth well nere to most men, that vpon trust of the helpe of their bookes, they are lacker in learning things by heart, and lesse care to beare them in mind. This is one of the chiefe things that they labour most to beate into mens minds, that

the *Soules* die not, but do after death passe from one to another: and hereby they thinke men should be most stirred vnto vertue, when the feare of death is nothing regarded. Also they dispurse many other things: as of the starres, and of their mouings: of the bignesse of the world, and the earth: of the nature of things: of the strength and power of the goddes immortal: and do therein instruct the youth. Vnto these *Druides* and their doctrine had *Lucan* the Poet relation in his first booke towards the end, where he writeth thus of them.

*Et vos barbaricos ritus, moremque, sinistram
Sacerorum, Druidae, postis repetitis ab armis.
Solis nosce Deos, et Cali sidera vobis
Aus solis nosce datum. Nemo a alta remotis
Incolis Lucis, vobis autoribus, umbra
Non tacitis Erebi sedes, Ditijs, profundi
Fallida regna petunt, yegit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longa, canitijs si cognita, vitæ
Mors media est. Certe populi quos despicit Arctos,
Faciès errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, hand urgent lethi metus: inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris animaj, capaces
Mortis: et ignaum est reditura perire vitæ.*

In English thus.

You (Druides) free from wars, with barbarous devices
Sinistrous rites performe, and vnconouth sacrifices.
High Mysteries of God, and Heauens, you only know;
Or only erre therein. Where shady woods doe grow;
There you repose, and teach, that *Soules* immortall be;
Nor silent Erebus, nor Plutoes Hall shall see.
And, (if your Sawes be sooth) Death is no finall dome,
But only Mid-way, betwixt life past, and life to come.
Braue Britain bloods perill: warmd with this happy error,
Death (greatest feare of feares) amastes the with no terror.
Hence it is, they manly rush on pikes, and grielly death,
And scorne base minds, that flick to fild reuening breath.

(9) These *Druides* being meere barbarous, as most of the *Western* parts of the world then were, liued priuately to themselves with scarce any commerce, or entercourse with any other nation: neither indeed were much known to forraigne people, for a long time. For the first notice of them extant, was by *Polybius* the Greek writer, that accompanied *Scipio* in his warres, about the yeere of the worlds creation 3720. and two hundred and nine, before the birth of our Saviour Christ. Which Author nameth their *Iland* to be plenteously stored with *Tynne*: but of other things therein is silent, saying that all those parts which lay betwixt *Tanaus* and *Narbor* bending Northward in his daies were vnknown and vnertaine, and therefore the reporters of them he held as dreamers. So doth *Maister Camden* another *Polybius*, & no way his inferior, account it a prodigall humor of credulity, to be perfwaded that *Himilco*, from the state of *Carthage* sent to discouer the coasts of *Europe*, in the said expedition entred this *Iland*: or that *Hannibal* should war in this *Iland*, because *Polybius* in the *Ecliques* of his tenth booke faith that he was inclosed within the streits of *Britaine*, which place is mistaken for the *Strait* in *Italy*: or that *Alexander* came from the *East* Indians, to *Gades*, and from thence into *Britaine*, though *Cedrenus* say so, seeing all other writers are against it; or that *Vlysses*, (ancient enough if he be that *Elishah* the sonne of *Iuanan*, the fourth sonne of *Israhel*) should visit *Britaine* in his trauels, whereof *Broddus* maketh doubt; though *Solinus* report that an Altar in *Caledonia* was erected, and *Vlysses* in Greeke letters thereon inscribed. Which might very well be: for who doubteth but that the *Greekes*, in their vaine deuotions, did both build and sacrifice vnto their Gods, which they made of their worst men? and fith *Vlysses*, (in regard of his farre sea-trauels) was had in speciall account among all navigators, why might not such monuments be reared, and his name inscribed, as farre as the *Greeks* trauelled, though his person neuer came there?

And if the *Romans*, at whose greatnesse the whole world trembled, were so lately known in those ancient

passeth from one to another.

Their naturall Philosophie.

Lucan.

Of their commerce and traffick.

Polybius the first that tooke notice of this land.

Polyb. lib. 3.

Camd. Britannia de maribus Britan.

Matters scarce to be beleued. That *Himilco* entred this land.Polyb. Eclique. lib. 10. That *Hannibal* should war here. That *Alexander* came hither.That *Vlysses* should visit *Britaine*.The like examples we haue now of *Cap. Henry, &c.* The *Romans* not mentioned either by *Thucydides* or *Herodotus*.

Joseph. contra Apion. lib. 1. Gaules and Spaniards for many yeeres vnknown to Historiographers.

The Britains vnknown to their next neighbors. Cesar.com. lib. 4.

Their merchandize of small vesse. Strabo.

Their shipping very meane. Ships first inuented in Britaine, is a matter to be doubted.

The ships of this land according to Cesar.

Plinie and Lucan of the ships of this land.

Cesar. The Britains coines.

The first *Romane* coynes with

ent times, as that neither *Thucydides* nor *Herodotus* made mention of them: yea and with much adoe at last were heard of by the *Greeks* themselves: as *Tophus* affirmeth; And if the *Gaules* and *Spaniards*, (inhabitants in the continent) for many yeeres together were utterly vnknown to the worlds historiographers; shall we then thinke, that this remote *Iland*, and people then far from ciuility, were noted forth with marks of more certainty? surely to my seeming, nothing lesse: seeing that their next neighbours the *Gaules* knew not so much as what manner of men they were: none resorting thither, except some few merchants, and they no further, then vpon the sea coasts, neither able to describe the bignesse of the *Iland*, the puissance of the inhabitants, their order for war, the lawes that they vied, the customes of the people, nor their hauens for the receipt of ships; all which *Cesar* by diligent inquiry sought after, but could find no satisfaction till he had sent some purpously to search it out.

(10) Neither is this their want of knowledge to be wondered at, seeing the entercourse of their traffick was vpheld by so meane commodities: for *Strabo* faith, that their merchandizing chiefly consisted in *lucry Boxes*, *Sheeres*, *Onches*, *Bits*, and *Bridles*, *Wreaths* & *Chains*, with other conceits made of *Amber* and *Glaffe*; for which notwithstanding they were compelled to pay customes and imposts vnto *Officiarij Augustus*, as elsewhere shall be shewed.

(11) And as their commodities were very meane, so were their meanes either for exportation or importation very slender in those times; I meane their shipping. It is true, that some are of opinion, that Ships were first inuented in these our Seas: but that this should be true, I haue cause to doubt, that *Art* being long before inspired by God himselfe into the heart of *Noah* for making the *Arke*, and no doubt practised by that paterne of many others. But that the ancient *Britaines* had ships of reasonable vse, though of simple Art, *Cesar* testifieth, saying, that the keeles and ribs of their ships were of light wood, and covered ouer with leather: which kinde the now-*Britaines* call *Corraghs*: and with them (saith *Polybius*) they did saile betwixt *Britannie* and *Ireland*, (which sea for roughnesse and danger may be compared with any other whatsoeuer) though the bulke of their vessels were but of some flexible wood, covered with the hides of *Buffles*: and as long as they were sailing, so long did they obtaine from meat: whereby it seemeth they neuer failed any great Iourneys. And of this their shipping *Plinie* also speaketh, and *Lucan* singeth, thus:

*Primum cana salix, madefacta vimine paruum
Texitur in puppim, celsaq; induta iuuenco,
Vexoris patiens tumidum super emicat annem:
Sic Venetus stagnante Pado, subiq; Britannus,
Nauigat Oceano.*

At first, of hoary fallowes wreathed boughs, the ships
Small bulke is trimly twilt, and clad in bullocks hide:
Then, patient to be rud, or swelling waues he ships.
Thus on the spacious Pado the Venice Merchants glide,
And Britaine Pilots saile on surge of Ocean wide.

But after-times brought the *Britaines* to more exquisite skill in nauall affaires, in such as the royall Nauie of this Kingdome hath beene reputed (and so is at this day) not only the inuincible walles of our owne, but the incredible terror of all other Kingdoms, which haue or shall enuy our happie peace: and the adventures likewise of Merchants, and the skill of our Seamen, hath left no corner of the world vnsearcht.

(12) And their traffick amongst themselves was not of much worth, in that, as *Cesar* faith, the *Coines* which they had were either of *brasse*, or else iron rings fixed at a certaine weight, which they vsed for their monies. Of which kinde some haue auerred they haue scene found and lately taken vp in little cruises or pitchers of earth. But as times grew more ciuill, and trafficke more frequent, they shortly after stamped both *silver* and *gold*; and thereon the faces of their *Kings*, euen in the daies of *Iulius Cesar*, who was the first that had his owne

stamp on the *Romane* *Coynes*. Many of these are amongst vs remaining, whereof I haue inserted some few, as in their due places shall follow, which I receiued from the liberal hand of that most learned Knight, and worthy floror of Antiquities *Sir Robert Cotton* of *Cumington*. These *Coynes* are commonly imbossed outward and shield-like, whereon the inscription, or face, is seen; and the reuerse hollow, and therein their deuiſe set: and by these formes are they known to be the *Britains*, no other nation stamping the like, except some few among the *Greeks*.

(13) We come lastly, to speake of the manner of their warfare, which *Cesar* thus describeth. First (saith he) they ride round about all parts of the battell, casting off their darts: and often times with the terrible noise of their horses, and the rattling of their chariot wheels, they amaze the enemy and breake their array. And when they haue wound themselves in among the troopes of horsemen, they leape forth of their waggons, and fight on foot. In the meane while the waggons withdraw themselves somewhat out of the battell, and set their waggons in such order, that if they be ouercharged by the enemy, they may haue speedy and easie recourse vnto them. By meanes whereof they are both as ready to remoue as the horsemen, and as stedfast to stand in the battell as the footmen, and supply both duties in one. And they are come to such perfectnesse by daily practice and exercise, that euen in reepe and falling places they will stop their horses running a full gallop, and guide and turne them in a short roome, & run vpon the vergies, and stand stedfastly vpon the beames, and quickly recover themselves back againe into the waggons.

These would often giue ground to egge their enemies from their maine battell, and then would leape out of their chariots and fight on foot. And they kept also such an order in fighting on horseback, that whether the enemies chafed, or were chafed, they were alwaies in danger. For they neuer fought in great companies together, but scatteringly a great way distant the one from the other, and had itals lying in diuers places one to supply another, hauing euer fresh and lusty men in the rooms of them that were weary. Of this their manner of fight in chariots, *Strabo* also declareth; and *Diodorus Siculus* faith that the *Britaines* liued after the manner of the first age of the world, vſing chariots in their fight, as the report goes of the ancient *Greeks* at the *Troian* warres. *Pomponius Mela* also describing these *Britaines*, affirmeth that their fight was not only with horsemen and footmen, but also with waggons and chariots, harnessed, and armed at the ends of the axle-trees with hookes and sithes, after the manner of the *Gaules*; but with appearance of greater courage, as *Tacitus* faith; as being not yet mollified by long peace. Their strength in field consisteth most of footmen, yet some countries there are (saith he) that war in waggons, the greatest persons guiding the same; and so much doth *Iuuenal* intimate, who in shew of prophetic but indeed in flattery of the Emperor *Domitian*, salutes him after this manner.

*It becometh their Triumph great; to captiuaſe some Kings
Or herce Aruſragus from Chariots beame to king.
Dio Nicaeus from Xiphilinus more particularly declarereth their strength; Their horses (saith he) are but little, yet therewithall swift of pace: their footmen also run very speedily, but in their standing are the strongest: their armor are shields, and short speares, in the nether end whereof is fastned a round bell of brasse like vnto a ball, which at the first onset of encounter they shake with great courage, supposing that such a rattling noise doth much amate the enemy. And *Herodian* faith that their shields were narrow and speares short, wearing swords hanging down their naked loines, hauing neither knowledge nor vse either of corslet or helmet.*

(14) Some haue thought that their women also were not exempted from the wars; but certaine it is that many of that sex were renowned for their valour amongst them. Which made *Tacitus* to say, it was vsuall

Kings image were in *Caſas* time.

Sir Robert Cotton. The marks to know Britains coyne from forraigne.

Of their warres. Cesar.com. 4.

They amaze the enemy with the rattling of their chariot wheels.

Cesar.com. 5.

They fight not in great companies together.

They haue euer fresh men in the rooms of them that are weary. Strabo. Diodorus Siculus. The Britains fight in chariots as the vse was in the worlds first age. Pomponius Mela.

Tacitus.

Their chiefe strength consisteth in footmen.

Iuuenal.

Dio.

Their footmen run swiftly. Their armor.

Herodian.

Many British women renowned for valour. Tacitus.

Queen Elizabeth
a glorious virgin
Queen.A most valorous
Princess in war.

Tacitus.

The British wo-
men refused as-
sistance and the Drui-
des behaviour
in priar amaze
the Roman
soldiers.The Romans
derive their
name from an
infamous
perish.

all for the Britains to fight under the conduct of women, (which the Romans found to their smart) nor to make any difference of sexes for government. A more noble pattern whereof, never had any age, then in our late glorious Virgin Queen, (the wonder of her sexe, and of all future ages,) who, as she was inferior to no Prince ever living, for her admirable government in upholding of her kingdoms peace, so was she a match (to say no more) to the proudest monarchs, in her managing of her wars; as (when occasion was offered) she was ready to make good, in her owne roiall person in the field. But besides the use of armes, the ancient British women had another imploiment in the field, which I will only set downe in Tacitus his words, speaking of Paulinus Suetonius his assailing of Anglesey: *The British Army* (saith he) *stood on the shore, thicke of men and munition, and women running up and downe amongst them, like furies, carrying burning firebrands in rusfull attire, and with their haire hanging about their shoulders. The Druides meane while went with their hands lift up to heauen, pouring out prayers and imprecations. The strangeness of which sight so amazed the Roman soldiery, that they stood still like stocks, whiles the other wounded them at their pleasure; till Paulinus encouraged them, and they excited one another, not to be so danted by an army of women and wizards.*

(15) In the relations of these things, let no man thinke, that the glory of these ancient and warlike nation of Britains, is any waies disparaged, or made inferior to them that would be more famous, whose beginning haue been as meane, and state as rude, if not more. For let vs consider the Romans so lauish in their owne worths and greatness; who notwithstanding,

bring their name and original from Romulus, a bastard by birth, nourished by a beast, educated among a sort of rustick shepherds; and grown to the ripeness of his owne affections, he became ring-leader of a damned crew, that liued by robberies and without lawes: besides the shedding of his naturall brothers blood, as Titus Livie their owne historian witnesseth; and both himselfe and followers, had in such contempt and derision by their neighbour nations, that they both disdained and refused to giue them their daughters in marriage, left in time they also should become lawlesse, vntill that by subtilty and force, they had rauished their virgins, and thereby made them unworthy of other matches. Yet when their after fortunes and successe had mounted them vpon the wings of glory, and seated them on the necks of their subdued neighbors, their Casars would needs be more then mortall, and their pedigrees must lineally be brought from the Gods.

(14) And, to let passe many others, the like may be said of the beginners of the Scythian and Turkish Empires, two golden pillars raised vpon leaden bases, howeouer now, the power of their command, circles three parts of the earth. Nay what more is, that pretious, roiall, and Gods only people, from whom the eternall King of Kings descended, in their offerings made in time of their highest glory, were by the Lord thus commanded to acknowledge and say: *A Syrian was my father, who being ready to perish for hunger, went down into Egypt, and sojourned with a small company. And the richest stone of that most beauteous building in his highest pride is countenailed by the Prophet, to look back to the rocke whence it was hewen, and to the hole of the pit whence it had been digged.*

Time Livie, &c.

The poore be-
ginnings of
Scythian and
Turkish Em-
pires.

And of Iewish.

Deut. 26. 5.

Isai. 51. 1.

THE GOVERNMENT OF GREAT BRITAIN.

CHAPTER V.



EE come, at length, to speake of the government and politicall estate of the Britains, which doubletse (the times then considered) was as honorable in their rulers, and as manageable in the subiects, as any other nations in these West parts of the

world: their temperance, religion, learning, and noble resolution shewing no lesse. But in this point I must craue pardon of our British Heraults, and some learned Antiquaries, if I bring not a lineall succession from Brute, and a monarchicall government in those times of obscurity, through whose mists no Eagles eyes could pierce, before the daies of Geoffrey ap Arthur, as before was touched. And therefore following his counsell, who is best able in these things to giue direction; I will begin the succession of Great Britains Monarchs, at the entrance and person of Iulius Caesar; at which time, it seemeth, by him and other Latine writers (the best Recorders of kingdoms affaires,) this Island was gouerned rather after the manner of an Aristocratick, that is, by certame great Nobles and Potent men, then vnder the command of any One as an absolute Monarch: though herein is a difference, in that in the Aristocratick regiment, the rulers are all Peeres of one Common wealth; whereas here,

as many Princes, so many severall Publike weales. For so Caesar himselfe found the state of Britaine to be diuided into Prouinces vnder the names of her inhabitants; and to be ruled by diuers Peeres or petty Kings.

(2) And such a Gouernor was Casibelan, ouer the Trinobantes: Cingetorix, Caruilius, Taximagulus, and Segonax, all foure Rulers together in Kent: Comes supposed to be King of the Atrebatij, and to be the same Comius of Arras, whom Caesar imploied to taste and worke the Britains to his subiection. Caractacus the warlike King of the Silures, Galgacus the worthy King of the Caledonians; yea and women also, without exception of sex, held government among them, such as was faithlesse Cartimandua Queen of the Brigantes, and famous Boudicca Queene of the Iceniens. Whereby it seemeth that euery severall Prouince owed seruice and allégeance only to their owne Prince. And as their governments were confined vnto certaine bounds and limites, so were the Inhabitants diuided and distinguished by diuers Names: of whom because we shall haue occasion hereafter often to speak, it shall not therefore be amisse in this place once for all, tablewise to lay downe the same; whereby our narrations may passe vntroubled without more explanations, and the readers mind carried with lesse incombrances. Those ancient names of people, and places for abode, throughout the whole Island, from Ptolemie were as follow.

How in Casars
time and after.

Tacit. an. 14. 11.

Tacit. his. lib.
3. cap. 9.The British go-
uernment.Their succession
doubtfull.Not merely
monarchicall.

A TABLE OF THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS, AND THE SITES OF THEIR POSSESSIONS AS THEY WERE CALLED BY PTOLEMY, AND OFTEN SINCE MENTIONED IN THE ROMAN WRITERS.

People.	Countries.	People.	Countries.
CANTII. —	{ Kent.	OTTADINI. —	{ Northumberland. Teesdale. Tweedale. Merch. Louthien.
REGNI. —	{ Suffex. Surrey.	SELGOVÆ. —	{ Lide Dale. Epsdale. Biskdale. Annandale. Nidds Dale.
DVROTRIGES. —	{ Dorsetshire.	NOVANTES. —	{ Galloway. Carick. Kyle. Cunningham.
DAMNONII. —	{ Devonshire. Cornwal.	DAMNII. —	{ Clwyd Dale. Renfraw. Lennox. Strueling. Ameneth. Fifa.
BELGÆ. —	{ Somersetshire. Wiltshire. Hampshire.	CALEDONII. GADINI. }	{ Perth. Strathern. Albin. Argile. Lorne.
ATREBATII. —	{ Barkshire.	EPIDII. —	{ Cantyre.
DOBVNI. —	{ Oxfordshire. Gloucester.	VICEMAGI. —	{ Murray.
CATIEVCHLANI. —	{ Warwickshire. Buckingham. Bedfordshire.	VENNICONES. —	{ Mernia. Anguis. Mar.
TRINOBANTES. —	{ Hertford. Essex. Middlesex.	TÆZALI. —	{ Buquhane.
ICENI. —	{ Suffolk. Norfolk. Cambridge. Ely Island. Huntington.	CANTÆ. CRÆONES. CERONTES. }	{ Rosse. Sutherland.
CORITANI. —	{ Rutlandshire. Lincolnshire. Northampton. Leicestershire. Derbyshire. Nottingham.	CARNONACÆ. CARINI. CORNABII. }	{ Strathmauern.
CORNABII. —	{ Staffordshire. Worcestershire. Cheshire. Shropshire.	SIMERTÆ LOGI. }	{ Caithness.
BRIGANTES. PARISI. }	{ Lancaster. Yorkshire. Richmondshire. Duram. Westmerland. Cumberland.		
ORDOVICES. —	{ Flintshire. Denbighshire. Caernarvon. Montgomery. Merionethshire.		
SILVRES. —	{ Herefordshire. Radnorshire. Brecknock. Monmouth. Glamorgan.		
DIMETÆ. —	{ Carmarthen. Penbrookshire. Cardiganhire.		

Qq I.

(3) These

Their emulation
& ambition.

Pomponius Mela.

Tacitus in vita
Agrice.

Cæsar first en-
terer, not con-
queror.

Caualacus.

(3) These *States* ambitiously banding each against others, to raise their owne Prince to a more foue-
raigne supremacy, and to enlarge their *Provinces* vpon
the borders of the next, were euer ready, the least
occasion ministred, faith *Pomponius Mela*, to enter
quarrels, and feldome held amity, or were quiet. This
was the cause, as *Tacitus* tells vs, which brought that pu-
issant nation into bondage: and was the only helpe to the
Romans victories: for feldome it chanced (faith he)
that two or three states met in counsell, and concurred in
opinion to repulse the common danger: so that whilst they
resisted and fought one by one, all at length were sub-
dued. But this was not at once performed by *Iulius*
Cæsar the first *Roman* enterer, who (as he faith) rather
shewed the place to posterities, then gave them the possession
thereof, supposing it his glory sufficient, to haue done
what he did. For vnto the daies of *Domitian*, they held
play with the *Romans*, and that with such valour, that
the subduing of some small part of this *Iland* was ac-
counted by themselves to match the conquests of o-
ther mightier countries, and more notes of honour
shewed in their publike triumphs for one *Britaines*
misfortune, then vntually was solemnized for whole
kingdomes subdued.

(4) That such people possessed, and that many
Kings together reigned here in *Britaine*, *Pomponius*
Mela doth shew: *Britaine* (faith he) bringeth forth
Nations, and Kings of nations, though they be all without
civility and barbarous. And *Cæsars* intendments being
known vnto them, it is said that many of their *Cities*

sent him by their *Embassadors* profers of submission:
whereby appeareth their diuersities of *States*, where-
of only two held promise, and the rest failing was the
occasion of his second expedition for *Britaine*. And *Ta-
citus*, speaking of the shipwrack suffered by the *Ro-
mans* in the raigne of *Tiberius*, faith, that many of their
souldiers then distressed and torne, being cast vpon the
coasts of *Britaine*, were by the people curiously released,
and by their petty Kings sent backe vnto *Germanicus*
their Generall into *Germanie*; which *Princes* or petty
Kings, were drawn (as else where he faith) by emulation
into many partialities and factions; which was in-
deed their owne destruction. And by *Gildas* these
were termed cruell *Tyrants*, taking his authority out
of *Saint Hierome*.

Tacitus Annal.
lib. 2. cap. 5.

Gildas.
S. Hierome.

(5) Let thus farre suffice, in general, of these an-
cient *Britains*; whose particulars we will further pro-
secute in the places of their resistances, lest otherwise
they should seeme to fight only against themselves.
And therefore so many of these *Gouernors*, as either
yeelded their subiections to the *Romans*, or stood
their opposits till their owne strengths were spent, I
will briefly touch, vntill such time as the land was
made a *Province*, by the valour and industry of *Iu-
lius Agricola* the first *Roman* that found it an *Iland*,
and left it more ciuill, and in subiection to the
Roman Empire; and by the way I will insert some
of such ancient Coynes, as among them were then
vsed, expressing their names, and places of coy-
nage.



THE KINGS AND GOVERNORS OF GREAT BRITAIN VVITH THE ANCI- ENT COINES VSED IN THEIR TIMES.

CHAPTER VI.



Ptolemei Geo-
graph.

He first *British* Coyne (as is
supposed) both by the fa-
shion thereof being shield-
like, and Name thereupon
inscribed *REX COM*:
denoteth *Comius*, (if he be
a *Britaine*) King of the *A-
trebatij* in this *Iland*:
whom some iudge to haue
fled thence vnto *Cæsar*, as
a traytor to his Native country; and in *Gallia* vanquished
those parts, that lay coasted against the *Whight*,
wherein (by *Ptolemy*) the people called likewise the
Atrebatij inhabited: ouer whom he receiued the go-
uernment by the gift of *Cæsar*, and was by him im-
ployed to worke the *Britaines* to his obedience. And
that he was King of the *Atrebatij* in *Britaine*, may be
strengthened by that which *Cæsar* in his second booke
of *Commentaries* affirmeth, where, by his owne
knowledge he faith, that one *Dunlucius* reigned ouer

a great part of *Gallia*, and some portion of *Britaine*
also: and so likewise this *Comius* is reported to be
of great respect among our *Britaines*, and able in
that country to doe much. Neither is it altogether
unlikely, seeing the *Britaines* distasted his loyalty
to *Cæsar*, and his Ambassage for their subiection,
with such dislikes, that they laid violent hands on-
ly vpon him, and cast him in prison; vsing no such
rigor against the rest of their owne Ambassadors.
Notwithstanding when successe altered, they set
him at liberty, and made him their means to
pacifie *Cæsar*.

Cæsar. comment.
lib. 4.

Other Coynes I haue inserted to such *British*
princes as by their inscriptions are known to be
theirs. And whereas some are not yet noted by that
honor to the world; I haue vnto such added only
blankes, if happily more be reueiled hereafter, and
the bowels of the earth deliuer to others, her trea-
sures hid, as formerly (and in these our searching
daies) the hath already done.

(2) *Casibelan*



(2) *Casibelan*, as the most worthy among the
Britains Kings, to withstand the common danger now
ready to light vpon them all, by the inualions and
wars of the *Romans*; was by a generall consent cho-
sen their chieftaine, though in times past, he had mo-
lested his neighbouring provinces to the enlargement
of his owne. Whose signiorities, as *Cæsar* faith, were
seuered from the *Cities* towards the sea coast by the
riuer *Thames*, about fourescore miles from the same.
He had obtained the gouernment of the *Trinoban-
tes*, by the slaughter of *Imanence*, and the expulsion
of *Mandubrace* his sonne, And, with great valour, held

Cæsar. commen-
lib. 5.

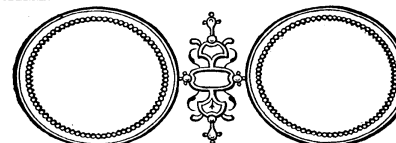
opposit to the *Romans*, vntill the reuolt of his chieft
Citie, the *Cenimagues*, *Segontians*, *Ancalits*, *Bubroces*, *Car-
sians*, and other states, which drew backe, and yeelded
to the enemie; his confederates, the foure Kings of
Kent, ouerthrowne, his owne towne won, and himselfe
forced to yeeld vnto *Cæsar*, and the land to pay a tri-
bute of 3000. pound yearly to *Rome*. A *British* Coyne
of gold with the inscription *CAS* in scattered letters
we haue inserted, as also another wheron is stamped
the word *VIR*, supposed to be his, because it is thought
to haue bin coined in ancient *Verolam*, the City of *Cas-
sibelan*, and that in his daies, before the *Romans* won it.

Verolam a fa-
mous City
neere to the
place where
now S. Albons is.



(3) *Cingetorix*: whom *Cæsar* calleth Kings
Caruill: that reigned in *Kent*, were in-
Taximagull: stigated by *Casibelan* suddain-
Segonax: ly to set vpon, and to assault
the *Roman* forces, that lay incamped vpon the sea
shore whilst he kept *Cæsar* occupied further in the

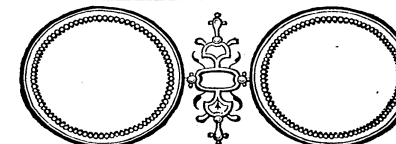
mayne: which thing they attempted, but failed of
their hoped expectation, their men being slaine, three
of them chafed, and *Cingetorix* the chieft taken cap-
tiue. This heauy newes and vnfortunate successe, cau-
sed *Casibelan* to sue vnto *Cæsar*, and by the means of
Comius obtained his peace.



(4) *Mandubrace* a prince of the *Trinobantes*, but
a traytor to his country; whose father *Imanence*
being slaine by *Casibelan*, and his owne life likewise
fought after, and in danger, fled vnto *Cæsar* into *Gal-
lia*, and followed his fortunes in the wars; wherein,
he was a great spur to *Cæsars* forwardnesse for
Britaine, both to be reuenged vpon the murderer of
his father, and to recouer the gouernment of the *Tri-
nobantes* vsurped by *Casibelan*: preferring his owne

ambitious desire, and the reuenge of one mans
death, before the freedom of his native Country, or
the deaths of many his countymen, that daily stopped
the *Romans* passage with streames of their blood. He
recouering his chieft *Citie* with the protection of the
Romans, yeelded subiection, & forty hostages to *Cæsar*:
whose example drew others to sell their owne liberty,
& to buy many miseries at too deere a rate, and with
too late repentance, him doth *Beda* call *Androgorius*.

Beda his R. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 5.



(5) *Cenimagues* } *Norfolk. Suff. Cam. &c.*
Segontians } *Hants.shire.*
Ancalits } *Handly hund. in Oxford.*
Bubroces } *Bray hund. in Barkshire.*
Carsians } *Caslow hund. in Harf.*

Camb. Britan.

These people or states, seeing the proceedings and
happy successe of *Cæsar*, after the example of the *Tri-
nobantes*, whose chieft *Citie* had yeelded him obedi-

ence, and were thereby secured, and protected
from the harmes of his souldiers, sent him like-
wise their submissions, and were accepted into
subiection: so ready were they to saue their owne
stakes, that they left the whole to the hazard of
losse, which soone after followed as an overflowing
flood, wherein was lastly drenched the whole *I-
lands* liberty.

(6) *Cunobeline*



(6) *Cunobeline* (for so vpon his Coyne's his name is instamped) was the son of *Theomantius* and he the sonne of *Lud* (as say our *Brittish* *historians*, by whom his name is corruptly written *Kymbeline*) he liued at *Rome*, and in great fauour with *Augustus Caesar* the Emperour, by whom he was made *Knight*, and by his meanes the peace of *Britaine* was continued without the payment of their *Tribute*, as *Fabian* out of *Guido de Columna* hath gathered. In the fourteenth yeere of his raigne the Day-star of *Iacob* appeared, and the rod out of *Ishai* did flourish from the wombe of a *Virgin*, when the wonderfull Counsellor, the mighty God and Prince of Peace, the *Emmanuel* with vs was borne at *Beth-lehem* of his maiden-mother the blessed *Virgin Mary*, and was made man like vnto vs in all things, sinne only excepted. These were the times that great Kings and Prophets desired to see, but saw them not, when the Wolfe and the Lambe, the Leopard and the Kid, the Calfe and the Lyon fed together for war was not heard of then in the world, but rather their swords were made into mattocks, and their speeres turned into sitches, as the Prophets, Sibyls, and Poets from them haue affirmed. In *Rome* the temple of *Ianus* was shut, and in *Britaine* *Cunobeline* enioied peace with the rest of the world, and his fame made more famous by the many Coyne's instamped of him, and whose face thereon among all the *Brittish* Kings was first inscribed, as by these here inserted doth euidently appeare, one with two faces, like vnto *Ianus*, and foure more with his owne, besides three others wherein is read his name, one of them with a womans head, another with a horse, and the third with a wreath; all these (if not more) are knowne to be his, which sheweth his wealth, his fame, and his ciuill respect. The chiefeft Citie for his princely residence was *Camalodunum*, now *Malden* in *Essex*, wonne by *Claudius* from the sonnes of *Cunobeline*, as by the inscription of the Coyne next ensuing appeareth, and wherein many of the *Brittish* monies also received their impression. This City with the free towne *Verulam* afterwards felt the heavy hand of mercilesse *Boudicca* in her reuenge against the *Romans*, who laid the beauty and gorgeous buildings thereof so leuell with the earth that those walles and mounted turrets neuer since aspired to halfe their wonted heights.

(7) *Adrianus*



Numb. 24. 17.

Isay. 11. 1.

Isay. 9. 6.

Matt. 3.

Esay 11. 6.

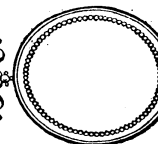
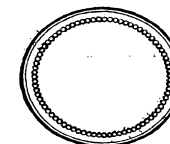
Mica. 4. 3.



(7) *Adrianus* the first sonne of *Cunobeline*, King of the *Brittains*, by *Suetonius* his report, vpon some offence was banished the Iland by his father, and with a small traine fled ouer the seas into *Belgia*; where *Caius Caligula* was in making his ridiculous expedition against the *Ocean*. And yeelding himselfe to his protection, added matter to his vaine glorious humors, as of a great victory and conquest; sending the newes thereof to *Rome*, with an especiall command that his letters should be deliuered in the

Temple of *Mars*, and that in the assembly of a full Senate. It is iudged by learned *Cambden* that the *Roman* Coyne aboue prefixed, vpon whose reuerse is inscribed *Metropolis Etimij Regis*, to be meant of this *Adrianus* the sonne of *Cunobeline*, whose Citie *Camalodunum*, *Claudius Caesar* the Emperour afterwards wonne, and wherein a temple was built and consecrated vnto him, attended by the Priests *Augustals*: which heauily burdened the poore estates of the *Brittains*.

Sueton. in vita Caligulae, lib. 44.

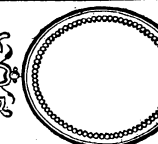
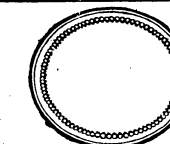


(8) *Catacratus* another son of *Cunobeline*, immediately after the death of his father, found himselfe agreed at the *Romans*, for the retaining of certaine fugitiues the betraiers of their native country; whereof one *Bericus* was a chiefe, and a great firebrand of *Claudius* his attempts against the *Brittains*. This *Catacratus* maintained resistance against *Aulus Plautius* the Emperours Deputy, with such noble resolution and warlike encounters, that often he endangered both his person and army. But *Fortune* and victory attending

the *Romans*, brought at length *Catacratus* their captiue into bands, with great slaughters of his *Brittains*, himselfe led shortly after in great triumph through *Rome*, in honor of *Plautius* his so fortunate successe. The miseries of others thus made the *Romans* to mount the chaire of their triumphs; and the chaines of their captiues, the records of their present aspired pride.

But the bordering *Dobuni* seeing his fall, made their owne standings furer by yeelding themselves subiects to *Rome*.

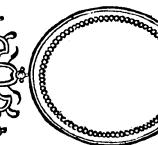
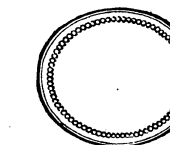
Dio calls him Catacratus.



(9) *Togodumnus* the third sonne of *Cunobeline*, and successor to *Catacratus*, prosecuted his countries quarrell with the like boldnesse and resolution as his brother before him had done: & was the only touchstone that gaue *Vespasian* his lustre, whose interpositions (as *Tacitus* saith) was the beginning of that greatness whereunto afterwards he aspired. And with such manhood followed the chase of the *Romans*, that in a bloody battell he ended his life, and brought *Plautius* their Lieutenant vnto a stand, where straitned in dangers both of place and people, he was forced to send to *Claudius* the Emperour; whose con-

ceit was then grounded, that in *Britaine* was greatest glory to be gotten, and therefore came to his assistance in person himselfe, the first since *Iulius Caesar* that attempted their conquest. His recorded compositions made with *Arminius*, the marriage of his daughter and building of *Gloucester*, I leaue to be read out of *Geffrey of Monmouth*, and to be allowed at the choice of his hearer; only noting that the possession of so faire a land drew the affection and aged person of this Emperour to vndergoe so farre distant and dangerous a iournie, as this of *Britaine* lay from *Rome*.

Tacitus in vita Agricola.



(10) *Cogidunus* a *Brittain* borne, receiued in pure gift at the hands of the *Romans*, certain Cities, ouer which he peaceably raignd their King. For when they had

conquered the neerest part of this Iland, and reduced it into the forme of a *Prouince*; according to their ancient policie, it was their custome, (saith *Tacitus*) to

R r i v f e

Tacitus involta
Agricola.

use Kings themselves for instruments of bondage, both in admittance of their authority, and in protecting them against their opposits. Other memoriall of him nonermaineth, but that he is reported to haue reffed euer most faithfull to the Romans, and was of them accordingly esteemed, albeit his owne

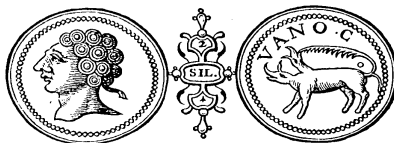
people bare him no such good will, but rather accounted him and others his like, to be *Romes* only instruments, and *Britaines* vipers, that brought in strangers to eat out the home-bred inhabitants, and fettered the freedome of their land, with the heavy chaines of a forein subiection.



(11) *Caractacus* the most renowned prince of the *Silures*, in nine yeeres resistance waded through many adventures against the common enemy. For when as the *Icenians*, *Cangi*, and *Brigantes* began to faint and giue ouer, he only with the *Ordovices* held out with such feruice and fame, that thereby he grew both famous and fearefull to the *Romans*. But *Destinies* determining the downfall of *Britain*, the props that were set to stay it still vp, proued too slender and brake vnder the waight. For this bold *Caractacus* ouerthrown in battell, his wife, daughter, and brethren taken prisoners, and his forces defeated, committed himselfe to the protection of *Cartimandua* the *Brigantes* faithlesse *Queene*: who by her was deliuered to the *Romans*; and by *P. Ostorius* brought to *Rome*; where beholding the riches and glory of that City, he openly and boldly checked the avarice and ambi-

tious humors of the *Romans*, who being owners of so great and glorious things, were (notwithstanding) couetous and greedy for the poore possessions of the *Britains*. And there being led in triumph, with admiration he was beheld of all the spectators, and for his vndanted spirit and magnanimous resolution released of bands, and taken into fauour by *Claudius* the *Emperor*. And the Lords of the Senate assembled together made glorious discourses touching *Caractacus* captiuitie, affirming it to be no lesse honorable then when *P. Scipio* shewed *Syphax* vnto the people, and *L. Paulus*, *Perfex*, or if any other had exhibited to the view of the people kings vanquished and ouercome. The *British* Coyne here aboue shewed, by the scattered letters therein inscribed, is by the iudicious obseruers of such ancient monies supposed to be his.

Zonarai.

Tacit. Annal.
12. cap. 8.

(12) *Venutius*, a famous King of the *Brigantes*, and husband to *Cartimandua*, (a woman of an high and noble linage, but of a base and vnassisted lust:) finding his bed abused by *Vellacatus* his seruant and harness-bearer, raised his power against her, and her paramour. With him sided his *Brigantes*, and the neighbour countries adjoining, whose good will went generally with the lawfull husband, fearing the ambitious authority of a lustfull woman. With her went the *Romans*, at the command of *Didius* their *Deputie*: and these striking battell won the day: yet so,

as the war continued to the *Romans*, the kingdome to *Venutius*, and the infamy with *Cartimandua*, both for betraying the pledge of her trust reposed by *Caractacus* in his distresse, and her truth to *Venutius* her noble Lord and husband: preferring the licentious pleasures of a vassall, before the bed of chaste marriage, or the nuptiall imbracements of a worthy King, and hath to ages following left her name noted with the scarres of infamy, that time nor continuance shall euer wear away. His ancient coyne is thought to be as thou seest here aboue described.



(13) *Prasutagus*, King and *Queene* of the *Icenians*, a people vnshaken by war, and themselves rich, (as *Tacitus* reporteth,) the only cause of their ruines, for which the *Romans* then warred; were brought to destruction vpon this insuing occasion. King *Prasutagus* dying, by will left *Nero* his heire (supposing by this means to leaue his state the safer,) together with the protection of his two daughters. These, contrary to trust, were abused and deflowered, the mother *Boduo* turned out of all, and

against all manly ciuility, or womanly (much lesse, princely) respect, contumeliously and despitefully whipped. In the reuenge of which vnassufferable wrongs the so opposed and oppressed the *Romans*, that at one battell leuenty thousand (or as *Dion Cassius* saith 80000) of their slaughtered bodies the sacrificed to her dead husbands ghost; and hath left the fame of her proceedings registered, euen by her enemies themselves, to her immortal and neuer dying memory. The strong Cities, *Camalodunum*, and *Verolanium*,

lanium, she sacked with the rage of mercilesse war; *Petilius*, Lieutenant of the ninth Legion, she discomfited, *Catus* the *Procurator* droue ouer the seas, *Posthumus* the *Campe-master* durst not resist her, and all indeed feared the valour of this heroick Lady: whose lawes were not martiall to saue vpon ranfome: whose reuenge was not pacified with yeeldings or submission, nor did she thinke there was blood enough in the *Romans* to imbrue the altars of her asisting gods, or to

wash off the staine of their vnnoble and vnmanly iniuries. But when successe altered; after losse; and valorous resistance, she made an end of her life by poison, left liuing she should see either her owne miſeries in their triumphs, or leaue her remembrance in the records of their lauish and selfe-pleasing historians. Her Coyne of gold we haue here expressed, the forme shield-like, and vpon the embossment thus inscribed: B O D V O.



(14) *Arviragus*, the valiant *British* King, whom *Humphrey Lluyd* confidently affirmeth to be the same man that is called *Meurigus*, and is said to withstand *Claudius* in his enterprises for *Britaine*, vntill a composition of marriage was concluded betwixt the *Emperors* daughter and himselfe. Notwithstanding by *Tuennat* it is plaine, that this *Arviragus* was in his fame in the daies of *Domitian*, vnto whom the Poet, as a

Prophet, would foredoome his happy successe in the dispossession of his gouernment ouer the *Britaines*, as in these his verses are scene:
*It bodes great honor to thy selfe, some King thou shalt depriue,
Or els Aruiragus from the rule of Britains waile shall driue.*
An ancient *British* Coyne of silver is here inserted, and a mans head thereon intamped, which is supposed to be his, the letters alluding to neere to his name.



(15) *Galgacus*, a worthy and most valiant prince of the *Caledonians*, for vertue, and birth, preferred before any other in the *Northern* parts of this *Iland*, and made their *Generall* against the inuasions of *Iulius Agricola*, was the last *Britaine*, that against the *Romans* stood out: accounting those only happy, which were free from the contagion of that *Roman* tyranny, and themselves the flower of all the *British* nobility, that yet had not subiected their necks to their yoke. The resistance which he made was great and warlike, but against the decree of God no man can stand; for the *Romans*, risen to their greatnesse, bare downe all that withstood them; and in a bloody battaile subdued him, and his forces, making all silent before them where they came, and leauing desolation in the places where they had been. Thus then was the whole *Iland* subiect to the *Roman* *Emperors*, about

one hundred thirty and six yeeres after *Casars* first entrance, and the land that had been ruled by many petty kings, was brought now (as most parts of the world besides were) vnder the gouernment of one absolute Monarch. Griuous, no doubt, was the losse of their liberties, but a greater gain was gotten not many yeeres after; for from the rude and sauage manners of the barbarous, they were reclaimed, and became most ciuill. And he that had giuen their *Iland* to his *Christ*, prepared their hearts to receiue him their King; vnto whose subiection also they were motiues to the *Romans* themselves. Two ancient *British* Coynes stamped in silver we haue here set downe, attributing them both to this *Galgacus* of *Caledonia*. Notwithstanding in these (as in the rest) I must submit my selfe to the more experienced, and the censures of these ancient things to the learned and more iudicious.

Psal. 2.



(16) These then were the resistors of the *Romans* proceedings, that rather yeilded their breasts to the sword, then their necks to the yoke of a forein subiection, and made their assaulters more famous in their conquests, and themselves more renowned to following posterities: neither in these relations haue we followed the records of our owne, but the approved testimony of their best writers, who haue deliuered what we haue said, and no doubt felt the like repugnancy of many others, both in the South and North of this *Iland*, though their names died

with their valiant resistance. And as these *Britains* held the *Romans* at euen hand the space of one hundred thirty and six yeeres, neither yet then were subdued without themselves, that euer sided with the enemy against themselves, and whose factions made way for the feet of their conquerors, as from *Tacitus* we haue declared: So their successors the *Saxons* found as warlike withstanders, till God for *Britains* finnes had cast downe their strength, whereof more shall follow (*Christ* asisting) in the due place of their stories, that from the raigne of *Yortigerne* the scourge of

of his country to *Cadwallader* the last prince of the *Britains*, spent their lives in the quarrell of liberty, and hath left their memorials famous for their countries defence.

(17) But the state of kingdoms (how largely so ever extended, or by what humane wisdom strengthened with defence) do find their periods not to exceed much the number of six hundred yeeres, as by common experience among most nations is seen. In these times therefore when the world was shaken with wars, first by the *Romans* that strove to mount the spires of their intended glory, and were by Gods decree appointed to overrun and afflict the earth, when Kings of people (I say) were enforced to lay the Crowns from their heads at their conquering feet; and free nations loaded with the yokes of their bondage: then was fulfilled the resolution of this question demanded, *Alas who shall live when God doth this?* And then among the rest, *Britaine* gave place to necessity with as manlike resistance as did states more stronger, or kingdoms confined with far more larger compass. And *Cæsar* himselfe bought his entrance with such losse to the *Romans* that no Emperor after afflicted the like, before aged *Claudius*, whose opinion was, that thence the remembrance of his succeeding glory should wholly arise.

But when the props of that Empire began for to faile, as nothing can bee firme in this still-wearing world, the *Saxons*, for their valour a second triumphant nation, began as it were where the *Romans* left: for besides the continuall possession of their owne country, as in that safe vnpartiall *Tacitus* doth tell vs; their legions were transported into all parts of the world, and without whom almost no victory was wonne: of whose power and prowess in the expeditions of warre both *Dionysius*, *Arrianus* and *Seneca*, doe speake. To these then likewise if the *Britains* gave place, their lots came forth with the like price of the rest, and in this *Iland* they bought their conquests as deere as they had done in any other part of the world. Neither was *Britaine* subdued by either of these nations, or their inuersion and exchange of policie altered, but with as vnwilling subiection and frames of blood as had been flusht out of the sides of their mightier nations, or by them had bin tamed to follow their triumphal chariots. And more honour attributed to passe these *British* seas, with more admiration only to see the *Iland* it selfe, then was vually conceiued of kingdoms more larger, or that lay iacent as farre from *Rome*. And the conquest of some small parts of *Britaine* in no small selfe-glory to be inscribed as trophies of their victories vpon their Coynes, and to giue surnames to the Emperors and their sonnes: as shall be shewed, when the age of this history shall be increased with the times of the *Romans* affaires in this *Iland*. Free from subiection before the attempts of *Cæsar* Julius *Cæsar* by the testimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, and neuer had yielded to any forrein power, as not prouoked by *Diomedes* or *Heueneus*, nor inforced

by any to maintain their liberties by the fears of warre. But *Cæsar* in *Gallia* thirsting after nouelties, or his conceited humor to purchase renouue, made the sea seeme safe from dangers in passage, and himselfe resolute to venture his person amongst those bold and barbarous *Britains*: wherein he left no means vnassayed for their conquest and subiection, nor his successors omitted any prouident care to retaine and keepe the land in their possessions, which whilst it stood a province in their obedience was held and accounted the fairest plume in their triumphant Diadem, and the losse thereof (if no more but only in name) as was publickly affirmed, would proue a great detriment to the Empire. This made the *Romans* to desire it as they did, who besides the great glory they conceiued in the conquest, made it the granary for the western garisons, besides the delicate prouisions for their Emperors owne tables.

And the *German Saxons* strained in their owne countries through increase of their people, or haply to supply their owne wants, infested with piracies these West parts of the world, and among all others set the sic of their affections vpon this most beautifull *Iland*, and neuer left their attempts vnassaulted till they set the glorious diadem thereof vpon their owne heads. Changing the name *Britannia* into *Anglia*, a terme most fit to expresse that subiect, and pleasing in found as Angelicall like, neither haue themselves proued vnworthy of so rich a possession, that in wars haue maintained, and by voyages made known her fame as far as the sunne hath his beames, or the endlesse *Ocean* her ebbs and tides. But of these things wee shall haue occasion hereafter.

And now adresse our selues to describe our ancient *Britaines*, and to shew their true pictures as they are reported. At first rude and vnciuill (I taske them no further then all others then were in the world, some few excepted that were only taught by God) and with the first were reclaimed to a more ciuill respect, both in their apparell and apprehension of literature, whose pictures in the Chapter succeeding we will demonstrate as they are described by *Cæsar*, *Pliny*, *Dio*, *Herodian* and others; at first altogether naked, cut, and painted as thou seest, afterwards partly clad in imitation of others which frequented their country either for traffick or conquest; in both which manner take them as they are reported to bee by these authours, and impute no liberty in the draught to the workmans best liking, nor thy selfe any whit disparaged to be brought from such parents, which here are set as the pillars spoken of by *Iosephus*, that after the flood did preferre the inuented science of the celestiall bodies, left time or elements should consume that knowledge or deuoure those rules before demonstrated: So the true portraiture of our ancient progenitors may by these be preferred from the ruins of time & made our motives to be thankful vnto him that hath brought vs forth in these most ciuill times, and not only clad vs with the garments of humanity, but by his spirit hath guided vs vnto a celestiall knowledge.



THE PORTRAITURES OF THE ANCIENT BRITAINES, OF THEIR NAKEDNESSE, PAINTING AND FIGVRING THEIR BODIES, OF THEIR PERSONAGES HABITES, AND HABILLMENTS, BOTH IN PEACE AND WARRE: AS ALSO OF THE PICTS, THEIR ORIGINALL AND HABITES, &c.

CHAPTER VII.



He understanding and apprehensions of men clouded in ignorance, are by a Great Philosopher compared to the eyesight of such men, as stand and behold things afarre-off; because both of these, though they apprehend some generall

shapes and notices, yet can they not discern of the true proportions and proprieties of their Objects. The like happeneth in the search and suruey, as of all other Nations, so of our owne, of our first beginnings, our antique Customes, behaviours, habits: the true Circumstances whereof are the more difficult to find, in that those things are not onely remote many degrees beyond the kenning of our Eye, (yea so manie Ages from the times wherein we liue,) but are also shadowed and enwrapped in manifold vncertainties and contrarieties, wherewith euen those Writers haue perplexed our way, who vnderooke to be both our Guides and our Lights. Notwithstanding, our purpose being to propose vnto the eye of our now glorious and gorgeous *Britaines*, some generall draughts of our poore and rude Progenitors, (that as *King Agatholes* in his chiefe feasts vied onely earthen dishes to put himselfe in minde that his Father was but a Potter, so wee may remember that true *British* Nobilitie is more in Vertue then in Ancestors,) let vs first see what the principall notes and markes are whereby the perions of those first *Britaines* were made so remarkable among all other Nations.

(2) These Notes were chiefly three; first, their going naked; secondly, their staining and colouring of their whole Bodies; thirdly, their cutting, pincking and pouncing of their flesh, with garnishments (for so they thought them) of lundry shapes and fashions, as the two first ensuing *Icones* or Portraitsures doe represent. Touching all which, the reports of Authors are very discrepant: and therefore, sith light is gotten out by collation of flintes, we will essay, whether out of those Writers contradictions (brought to the stroke, and confronted together) we may strike some glimmering light to direct vs how to paint them forth, who so delighted in painting themselves.

(3) First touching their going naked, the authority of *Cæsar* must ouerway (as being auncientest) the too-generall reports of such others, as seeme to relate that the *Britaines* generally vied no Couerture, as neglectiue either of weathers iniurie, or of ciuill modesty; for he saith, *interiores pleriq; pellibus suis vestiti: the In-land men for the most part were clad with skinned*. And yet these *Ilanders* were the rudest of all the rest, the *Kentish* and *Sea-borders* being full of humanity and little differing from the French ciuillite.

So that when *Herodian* saith, *Vestis vsum non cognoscunt, nec induuntur quidem*, They neither know the vse of Garments: nor put any on: either he speaks on heardsay, or his large report must bee restrained to some certaine Perions, Times, and Places. And for certaine Persons and Times indeed *Pliny* somewhat limits it, saying, that their married women, both elder and younger, (*coniuuges, matronæ*) in certaine festiuals vsed to goe stark naked: so doth *Dio* also for certaine Places: in their Tents (saith he) they liued naked and vnshod, where he seemeth to allow them some couerture abroad. The like may be supposed in time of Winter or War, where *Herodian* himselfe saith onely, *pleriq; corporis nudi*, A great part of their body was bare.

(4) It may seeme hereby, that those Originals of Particular Nations were not much vnlike that first beginning of the vniuersall profectionation of Mankind, when our first Parents innocencie walked in naked simplicitie: the foundations of all things being, as farthest from our sight, so more simple and farre from those artificiall fraudes, which some call *Wit* and *cunning*. And though an ancient Father be mistaken, in concealing that by the foure letters of the name of *Adam*, were signified the foure quarters of the World, (that being an *Hebreue* name of three letters, and not a Greeke of foure) yet all those Quarters of the World participate somewhat of *Adams* dispositions; and as all Naturall things retourne by course to that whereof first they were framed, so if Lawes, discipline, and Customes, did not restrain men, they would in time, of themselves reuolue to that first neglectiue condition, and carelesnes of those outward respects whence men are now named *Ciuill*.

(5) But in our *Britaines*, three reasons there seeme of this their going vnclad. First, their hardnes, which was partly naturall, and partly acquired by practise of their bodies to durance: of whom *Dio* records that all of them had an excellent habit in tolerating hunger, cold, and labours, inasmuch as they could endure to abide many daies together in the water up to the chinne without any food at all; that they would lie in the woods on roots and barks of trees; though one kind of food he there mentioneth vnknewne in our times, whereof vsing to make as much as a beane onely, they were not subiect either to hunger or thirst. No maruaile, if those, who would endure this, could endure the want of garments: especially in a soile whereof wee find this *Euloge*. *Tu minimum nec stricta gelu, &c.*

Not freezing cold, nor scorching hot thou art; Twixt both thou hold'st the meane and pleasing part.

The like patience we find euen now not onely in the wilder Irish and *Virginians*, but in rogues and Wanderers of our owne Country, who often pittieless of them-

Herodian.

Pliny.

Dio.

Herodian.

Saint Cyprian interprets.
A. anatole, East.
D. asios, West.
A. arctos, North.
O. melambrius, South.

Causus of the British nakedness, & hardnesse.

Dio Nib.

See Chap. 1. §. 10.

Aristotle.

The reason why Nations Originals are so hardly found out.

Joseph. Antiqu. lib. 1. cap. 3.

The three chiefe notes of the Britains.

1. The first note of the Britains, their Nakednes.

Cæsar.



Plutarch.

2. Ignorance.

Paneg. ad Constant.
Paneg. ad Constant.

Strabo.

Pliny.

Dioscorides.

Cæsar.
Tacitus.

themselves voluntarily deprive their Bodies of this Protection against the Aires offence, to procure pittie of others. And what speake we of these? seeing euen children for Custome, and Women for pride, will suffer their Breasts, and most tender parts of their Body, to be exposed not only to offence of weather, but of modesty also; yea generally, the hands, and faces, being of most subtilst fence, yet by custome are enabled now to endure that, which by the like custome the olde Brittaines endured in their whole Bodies; whereby Plutarch thinks they usually lined so long euen to the age of sixefcore, the externe cold keeping in and augmenting their internall heate.

(6) As abilitie to endure colde, so ignorance (in many) of means to prevent it, may seeme another occasion of these Brittaines nakednes. The Romans (it seemes) in their old Conquists times, and after, had not the skill nor vse of Hats, Breeces, &c. That Britaine abounded with wool and other materials for cloathing, is past all doubt, for which cause, by one Panegyricke, it is named *Kiche in Pasturage*, which by another is thus explicated, that therein was an infinite multitude of tame cattell both with *V*adders full of milke, and laden with Fleeces to the ground. So then Wool was not wanting, but *Will*, or *Skill*, the latter in most likelihood: for, as Strabo saith, that though those *Strutting Vadders* yielded great store of milke, yet some of them had not skill to make cheefe, and hauing to rich grounds, yet had not the art of tillage, so their sheepe might haue such heavy fleeces, yet some of their Owners no cunning to keepe themselves warme therewith. Some of them, I say; for otherwise, as Pliny, touching Tillage, giues light to Strabo, witnessing, that others of them were so good *Husbands* as to manure their grounds with *Manure*, as likewise doth Dioscorides, saying they had skill to make drinke of Barley: so probable is it, that those other who were by Cæsar and Tacitus said to be so like the French in conditions, had also some part of their Art in fitting the Burthen of their Sheepes backs to couer their owne.



(7) The last reason of such their going naked sometimes, was out of an opinion that no cloathing so adorned them, as their painting and damasking of their Bodies, for which cause (saith Herodian) they would not couer themselves, lest then their gay painting should not be seene: but Pomponius Mela makes doubt, whether their thus painting themselves were for ornament or for some other use, which doubt Cæsar seems to resolve, as if the men did it; because it made them looke more terrible in warre.

(8) And thus we are now orderly fallen on the second of those three notes appropriated by Authors to our Brittaines, which is their painting and staining of their Bodies, which appears by Cæsar to haue beene more vniuersally vsed, then going naked, for all the Brittaines (saith he) die their bodies with staining. As Authours differ in the reason of this their painting, (as we shewed) so in the name, perchance also in the substance of that wherewith they stained themselves, and somewhat also in the colour it selfe. The substance Cæsar calles *luteum*, which yet in vulgar acceptation is thought to be some yellow substance, as Pliny calls *luteum* out, the yolke of the Egge; Pliny himselfe saith the Frenchmen call it *gladium*, describing it to be an herbe like Plantayne, which Orisbasius (as learned Cambden sheweth) doth terme *Vitrum*, in which sense Mela is vnderstood, to say, that they were stained *Vitro* (and not *Vitro*) it being generally taken to be Wood, from those ancient times hitherto vsed for the best taine. But for the colour which is made, Cæsar and the rest agree it was *Caruleus*, blewish or azure, which colour the Cambro-Brittaines doe yet call *glace*, whence our glasse for windowes (called also *vitrum*) seemeth by reason of the colour, to haue taken name. Only Pliny leaueth some scruple in saying, that the naked painted women imitated the *Æthiopian* colour; which must be vnderstood either comparatively, in respect of People white and vn timer, or because blew a farre of hath the appearance of blacke.

(9) That the Brittaines tooke their Name from this

3. Pride.

Herodian.

Mela.

Cæsar.

3. The second note of the Brittaines, their painting.

Cæsar.
Pliny.Cambd. in Brit.
p. 14.
Mela.

Pliny.

See Chap. 2. 5. 7

Isthere.
What the Picti were.

Cambden p. 85.

Tacitus.

* Bede makes the diuers tongues, but they were only different Dialects. See Cambden.

this painting, hath beene already shewed out of *Isthere*, who writes, that they had that name from a word of their owne language, wherein *Breeth* significeth as much as painted or stained; but whether those other Inhabitants of the more Northerne parts of this Island, called also *Picti* or painted, had their name vpon the same ground, & whether they were some branch of the British stocke, or of some transmarine Colonie, it is a question not yet decided. Pomponius Latius, and some other, deriue them from Germany, some from the *Pictones* in France; but Bede, from *Soythia*, whence saith hee, they are reported to haue come into Ireland in a few long bottomes, and finding no feating there to haue entered into Britaine. Though Bede his authoritie be venerable, yet the learned find reasons to induce them rather to beleuee, that they were the remaines of those ancient Brittaines which either inhabited the North-part of this Island, before the Romanes entrance, or which (vpon their Conquest) fled thither to avoid the Romanish yoke, where the difficulties of the aire & soile protected them from the Romanes ambition and inuasion. Whereto Tacitus well accordeth, saying, that Agricola droue the Romanes Enemies (he means the more vntaichable Brittaines) into those parts, as it were into another Island. And it is thought incredible, that those Enemies of the Romanes, who sent forth against Agricola an Army of thirty thousand strong, and who so vexed Severus, that in one Expedition hee lost twenty thousand of his Romanes, & their Aiders were so vterly extinct, as that none of them remained; but that rather they wonderfully multiplied, being those who afterward much perplexed and ouerran the Roman Province, and to whom (not vnlike) some other, such as Bede mentioneth, did afterward ioine themselves.

(10) If we would adde reasons vnto Authorities, to proue that these *Picti* were no other then that multiplied offspring of those Brittaines, we could produce their Language, their manners, their kind of Government (all bearing British Resemblance) to con-



firme the same. But what neede? since the selfe-manner of painting is an vndoubted marke in the Children representing of what Parents they were borne. That they were painted, Claudian shewes, calling them, *The Picti*, so truly named, which *Isthere* well expounds, *The Pictish Nation had their name from their Bodie, depainted with the iuice of an herbe growing amongst them.* When therefore the Romanes excluded them from their other Provinciall Brittaines, this name (*Picti*) for distinctions sake was in vse amongst them; before which times, yea and long after, they were knowne to Writers by no other name then Brittaines, and the Romaine Emperor, Commodus, Severus, Balianus, Geta, vpon the Conquests of them, intituled themselves *Britannici*, British (not *Pictish*) Conquerors. But after the Romaine tongue had preuailed with the Romaine sword, the Brittaines themselves vsed to name any thing painted by the name of *Picti*, as may bee gathered out of *Vegetius*, who saith, that the Brittaines called certaine *Shallops*, *Picti*, because their *sailes*, *tackles*, and *searimers* apparell, were coloured blew, the very colour, wherewith their British *Picti* (as some where they are truly called) vsed to taine themselves. When afterward the Irish Scots had confederated themselves with these against the Romanes, they all beganne by degrees to be more ciuillized: the more Southerly of them being by *Ninian* the Brittain Conuerter vnto Christ, about the yeere of Grace 430. those other more Northward, by *Columbanus* Anno 565. by which time, it is likely, that Ciuillitie increasing, their painting and other like ruder Customes were well nigh forgotten, both amongst them, and also amongst those other Brittaines vnder the Romanes Government. In which regard we haue besides those prefixed *names*, and Patterns of their first and most sauaged times, here added also their *Habits*, when they beganne to put on, with conditions, a little better cloathing also.

(11) Neither may we thinke that formerly they refused such Apparell, onely to shew this staining and colouring

Claudian.
Why the Picti were so called, Isthere.

* Bede. Annot. Angl. in.

3. The third note of the Brittaines, their painting of their bodies.

Solinus.

colouring of their Bodies: for besides it, some other beallishments they had, which they esteemed much more gracefull, then either their painting was, or any Cloathes could be. Which of the Britaines, *Solinus* thus deliuereth: *The Country is in part (note that he makes it not general) inhabited by People barbarous, who by artificial formes of incision haue from their Childhood sinivry shapes of Beasts depouiraied in their bodies, and as their limmes increase in growth, so doth the picture worke together therewith, neither doth these wild People boast of any greater kind of patience, then in bearing long-lasting scarres, where the paine had deeply suncke into their sliced flesh.* The very paralell whereof is also by *Solone* set downe touching our *Picts* whose bodies sliced and pinked be an artificiall punishment, *and suck in the iuice of the slaying herb, carrying the scarres on their pictured limmes, as badges of their Noblenes, thus endamasked.* Neither only the shapes of Beasts, but of all other things, were so printed in their flesh; which *Herodian* takes to be the prime reason, why they edified to goe naked, least they should hide these their pleasing garnishments. Where also by the way may be obserued, since *Solinus* saith that the barbarous onely vied so to doe, and *Herodian*, that those who did so, vied therefore to goe naked; that therefore not the Britaines in general, but the most barbarous of them vied to goe naked. And very answerable to *Solinus* (who elegantly calleth such their figuring of themselves, *in scriptis visceribus, a writing on their Bodies*), is that of *Claudian*, *Perlegit exanimis Picti moriente figurat, On dying Picts he reads the breathles shapes, as if the beasts loe liuely portraited on them, seemed to lie dead together with the murdered bodies of the Picts.*

The vie of their different picturing.
* The Appendix to *Harleis Picturae*.
Thir married women.

Their Virgins.

The Men.

The later British women.

(12) By these varieties of picturing, (if some haue not misinformed vs out of their alleaged ancient Authors,) those people do distinguish themselves, that the married women were knowne by hauing pictured on their shoulders, clothes, and knees, the heads of some fierce beasts, as Lions, Gryphens, &c. On their belly, the Sunne spreading his beames: on their Pappes, Moones and Starres &c. On their armes, thighs, and legges, some other fancies of their owne Choice. But for their Virgins, their whole Body was garnished ouer with the shapes of all the fairest kinds of flowers & herbes; which (to speake indifferently) could not but yeeld, though a strange, yet no vnpleasing aspect. Whereas the Men were (as *Cæsar* speakes) *very horrible to be looked on*, hauing all their breast & bodie disfigured with vgly Beasts, Serpents, rauenous Birdes, scales and finnes of fishes &c. In which relation yet, this scruple will not easily be removed (if it bee true, that from their childhood their prints encreased with their bodies) how those, who being Virgins had no prints but of herbes and flowers, becoming Wines were so easily transformed either into Beasts or heauenly Creatures.

(13) The later Women, (as you see by the later portraiture,) became farre more modest, that is indeed more womanly; hauing learned that then they openly shew most beauty, when openly they shew not their beautie; much lesse should they expose to the view, that which nature most endeouored to hide, as knowing it least worth the viewing: yea

* Some obserue that women being drowned, naturally swimme with their face and foreparts downward, whereas *Mendoe* contrary, as if the impression of modesty were not to leaue a Woman euen after death. *Agrippa* who mentioneth it, reporteth also of some Matrones, so too-modest, that they chose rather to die, then to expose some hidden diseases to their Chirurgians view: A point vnfortunately inserted into his witty booke, in praise of women, which he dedicated to *Margaret* wife to *Maximilian* (afterward Emperour): Ince, of womanly bashfulness choosing rather to die, then to haue her thigh cured, which was broken with a fall from a horse. The picture of this British woman here last deportraitied, is framed to that description of the most valient British Lady, *Boudicea*, of whose braue attempts on the Romans you shall read more hereafter in the 7. Chapter of the Sixt Booke.

(14) Of which Sex, though naturally the weaker, yet in most Writers their remembrances of some, whole Actions both politicke and Warlike haue beene no way inferior to the worthiest Men; as our owne Age hath giuen testimony to the World in another Great Lady of British race, (the offspring of the valiant and louely *Meredicke* of Wales,) the glorie of whose Raigne and Regall vertues shall bee as lasting as the World. Whole iust, wise, and resolute kind of Governement hath iustified that Custome of our old Britains and Picts, of the former of which *Tacitus* reports, as *Beda* doth of the later, that they made no difference of Sexe for the Soueraigne Command, yea and used to warre under the conduct of women. In which respect though their Ordinary sort of women were not imployed in martiall seruices, otherwise then before we shewed in the fourth Chapter, yet because some of the choicest of them haue been so imployed, we haue so deciphered them in their Martiall habit.

(15) For their other habiliments of warre, and the manner thereof, we haue described it in the same 4. Chapter; their figure being (as *Diadorus* saith) after the fashion of the Heroes in the first age of the World, who fought in Chariots; yet on foote also they were most strong (saith *Dio*) and also most swift; which makes me maruaile why *Strabo* should say, they were *pedibus male sustulsi, not strongly underprepped*: Who also adds that they were (as himselfe obserued at Rome) much taller then the Gaulles, but yet of no very elegant shape and timber: Vising as (*Cæsar* saith) to wear their haire very long and curling, otherwise shauen all their bodie ouer, except onely the upper lippe. Their weapons (saith *Herodian*) were narrow shields, and short speares, at the end whereof (saith *Dio*) was a little bell like a ball, which they shooke at their first encounter in Warre for terror of the Enemy. Swords also had they, but short, hanging at their naked sides; but helmet and cosler they vied none, as esteeming them burdens rather then helps in warre. But about their necks they wore a round circle of Iron (as an ornament no lesse esteemed then gold with other Nations) as also about their waste, whereat they hung their skaines: being doubtlesse, a most warlike Nation, (as their posterity haue euer since proued,) and most desirous to spill blood, wherein yet their Offspring by diuine blessing are now most different from their Antecessors.

Agrippa delat
seminarium.

Of their women
Governors.

Queen Elizabeth
descended from
Owen Teude,
whome Leland
called Meridith.

Tacitus.
Beda.

Of the Britains
habits in warre.
Diadorus.

Dio
Strabo

Herodian.

Dio

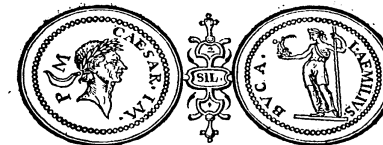
Herodian.



THE SVCCCESSION OF THE MONARCHS OF GREAT BRITAIN IN THE TIME OF THE ROMANS, WITH AN HISTORICALL RELATION OF THE LIVES, ACTS, AND GOVERNMENTS OF THEIR EMPEROVS AND LIEUTENANTS:

So farre as toucheth the affaires of this Iland, and so long as it stood a Prouince to that Empire.

BOOKE VI. CHAPTER I.



The Romans the second possessors of this Iland. Julius Cæsar the first Roman attempter.

* Coler, Suet. in *Julio Cæsare*. lib. 1. c. 1.

Cæsar's speech beholding Alexander's picture.

Cæsar's complaints for the Empire.

Cæsar ten yeeres in Gallia.

Cæsar the first Roman that assailed the Germans.



The next Nation that to the Britains obtained possession, and souerainty of this Iland, were the Romans, and of them *Caius Iulius Cæsar* the first, what time their State had vndergone all kinds of governments, and now alpired almost to their highest pitch of glory. This *Cæsar* bearing the office of *Questorship* in Spain, and naturally disposed for great affaires, was thereto the more incited at the sight of *Alexanders* portraiture, standing in the temple of *Hercules* at *Gades*, where beholding it with great admiration fell into a sudden dislike of himselfe, and (as *Alexander* in seeing *Achilles* tombe) with an ambitious, yet honorable emulation, sighed and said: *Hast thou at my yeeres achieved the conquest of the whole world, my selfe hitherto hauing done no memorable act?* Euer after which he disdaind that his petty charge, and made suite to the Senate to be dismissed, holding that the cloude which ouershadowed his following and (loone after) flowing fortunes. And forthwith returning to Rome obserued euery occasion that might make him gratious in the peoples eyes, hauing the advantage of the time which then was swaied with most dislikes: and entering into many factions, yea and some of them not without suspicion of conspiracy, did notwithstanding so manage his proceedings, that their constructions were euer made honorable, and himselfe the man by all assents that did support the glory of their State; vnto whom offices of high dignities were assigned, which daily increased his credit and power. And in the time of his *Consulship*, tooke vpon him the government of Gallia, where he remained ten yeeres together, and forbore no occasion for warre, were it neuer so vniuert or dangerous: Inomuch that framing a Bridge of wood ouer the broad and swift riuer *Rhene*, he entred the country of the *Suenians*, being the first Roman that assailed the Germans: And thence with victory returning, found his charge the Gauls in quiet: both which fortunes were as spurres to his alpiring minde, and set his thoughts to worke vpon other attempts.

(2) For now intending a voiage into Britaine, he prepared thitherward, as well to enlarge the extent of his ambition and glory, as to satisfy himselfe with the sight and feate of the Iland, as for a further knowledge of those people the inhabitants, after whom he had most diligently inquired, yet by no relation could find content. But his pretence was reuenge against the Britains, for that thence (as himselfe speaketh) the Gauls had receiued most of their supplies against him in all his warres, or as some haue written, for the desire of Pearles that therein plentifully grew, whose beauty and weight he had oft obserued.

But because the summer was almost spent, and that the voiage seemed dangerous through want of knowledge, either for place of entrance, or safety in harbour (for our learned countiman *Roger Bacon* was doubtlesse in an error, who thinketh that *Cæsar* set vpon perspective glasses on the coast of France, and thence saw all the ports and creeks in England) he thought good to send one *Caius Volusenus* a military Tribune in a galley before him, giuing sufficient instructions for so great an enterprise in hand, himselfe drawing towards those parts of Gallia, that lay neereest coasted vnto Britaine, thence expecting his successe.

(3) These things were not so secretly done but that the Britains receiued notice thereof, and therupon some of their priuate States sent Ambassadors with proffers of submission vnder the assurances of their hostages. Which *Cæsar* accepted and sent back again with liberrall promises, ioining in commiffion with them *Comius* a king of the *Atrebatij* (for so he is filled vpon his Coyne) a man well reputed, and respected among the Britains, that he might perswade the rest of the States to embrace *Cæsars* amitie. In effecting of which businesse, some five daies being spent, *Volusenus* returned, hauing waded vpon the coasts of Britaine so far, as with safety he might, which was no further then to view it with the eie, his foot not daring to tread the floore replenished with those barbarous people, as it pleased the Romans to terme the Britains: His discouerie and relation gaue small en-

Causes of Cæsars iouation.

Sueton. in *vita Cæsaris*.

Ha con de arte de nauiga.

Volusenus Cæsars spic.



The *Morines* were of the better parts of France, as *Turwint*, *Calis*, &c.

Athenas reports he had 2000 ships.

The Romans divided their night into four equal parts, each part being called a watch.

Cæsar commeth in person against *Britaine*.

* Thought to be *Deale*.

This ensigne was an Eagle of silver standing in a little shrine upon the top of a figure.

Yaler. Sæm. lib. 3. cap. 2.

Cæsar held civil.

Ioseph. Iscanus in Antiochide.

* Viz. *Pompey*.

The first assay for the conquest of this I. and.

An. mundi 3873.

Cæsar putteth the Britains to flight.

At *Barham Down* *Cæsar* seeth the disposition of this ship.

couragements to *Cæsar* hoped successe, and had not the *Morines* yielded him their obedience, it may be thought his voiage at that season had been staid.

(4) But now composing his affairs in *Gallia*, and having ready an hundred ships (wanting but two) besides many *Gallies* also for transporting his army, he looked from the shore, having a good wind, about the third watch of the night, taking order for his horsemen to imbarke with all speed and follow after him; himselfe early in the morning attained the fight of *Britaine*, whose cliffs he found covered with armed men, and place for entrance so naturally beset and strengthened with steep hills and rocks, that hee there cast anchor, and called to counsell the *Legats* and *Tribunes*, declaring unto them the danger of the haven that gave such advantage to their enemy, whose darts from the higher ground might much impech their arriuage, and therefore determined their landing elsewhere.

(5) Their Counsell was no sooner dismissed, but *Cæsar* both tide and wind fitting him, not foreflowing the occasion, gave signe of remouue, and some eight miles distant came to * *a plaine and open shore*, and made preparation to land his men. Thither also the *Britaines* had remouued part of their forces, and so valiantly withstood the enemies, that *Cæsar* himselfe, though wholly addicted to honor himselfe and his *Romans*, yet confessed that his army was fore over-laid and terrified with that encounter: and had they not been assisted from the *Gallies* with an vnusuall kind of *Engines*, which did beat back the *Britaines* (vnexpert of that strange manner of assault) from the shore, the *Romans* had not set foot on *British* soile, neither durst they then adventure it, vntill the *standard-bearer* for the tenth legion desperately leapt fourth of the ship with his *Eagle*, calling on the danted souldiers and asking whether they would dastardly forsake their *ensigne* and betray it through cowardize to the enemy: which opprobry prouoked them to follow his example, and so they got the shore after an encounter fierce and terrible on both parts, as *Cæsar* acknowledgeth. But the first of all (euen before the *Standard-bearer*) who put courage into the *Romans* and taught them how to deale, was (as testifieth *Eutropius*) one *Scæna* a *Britaine* (who formerly had fled to *Cæsar*) and guiding foure other souldiers in a boat to a rock nere the shore, where the tide leaving them, his fellows flunke backe in the boat, but hee most boldly defended himselfe from the rocks against the *Britains*, like a Beare at a stake among a multitude of mastiues, till hauing all his armour broken in peeces and himselfe all wounded with darts, he swamme to the fleet, and begging pardon for his foole-head forwardnesse, *Cæsar* both forgave him, and rewarded his valour with the honour of a *Centurion*: and hee did *Cæsar* afterwards noble seruice at *Dyrachium* in the ciuill warres. *Cæsar* confessing, that hee alone saved the fortification against *Pompey*, at which time his target was shewed to *Cæsar*, hauing 230. holes pierced in it by the enemy, wherof *Iosephus* *Iscanus* that ancient Poet of *Excester* writeth thus:

Hinc & Scæna satis pars non obscura tumultus
Ciuis, Magnum solus qui mole soluta
Obfedit, meliora, stetit pro Cæsare murus.

The *Britaine* *Scæna* in ciuill warres well knowne,
Besidged the Great, and rampiers overthrowen,
Was *Cæsars* wall more strong then wall of stone.

The first attempt assaid, that is warranted by any true Record for the conquest of this Iland: which happened in the yeere of the worlds creation 3873. and before the birth of our Sauour Christ, 54.

(6) This enterprise for landing thus achieved, *Cæsar* charged so fiercely vpon the enemy, that hee put them to flight; but wanting his horsemen to follow the chase, (which as yet were not arrived) he proceeded no further, but encamped his host vpon a great plaine, not farre from the Sea, and not without likelihood thought to be *Barham Downe*: for so neere lay it vpon the shore, that thence he beheld the dis-

perfection and losse of his 18. ships (comming vnder saile with his horsemen to his assistance) through the violence of a storme, and rage of Sea.

(7) In the meane time the *Britaines*, that after flight had againe recovered head, and in their assemblies aduisedly considered their imminent dangers, concluded their submission for the safest remedie, and to that end sent their second *Embassadors* vnto *Cæsar*, with whom *Comius* before remembered was imploied, whom they had retained in strait prison for *Cæsars* cause, but now made him a meane to worke their peace; which was granted after some soft and gentle reprooves, with hostages received for performance of *Covenants*, and resort of their Nobles to *Cæsars* campe, to yeeld themselves and Cities to his will.

(8) These *Britaines*, although rude in regard of the *Romans*, and vnmatchable to them in educated ciuilitie, yet were so skillfull in the affairs of warre, and so ready to discern the least advantage, that they easily perceived the weaknesse of *Cæsars* power, both in want of horsemen to equal their wagons, wherein chiefly stood the strength and order of their fight, as also of ships for seruice and safety, as occasions should be offered: whereby their mindes touching their promised submission began to wauer, and the matter with better aduice to be pleaded in their assemblies; for that not only these foresaid ships for *Cæsars* supply were dispersed and hindred, but euen his owne fleet, which lay then in harbour by the rage of winde and sea, (being then spring tide, and the moone in the full) was not only filled with waves, but also their rickings, sailes, and anchoris spoiled or lost, the violent storme so dashing the bulkes one against another, that their bruised bottomes were thereby made vnfit for burden.

(9) This losse was so great, that it is accounted the first of the three aduerser fortunes which euer happened to *Cæsar* in all his proceedings: and it was so well obserued by the *Britaines*, that immediately they intended a reuolt, and in Counsell vrged this, as the materiall point that breathed hope and life to their former liberties, condemning themselves as impious if they should refuse to ioine consent with the hea-uens, whose elements had thus farre fought for their freedom and full deliuerance, assuring themselves (if on this advantage they might cut off these new guests) that neuer any afterward would adventure to enter *Britannia* in hostile manner.

And thereupon they began both to slacke the performance of *Covenants*, and daily to withdraw themselves from *Cæsars* Campe, which gaue him iust occasion to suspect wherat they aimed. And to prevent their proceedings hee wisely wrought: for first repairing his Naue with the huls, timber, and tackling of the most bruised ships, with the losse of twelve ships only, the rest were made able to brooke the sea. And providing against the aduantage of the enemy, he sent fourth the seventh Legion for forrage to supplie any occasion.

(10) This Legion taking the coast cleere, and little surmising so sudden a reuolt, fell to the sickle and sibe like haruest labourers, and laid their weapons apart, mistrusting no Enemy. Now the *Britaines* as forward to put in practise what they had determined, closely had laid themselves in ambush, for thither they knew the enemy would come, a peece of corpe there standing, whereas in all other parts haruest was past: and so hauing these workmen in their danger, suddenly fell vpon them, slaying some, and forcing the rest out of their array, who not knowing the order of their fight, cast themselves in a ring (the best defensiu forme of embattelling) and stood on their guard as they might: but had they not happily beene rescued, *Cæsar* had lost one whole Legion at that time.

(11) For though this skirmish thus in acting was altogether vnknowne and vnexpected to the rest of the *Romans*, yet by the rising of the dust, appearing

The Britains second ambalage to *Cæsar*.

Cæsars ships distressed.

Suetonius in *vit. Cæsar*.

Britaines reuolt.

The Britains suddenly assaile the *Romans*.

Clem. Alexandr his obseruation on *Cæsar* Comment. li. 4. ca. 15. obfer. 2.

Cæsar Comment. li. 4.

The manner of the Britains fight.

to the Cohorts that warded before their Campe, the fame was mistrusted, which caused *Cæsar* in all haste to make thitherward with part of his host.

(12) The *Britaines* thus prevented, seeing more supply to maintain the battle, stood still, without further stroke: and the *Romans* as much amazed at this sudden attempt, and order of their fight, made a stand, not venturing any further. Which order in fight so often mentioned, and so much admired, in *Cæsars* words we will declare, the rather because some haue thence collected, that the *Britaines* were the offspring of the *Troians*, who with other *Eastern* Nations only used this kinde of fight in *Chariots*.

(13) They used (saith he) to ride in wagons against the approach of the enemy, and to circulate them about with a whirling compasse, and rattling noise, each wates casting their darts as they did drue, and euer as they saw advantage would winde themselves in amongst the horse and foot, to breake the array; which done, they would forsake their wagons, and on foot most dangerously assaile the enemy. In the meane while the Wagons would withdraw themselves somewhat out of the battle, and place their wagons in such order, that if their masters were over-charged, they might haue speedy access, and opportunity of retreat, by which means they were euer as quick to mooue as were horsemen, and as stedfast to stand the battle as were the foot, whereby they did supply the duties of both at once, and by daily exercise grew so expert in managing their horses, that running they forcibly downe a steepe hill, they would stop, and turne them in the mid-way: and they would run along the beame, and stand firme vpon the yoke; whence with like facility they would againe returne into their Chariots.

This order *Cæsar* so well obserued, as that notwithstanding his desire of reuenge, yet wanting his horsemen (as he pretended) wherein consisted the chiefest resistance, hee durst attempt no further on them, but was content to keepe the field without profer of battle.

(14) The *Britaines* likewise hopelesse of further

success at that present, departed without any impeachment, intending to prosecute their cause with a greater and more generall supplie: and thereupon sent messengers to their severall States, with notice of their hopes against so small a power; whose Campe by them if any way might bee vanquished, the purchase of spoile, besides their freed liberties, would requite the paines.

(15) These States, though maintaining ciuill factions amongst themselves, yet seeing the intended danger of this generall enemy, presently assembled a great power, purposing yet once againe to trie the hazard and fortune of warre. *Cæsar*, whose vigilancy did euer equal his valour, prepared his armie, wherein now only 30. horsemen were present, and those brought to him by *Comius* the King. The battle ioining continued not long, but that the *Britaines* gaue backe and fled, whom the *Romans* pursued as farre as strength indured, and returned with the slaughter of many, burning the Country where they came.

(16) Thus the *Britaines* once againe vanquished, forthwith sent their third *Embassage* vnto *Cæsar*, desiring peace, with promise of quiet subiection; whom he with hard termes now reprooued, and imposed a double number of hostages to be brought him into *Gallia*, whither he made all possible preparation, for that the *Aequinoctium* drew neere, doubting his crazed ships would hardly brooke the winter stormes, that usually rage vpon these Seas. And hauing gotten a faire wind, imbarked all his forces about midnight, and so brought most of his fleet safe to the continent. This enterprise so fortunately accomplished, *Cæsar* by his letters made knowne to the *Senate*, who decreed and proclaimed to his honour a generall supplication or thanksgiving to their Gods, for the space of twentie daies together, wherein all the *Romans*, clothed in white garments, and crowned with garlands, went to all the Temples of their Gods, and offered sacrifices for so glorious a victorie.

The Britains gather a greater power.

Cor. Tacit. in vit. Agric.

Comius supplieth *Cæsar* with 30. horse.

The Britains submit themselves the third time.

Aequinoctium is when the day & night are both of a length.

Cæsar was now the first that had 20. daies euer granted: the greatest victories hauing before him but 5. daies, or 10. at the most.



CESARS SECOND EXPEDITION INTO BRITAIN.

CHAPTER II.



Most of the Britains brake covenants with *Cæsar*.

CÆsar expecting the performance of *Covenants* agreed vpon in the treaty of peace with the *Britaines*, received hostages from two of their Cities onely, and no more: the rest drawing backe, refused his subiection: whereupon intending not to lose so rich a prey, nor to suffer that *Sunne* to bee eclipsed, whose

glory thus farre in his Horizon had ascended, hee appeared some troubles in *Gallia*, and in the winter season began his preparation to that enterprise. And hauing had experience of his former wants, he furnished himselfe accordingly, and the next spring following drew his forces towards *Calis*, the shortest cut into *Britaine*. There committing the charge of *Gallia* to *T. Labienus* his Lieutenant, himselfe with five Legions of souldiers, 2000. horsemen, and 800. ships, about going downe of the *Sunne* looked from the shore, and with a soft Southerne gale were carried into

Scipio Primus some thinke to be *Calis*, some *S. Omers*.

Cæsar arriveth
landed at the place
of his first arrival

into the streame. But about midnight the winde failing, and their failes becalmed, the tide diuerted their course: so that in the dawning he well perceived his intended place for landing to be paffed.

(2) Therefore falling againe with the change of tide, and indeouours of their Oares, about noone the same day hee recovered the shoare, euen in the same place (and that without any fiew of resistance) where he had found best landing the Summer before. There in convenient manner he encamped his host, and by certaine *Fugitives* got notice of the power and place of the enemy.

Cæsar refitted at
the river Stower.

(3) And lest delay should afford them aduantage, he committed the gouernment of his ships at anchor to *Qu. Atrius*, and his campe on land to the guard of ten Cohorts, besides the strength of three hundred horlemen; and himselfe with the rest about the third watch of the night tooke their march towards the enemy, proceeding with such celeritie, that by the day dawning they were entred twelue miles higher into the Continent: where seeking to paffe a riuer, which is supposed to be the water *Stower*, the *Britaines* with their darts and chariots began in most terrible manner to assault the *Romans*. But being at length by them repulsed, tooke into a wood strongly fortified both by nature and mans industrie. For in the time of their owne disentions they had formerly made this place one of their strongest fortresses, and had cut down many trees, which ouerthwart the waies of entrance they had befloved.

The Britains driven
from their
fortresse.

(4) In this they secretly kept, and where they saw aduantage, would by companies fallie out vpon the enemy to their no little annoiance. Whereupon *Cæsar* commanded the seventh Legion to raise a banke, and to build a *Tessudo* of boards, couered with raw hides, by which meane the place without much adoe was won, and the *Britaines* forced to forsake the woods. Whose chafe *Cæsar* forbade both in regard the day was nere spent, as also that the countrey was altogether vnknown to the *Romans*. But the next day the pursuit being begun, sudden newes was brought from *Qu. Atrius*, that most of his ships the night before by a violent tempest were cast on Land, their bulks shaken, their cables broken, and anchors lost. *Cæsars* experience in like mishaps the Summer before, made him so much more ready to prevent the worst. And therefore recalling his forces, in all haste returned to his Campe, finding the relation too true in their wracke, wherein forty of his ships were quite lost. Wherefore he wrote to *Labiens* his Lieutenant in *Gallia* for supply of ships, thence to bee sent in all haste. Then gathering his shipwrights out of the legions, with the ruines of the bruised bulks, he repaired the whole, and now hauing twice felt the dangers of these seas, caused his whole fleet (a strange attempt) to be drawn on land, euen into the midst of the fortifications of his campe, so to secure them from the like mishap, and that one strength might defend both.

Hee draweth his
fleet on shoare.



Cæsar. Cons. lib. 5.

(5) In which admirable toile ten daies and nights were altogether spent, before hee could returne to the place from whence he came, where now the *Britaines* through great confluence of people had increased their power, and entred againe their fortresse and wood. The chiefe command of these affaires was committed to *Calsibelan*, whose coine wee haue here likewise set, a Prince of good repute for feats in warre, whose *Seignory* was secured from the Cities towards the Sea, by the great and famous riuer *Tamisis*, and extended into the land full fourescore miles.

This *Calsibelan* present Gouernour of the *Trinobants*, had attained to the possession of their chiefe Citie by the slaughter of *Immanes* their former Ruler (a man well respected, and much lamented after death) whose sonne *Mandubrace*, a gentleman of great hope,

fearing the like danger, by the new established authority of *Calsibelan*, had made ouer into *Gallia*, crauing *Cæsars* assistance to set him in his right.

(6) *Calsibelan* (if among these authentick Authors the *British Writers* may be heard) was the brother of *King Lud*, and in the nonage of his nephewes governed the *Trinobants*, whose bounds hee fought to enlarge vpon the bordering Countreys of his neighbours, and in his fortunes had so borne himselfe, that he was much maligned, and more feared. But now all their dangers yoked alike in a common perill, they laid aside priuate grudges, and held him the only man to support the strength of their troubled and declining citie, and by a common consent made him General of their warres. The expectation of whose proceedings he long delayed not, but with a fierce and hot encounter did assaile the *Romans*, and so manfully discharged the parts of his place, that in the sight of the whole Campe *Quintus Laberius* a militarie Tribune was slain, (in memorie whereof the place as yet, though somewhat corruptly, is called *Tul-laber*) and *Cæsar* himselfe professeth he learned many points of martiall policie by their braue and running kinde of encountering.

(7) But his next daies seruice proued not so fortunate; for the *Romans* hauing learned their owne defects by the former daies experience, laid aside their weightie armour, that with the more facilitie they might both assaile the enemies, and with like nimbleness auoid their furie, they hauing now bestowed their powers disperdely, and scattered their troups into companies, whereby the *Romans* were still matched with fresh supplies. A policie no doubt of no small consequence, had not destiny determined the fatal subiection of the *Britaines*, and Fortune now raised the *Romans* almost to the height of their Monarchie.

(8) For this failing, the *Britaines* neuer after shewed themselves with any vnited resistance, but hauing lost the day departed, thinking it better to secure euerie priuate by his owne meane, then by a general power to hazard all, as hopelesly any more to vphold that which the heauens (they saw) would haue down. And *Calsibelan* himselfe despairing of happy successe, drew into his owne territories, keeping with him not about 4. thousand wagons. And fearing the *Romans* further approach, fortified the riuer *Tamisis* (then passable onely in one place) with sharpened stakes bound about with lead, and driuen so deepe into the bottom, that *Beda* and *Aster* report them so to remaine in their times. All which notwithstanding, the *Romans* passed with the repulse of their enemies, and *Cæsar*, who grew now to the height of his honour, marched further into the Continent, and coming forward, was met by Ambassadors from the chiefe Citie of the *Trinobants*, which first of all the States profered submission, and promised subiection, with this intreatie also, that *Mandubrace* (who being *Cæsars* follower, and doubtlesse the contriuer of this submission) might be Gouernour of their Citie.

(9) *Cæsar* ready to worke vpon such aduantage, seized them at forty hostages, with sufficiency of graine for his whole armie, which with all expedition those *Suppliants* performed, preferring the satisfaction of their owne discontentments before the common cause of their Native Countrey, thus laid open, and betrayed into the enemies hands; from whose example many other States without stroke yielded to *Cæsars* command: yea further treacherously shewing vnto him both the power and place of *Calsibelans* abode, who had now retired himselfe into his owne Citie called *Verolam*, well fortified both with woods and marsh grounds.

Thither *Cæsar* came, and with little losse or labour won the place, and many of the miserable *Britaines* both taken and slain. *Calsibelan* now despairing of his owne power, farre vnable to match, and much lesse to ouermatch his Enemies, insigated the Gouernours of Kent, being foure in number, *Cingetorix*, *Carulius*, *Taximagulus*, and *Segonax*, (whom *Cæsar* termed

Flor. Hist. Fabius.

Calsibelan brother
of King Lud.

Lambert. Peramb.

Britains retire
to their several
Provinces.

Thought to be
Ostland.

Beda lib. 2. cap. 2.

The Trinobants
submit to Cæsar.
Beda calleth him
Androgiom, lib.
2. cap. 2.

Ceminegers,
Segonaxius,
Aucalitis,
Bibrocæ,
Cassinus.

S. Albans belie-
ged by Cæsar.

The Gouernours
of Kent ioining with
Calsibelan against
Cæsar.

Calsibelan sollicit
eth for peace.

A great Tribute.

Tacitus in vita
Agric.

Eutrop. Plin.

Cæsars ambition.

Cæsars death.

British Writers
vary from Cæsar.

That Calsibelan
repulsed Cæsar
twice.

Nonion won Cæ-
sars sword.

Beda lib. 2. lib. 2.

meth Kings) to raise all their strengths, and suddenly to set vpon the *Romans* Campe that guarded their ships; which enterprise was accordingly attempted, but with such successe, that the *Britaines* were on each side slaine, and *Cingetorix* taken prisoner, the rest sating themselves by flight.

(10) *Calsibelan* beholding these vnfortunate proceedings, feared the end of vnhappy successe, for hee saw his Countrey wasted, his owne designs defeated, and himselfe forsaken by the traitorous reuolt of many Cities and States on euery side. Therefore as bootlesse to bandy against fortune, he sought to hold his owne with others, and sent *Comius* King of the *Atrebatij* to be his meane to *Cæsar* for peace, which was the willinglier heard and granted, for that he determined to winter in *Gallia*, his affaires so requiring it.

(11) The conditions were hard, but necessitie must be obeyed: for *Cæsar* imposed a grievous Tribute to be taxed of the *Britaines*, of no lesse then three thousand pounds yearly to be paid, and moreover included the safety of *Mandubrace*, with his *Trinobants* taken into friendship, and protection of the *Romans*; & lastly, that these *Couenants* should be faithfully observed, he commanded hostages for assurance forthwith to be deliuered. These things thus compounded, he tooke the Seas, about the second watch of the night, which then began to equalize the day in length, and safely arrived in the Continent of *Gallia*; Hauing rather shewed the place to posterities, then deliuered to the *Romans* the possession thereof, as *Tacitus* faith, supposing it his glory sufficient to vndergoe a matter so rare and difficult, and at his coming to Rome, to haue presented his *British* Captiues, whose strangeness of attire and behauiour filled the peoples eyes both with wonder and delight. He offered also in the Temple of *Venus* genitrix, a *Surcoat* made all of *British* pearles, as a Trophy and Spoile of the Ocean. And now his fortunes coming to the highest, the title of *perpetuall Dictator* (then which the State of Rome could afford nothing greater) sufficed him not, but a King hee will be, and sole gouernour ouer all, though contrarie to the Law and liking of the *Romans*; whereof in short time grew such heare-burning and hatred, that seventy principal men conspired his death, and after his many dangers of enemies in battles abroad, was in the Senate-house amongst his supposed friends, and in peace (if treachery may be called peace) cruelly murdered, receiving in his body three and twenty wounds, whereof he died, after he had late Emperor only five moneths.

(12) I am not ignorant that the *British Writers* doe varie from *Cæsar* in relating these his proceedings, and speake more honourably of their owne resistance then himselfe hath set downe, namely, that by the valour of *Calsibelan* their King, in his first attempts hee was twice driuen backe without his purpose, and forced to take the Seas, to the great hazard of his ships and men, yea and with the losse of his owne sword, which with great prouesse was wonne from him in a single encounter by *Nonion* *Calsibelans* brother. And surely howsoeuer *Polydore* accounteth their Story new, and *Cæsar* carrieth himselfe gloriouly in his owne affaires; yet by sundry other renowned writers it seemeth, that the current of his Conquest went nothing so smooth and vntroubled, or with so little losse of the *Romans*, nor the *Britaines* liberties forgone by so easie resistance: which may be collected euen out of some covert passages of *Cæsars* own words, where it appeareth, that hee durst not at sundry times giue the *Britaines* battle, though they were only harcelled in leather, and his Souldiers were all old Legionaries of long seruice, called for their huge armour, *Milites gravis armaturæ*, as hauing a helmet, corselet and boots, all of massy brasse or iron, with a large target, a strong two-edged sword, and a great staffe or clubbe headed with an iron pike, which odde notwithstanding had not *Calsibelan* been vndermined by *Mandubrace*, and traiterously forsaken (which *Cæsar* himselfe confesseth) by the Princes which promised him assi-

stance, but euer maligned him, and had now a faire time of reuenge, perhaps *Cæsar* might haue missed this parcell of his glory. Yet for all these helpees, *Lucan* faith exprelly of him,

*Territa quæstis ostendit terga Britannia:
He Britaines found, but left them soone by flight.*

Eutropius faith, He was wearied out and quelled both with the fierce battles of the enemy, and crosses of tempests. *Tacitus* faith, Hee found out Britannie for the *Romans*, but could not winne it for them: which was the very cause why (as *Dio* witnesseth) for twenty yeeres after *Cæsars* entrance, Britannie kept their owne Kings and their owne lawes, and had no forraigne Prefects to command them. And *Beda* sheweth, that *Cæsar* in this Land was both receiued with sharpe and fore fight, and weakened by the losse of his ships, and with the most part of his men at armes. *Tacitus* also, vying the speech of *Caraciliacus* to his Souldiers, hath these words: He called (faith he) vpon the names of his Ancestors, which chased *Cæsar* the Dictator out of the Ile, by whom and by whose valour they were deliuered from Harlots and Tributes, and enioied freely their wives and childrens bodies vndisfild. Againe, in the consultations of the *Britaines* intending a reuolt, hee allegeth their arguments, whereof one was the sudden departure of *Cæsar* out of this Island, little better then a flight. With whom *Dion Calsius* also agreeth, affirming that *Cæsar* got nothing in Britaine besides the honour and renouew of that voiage, and fight of that Countrey, untilt then vnknown to the *Romans*. And againe (faith hee) *Cæsar* departed thence hauing done no memorable act, which caused the *Britaines* to be secure and careless to provide themselves against his second arriuage. Whereby is apparant (euen by *Romane Writers*) both the bold resistance that the *Britaines* made, and the deare subiection that the *Romans* bought. But in matters so faire past, it is hard for mee to aouuch any thing resolutely, vnlesse I could meet with that aged Britaine whom *M. Aper* conferred with heere in Britanny (as *Quintilian* writeth) who aouwed that hee was in the *British* Campe when they did beat *Cæsar* from the shoare.

(13) Neither will I urge that for truth, which *Authors* haue left vs in their reports, concerning the many prodigies before going, and forewarning his death: things rather to be accounted the superfluities of their owne pens, and vaine imagines, euer working vpon accidental euent, and ascribing issued successe to a supernaturall cause. Such conceit had *Cæsar* of himselfe, that for his fortunes hee would bee stiled amongst the Gods: and his desire to that credulous generation was further strengthened by the appearance of a blazing starre, which moued (no doubt) an ouerlarge opinion of his humane power, and caused his glorie much to surmount it selfe. And therefore left ignorance should any way blemish his immortalicitie, they haue fained the manner of his dying best pleasing to himselfe, and many ominous signes to fore-shew the fame: all which he either lightly desired, or carelesly neglected, as they would haue their Readers beleue.

(14) Such was that of *Spurina* his diuiner, that forewarned him of great danger, which should not passe the Ides of March. And *Suetonius* out of *Cornelius Balbus* reporteth, that in the ancient Monuments of *Capua*, discovered but few moneths before, was found a Table of brasse, wherein was written the manner of his murder, and the reuenge that should follow: his owne dreames the night before, wherein hee seemed to flie in the clouds, and to shake hands with *Iupiter*: as also his woe, that thought him stabbed in her armes, and to lie all bloody in her bosome. Besides many other obseruances both of beards and birds, and that in such plentie, that it yielded sufficient matter for *Onid* the Poet to furnish and fill vpon the latter part of his last booke of *Metamorphosis*. His feature, qualities and fortunes, are by them thus described: Of personage to be tall, strong, and well limmed, faire, and full faced, with blacke

Lucan.

Eutropius.

Tacitus.

Tacit. lib. 2. ca. 6.

Invite Agric.

Dio lib. 49.
Cæsar got nothing
in Britaine,
saue the fight of
the Countrey.

Quintilian.

Cæsar would bee
stiled amongst
the Gods.

Sueton.
Plutarch.

Cæsar forewarned
to take heed of
the Ides of
March.

His dreames.

His wises dream.

Onid. Meta. li. 25.

His personage.

cies, and bald headed, to cower which he vñually wore the *Triumphant Lawrell Garland*. He was well learned, and therewithall very eloquent : yet would he be easily reconciled to his enemies, yea and often times seeke the meanes first himselfe. And hee held it no lesse valour to subdue his *vntrb*, then his *enemie* ; as likewise in his *disfisters* hee was of great temper and moderation, insomuch that *Seneca* writeth of him, that whiles hee was in *Britaine*, hearing newes of his daughters death (which was lamented as a great losse to the whole State) hee conquered that sorrow as easily and as quickly as hee subdued all them euer he came. And of his other moderatenesse, *Cotus* (who then held the second place of honour and command in the Armie) writeth, that though *Cæsar* was then fo great and glorious a Commander, yet hee was fo farre from outward pompe, as that when he came into *Britannie* hee had only three servants to attend him.

(15) In his enterprises hee was both valiant and fortunate, and is therefore singled out for an *Idea* or

Pateme of an absolute Generall, especially for *four* military properties very resplendent in him : first, laboriousnesse in his affairs : secondly, courage in his dangers : thirdly, industrious contriving of what he undertooke : fourthly, quicke dispatch in accomplishing what hee had once begun : In all which he proceeded with such successe, that in *fiftie* severall battles by him fought, hee alwaies prevailed, one only excepted, as both *Pliny*, *Solinus*, and others haue recorded. *Four* times hee was created *Consul*, and *five* times entered *Rome* in triumph, bearing still the stile of *Perpetuall Dictator*. And therefore with lesse dishonour did nations subiect themselves vnto him ; and this of *Britaine* with them, whole lot being cast among the hazards of the world, was drawn with an equal chance, as the rest, and yielded their freedoms with as hard conditions, as did Countries of more extent, and Kingdomes of greater account. But most especially the decree of God could not be gaine-stood, who had foretold by his Prophets the rising of these Chittims, and them a meanes to make the *metalline image* dust.

His successe in warre, and number of battles.

His Offices.

Num. 24. 24.
Dan. 11. 30.
Dan. 2. 35.

Easie to be reconciled.

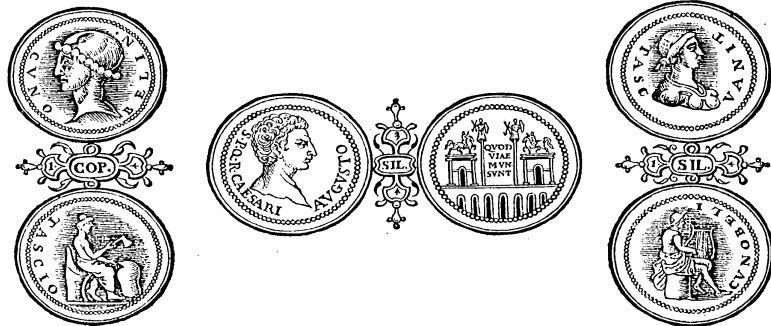
Seneca.

Cotus apud Albanum.



OCTAVIUS AVGVSTVS.

CHAPTER III.



* From Macedonia, say some.

Cæsar against Antony, Sexton, in uita Augusti.

Cicero against Antonius.



After the death of *Cæsar*, thus slaine in the *Senate*, *Octavian* (the grand-child of *Julia Cæsar's* sister) whom hee had adopted, and declared his heire, returned vnto *Rome* from * *Apollo*nia, where hee studied *Philosophie*, intending to prosecute the reuenge of *Cæsar's* death ; where falling at oddes with *Marcus Antonius* a man of great spirit and power, and setting himselfe against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, with their Complices, for the murder of his vncl, secretly wrought the friendship of the *Citizens*, before whose cies also *Cæsar's* wounds seemed yet to bleed.

(2) These factions thus begun, grew to such height, that in the *Senate-house* their causes were pleaded, and by the instigation and eloquence of *Marcus Tullius Cicero*, *Antonius* was proclaimed enemy to the State : against whom *Octavian* was sent, with *Ensignes of Consul*, and title *Proprator*, being yet not twentie yeeres of age; which duty and office hee so well discharged in the parts of a valiant Capitaine, that *Antony*

was forced out of the field, albeit in this battle the one *Consul* was slaine, and the other deadly wounded. For which service fo effected, hee entered *Rome* in triumph, though the glory thereof was much blemished, being obtained but in an intestine and ciuill warre. *Marcus Antonius*, to recouer himselfe, and make good his cause, ioined friendship with *Marcus Aemilius Lepidus*, Capitaine of the horse, who together interpolated themselves against *Octavian's* proceedings ; but by mediation of friends all three were reconciled, and ioiñtly erected that forme of government which thence was named the *Triumvirat* : for the establishment whereof they had severall iurisdiccions assigned them : to *Lepidus*, *Africa*, whereof he was present Governour : to *Antony*, the Countries as well of *Greece* as *Asia*, that lay betwixt the *Ionian Sea*, entering at the gulfes of *Venice*, vnto the river *Euphrates* : and vnto *Octavian* all these West parts of *Europe*, amongst which this our *Britaine* was one.

(3) In these ciuill broiles, and bandings of great men (as *Tacitus* termeth it) the State of *Britaine* lay long forgotten, and stood in peaceable termes, *Augustus* thinking it wisdom (saith he) to reſtraine the infinite desire of enlarging the *Romane Empire*, whose extent

Antonius discomfited.

Octavian and Antony reconciled.

The Empire too great.

Fabius out of Guide. Cæsar.

Diocessib. 49.

Octavian's preparation for Britaine.

Diocessib. 53.

The Britains appeale Octavian.

Strabo lib. 4.

Augustus third preparation against Britannie.

The Britains excuses.

Customes first paid in Britaine.

The Britains loyalty.

Cæsbeline prince of the Trinobantes.

Malden.

The first stamped Coines in Britaine.

Cæsar. Com. lib. 5.

A general peace thorough all the world.
Micah 5. 2.
Isay 9. 6.
Gen. 3. 5.
Isay 7. 14.
Gal. 4. 4.

tent was grown to that vast greatnesse, as it seemed euen burdesome vnto it selfe, whereby this remote Island lay overshadowed from their light : whereunto may be added that the presence of *Kymbeline the British King* (as their historie recordeth) in great fauour with *Octavian*, was a great furtherance to the peace, euen without payment of the formerly imposed tribute. But yet the truth is (as *Dion Cassius* hath it) that *Octavian* desirous in all things to be like vnto *Cæsar*, seeing their tribute neglected, had intended a voyage towards *Britaine* ; but hauing left forwards into *Gallia*, hee had there tidings of the sudden reuolt of the *Pannonians*, against whom hee diuerted his prepared power, and left his first designement for that time. Notwithstanding, hee still retained the desire of their subiection, and four yeeres after made a second very great preparation thitherward, proceeding with his power againe into *Gallia*.

(4) The *Britains* that had felt the force of the *Romans*, and in regard of their own distractions at home were hopelesse of strength to withstand them, fought the fauor of *Augustus* by their submission, and to that end sent ouer their Ambassadors, who presenting themselves before him in *Gallia Cælica*, appealed his wrath, with promise of obedience and full satisfaction for their tributes detained : whereby *Cæsar* was againe staied, and the *Britains* taken into fauour and protection. Notwithstanding, the mindes of their Magistrates were so vnconstant, or else the money so hardly drawn from the people, who naturally hated all such obliged seruitudes, hauing euer liued a free Nation (as *Aegippus* speaketh of them) that they againe failed their payments ; whereat *Augustus* was sore offended, and the third time prepared his voyage that way, which yet a while was hindered by the reuolt of the *Biscayans*, and some other Prouinces.

(5) The *Britains* seeing themselves thus still sought after, sent vnto *Cæsar* their excuses, with presents to be offered in the Capitoll to the *Romane Gods*, hauing now learned with the rest of the world to appeale Princes by gifts and rewards, yeelding part of the Island, and swearing him fealtie in the Temple of *Mars*, and so were registred subiects to the *Romane Empire*. At which time also they agreed to pay tolles and customes for all wares which they transported into other parts, their merchandize chiefly consisting of *woorie boxes*, *Iron Chaines*, and other small trifles of *Amber* and *Glasfe*. All which agreements and compositions were afterward so loyally obserued, and the Land fo composed to quietnesse, that one band of soldiers, with a small troope of horse (as *Strabo* saith) or foure Legions (as *Iosephus* writeth) were sufficient to containe so great a multitude in a settled forme of obedience.

(6) Ouer the *Trinobantes*, the greatest and most potent State of the *Britains*, then reigned the happie Prince *Cæsbeline* (for so in his Coines yet remaining we finde it) corruptly written *Kimbeline*, the sonne of *Theomantius* nephew to *Cæsbelan* before spoken of, whose abode and principall seat was *Camalodunum*, as by the reuerse of the said Coines may appeare. This Prince to make his estate more respectable, caused his owne Image to be stamped thereon, after the manner of the *Romans*, (who now had newlie taken vp that fashion) his payments before consisting for the most part in rings of iron, and plates of brasse, seized at a certaine weight, which vñually passed for currant amongst the *Britains*, as *Cæsar* reporteth, and as those rings are yet witnesses, whereof we haue scene some.

This man trained his people to a more ciuill life then formerly had beene accustomed, and enioied peace with the rest of the world, which then stood vñuersally in quiet, as waiting the coming of that Prince of peace, whose going forth had beene from euerlasting, and of whose kingdome there shall be no end : euen Christ the appointed *Emmanuel* and sonne of the liuing God : so long before expected, and now in the fulnesse of time manifested : at whose birth warre went downe, as *Virgil* speaketh,

or rather to vie the words of the Prophet, when swords were made into mattocks, and speares broke into sithes : And as in the building of *Salomons Temple* neither noise of axe, nor the sound of hammer was heard : so his bodie being the true Temple, hee came and was incarnate at such time, when the sound of warre did not awake the world, but a calme and quiet peace compassed it, as by the Angels was proclaimed amongst the *Tewes*, and now was more publickly made known amongst the Gentiles by the shutting of *Ianus Temple* in *Rome*. This vñuersall peace was so famous and so admirable, that it found matter for the finest wits amongst the *Heathens* to enlarge themselves : whereupon *Virgil* framing the perfections of *Iupiter* to his daughter, foreteweth the happy successe of her seed, and in what tranquillity they should sit ; when the hands of *Mars* were thus restrained from fight, as hee thus expresseth :

*Apera tum postis miscet scula bellis :
Cana fides, & Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus
Iura dabunt : diræ ferro, & compagibus arces
Claudentur belli portæ : furor impius intus
Sena sedens super arma, & centum vinctus ahenis
Post tergum nodis, fremet horridus ore cruento.*

Then men shall milder proue : cease shall force warres :
Faith, Gods, and Princes all shall iustly giue :
Warres gaffly gates with bolts and iron barres
Fast shut shall stand : and Mars cashiered shall hide
Amongst heapes of rusty armour, where his hands
Bound fast shall be with hundred brasse bands.

And yet further in his *Eclog* (from the *Sibyls*, who in all likelihood had it from the diuine Oracles) hee vñeth the very words of the Prophets in speaking of a *Maid*, and a *Child* of a new progenie borne and sent downe from heauen, by whom the brassy and iron-like world should cease, and a pure golden age succeed. Thus hee sweetly singeth :

*Vltima Cumæ venit iam carminis ætas :
Magnus ab integro seclorum nascitur ordo :
Iam redit & Virgo : redeunt Saturnia regna :
Iam noua progenies cælo demittitur alto.
Tu modo nascens puer, quo ferrea primum
Definet, ac toto surget gens aurea mundo, &c.*

Now is the time of which *Sibylla* said,
The old world doth his prime againe renew :
Now hath the world a pure vnspotted Maid :
Now reignes the * God of Gods, whose off-bring new
Descends from heauen. Blest be the babe whose raies
Hath turn'd our iron age to golden daies.

In which *Eclog* are sweetly couched many other most diuine allusions to our Sauours * *Deity*, birth and humanity, poverty, graces, crosses, kingdome, and redemption of the world from sinne, death, and hell.

So likewise *Marcus Tullius Cicero* saw in his dreame (as himselfe reporteth) a child of an ingenuous and beautifull countenance, let downe from heauen by a golden chaine. And *Suetonius* in the life of *Augustus* from *Julius Marathus* hath obserued, that certaine predictions in *Rome* happening, were so respected and generally expounded, that *Nature* was about to bring forth a King that should raigene ouer the whole world. And albeit these and other *Heathen Writers* ascribe these things either to *Augustus* himselfe, or to some of his favorites, yet wee see them accomplished in none other but *Iesus Christ* the *Messiah* our blessed Sauiour, in whom only the Kingdome of God began, with the vñter subseruion of all their heathenish Oracles, which at his birth, or at furthest at his death, ceased all, and gaue place to *HIS eternitie*. Which time of his birth by the Scriptures most certaine account, was from the worlds creation, 3927. and is set by the *Britains* in the fourteenth of their *Cæsbelines* raigene, and by other authenticke Writers in the two and fortieth of *Augustus Cæsar*, euen in the top of that Empires greatness,

Micah 4. 3.

1. King. 6. 9.
The birth of Christ like the building of *Salomons Temple*.
Ioh. 3. 19.
Luk. 2. 14.

Paulus Orosius.
Janus Temple shut.

Virg. Aeneid. li.

The fruits of a true peace.

Lactan. li. 4. ca. 6.
Duplex veritas. 33.

Eclog.

Saturne (whom *Virgil* nameth) was esteemed the father of the Gods.

1. Magni Jouis incrementum, &c.
2. Mater longa demet, &c.
3. Nec Deus hunc mutet, &c.
4. Affluens vulgus nascetur, &c.
5. Qui non risere parentes, &c.
6. Pacatum, reget patriam, &c.
7. Solent formidine terras, &c.
8. Si quis manet sceleris, &c.
9. Fallax herba veneni, &c.
10. Occidet & serpens, &c.
11. Suetonius in vita Augusti.
12. Duplex veritas.
13. Christi. 32. col. 518.
14. Niceph. li. ca. 17.
15. Iulianus. Saty. 3.
16. Zephani. 3. 12.
17. Our Sauiour Christ borne in the fourteenth yeere of *Cæsbeline*.

Luk. 2.

Dan. 2.

Augustus described.
His raigues.Tacit. Annal. li. 3.
cap. 2.His deuotion to
Christ.
Neept. li. 1. 14. 17.
Suidas.

ness, when Rome was with an vniuersall subiection acknowledged the absolute Lady of the known earth. For so in S. Luke wee read, that this Augustus then first taxed the world. A text most strong for the full dissolution of the foure foregone kingdomes represented in Daniels Image, by the fall of this stone Christ, the rocke and stay of our eternall happinesse.

(7) This Emperour raigned in great honour the space of fifty fix yeeres, and was obeyed both by the Easterne Indians, and the Northerne Scythians, with the subiection of the Parthians, a fierce and vntamed people, and generally with the loue of all. Hee was a Prince indued with great wisdom, magnanimitie, and Iustice; yet faulty in this, that he tooke from Tiberius Nero his wife Livia, both great with child, and hauing also formerly borne him a sonne. Deuout hee was in the worship of the Romane Gods; amongst whom in the Capitoll he built an Altar vnto the Hebrew child, with this inscription: *The Altar of the first begotten Sonne of God*: being thereunto moued by the Oracle

of Apollo that had answered his owne destruction by the birth of this child. Of stature he was but low, and of a good complexion; gray-eyed, his haire somewhat yellow, and his body freckled with spots, which as his flatterers would haue the world beleue, were in forme like starres. Preditions foretelling his government and death are alleged, the which I willingly ouerpasse, holding mozt of them rather fantasies then truth. At his death hee demanded of the standers by, whether he had well acted the enterlude of his life vpon the stage of this world: and died foureteene yeeres after Christ his incarnation; leaving after him so honourable an estimation of his glory, that as the succeeding Emperours in remembrance of Iulius Cæsar gloried to be called Cæsars, so they euer held the name of Augustus to be sacred, and only befitting persons destinated to imperiall Maiestie. And both their names were infered into the number of the moneths, that the honour of them both might neuer perish while Times eternitie should endure.

His endowments
of bodie.Sueton in vita
Augusti.The moneths of
Iuly and August.

TIBERIVS.

CHAPTER IV.

Tiberius Nero
his parents.

continually insigations that matter was procured: though Suetonius thinketh, it was by Augustus his owne ambitious conceit, to make himselfe the sooner missed, and the more lamented, in leauing his sonne so vnlike him to succeed, whose conditions as they stood vpon their owne basis, hee knew to bee both reprocheable, and also contemptible.

(2) But before the death of Cæsar could be diuulged, to write his imperiall stile as it were in blood, he began with the murder of young Agrippa the sonne of Iulia, daughter to Octavian, and once his owne wife, and continued his raigues with such tyrannie, that ma-

ny he slaughtred, without respect of person or cause; and in his loosest lasciuiousnesse, thought of nothing but how to subuert the Nobilitie; for rare it was in his daies that any such died a natural death: and maintaining a race of men (Promoters, as Tacitus tearmes them, found out for a common ouerthrow and destruction of others) allured them by rewards to accuse the rich, though guiltlesse; only this fauour granted to the condemned, that if they flew themselves before the day of execution, their bodies should haue buriall, their goods not confiscate, and their testament stand good in law.

(3) A great dissembler he was, seeming euer to hate those vices which in truth he loued, and to love those vertues which he did most deadly hate: and for life and libidinous filthinesse so extreme, that a Christianians pen may not expresse, when the Heathen themselves doe blush to name such things as hee shamed not openly to commit: his publike drunkennesse, and continuall banquettings, whereat hee spent whole daies and nights together without intermission, caused exchange of names from Tiberius Nero to Tiberius Nero.

Tacit. Annal. li. 6.
cap. 3.His plotting against his Nobles.
Tacit. Annal. li. 4.
cap. 7.Tacit. Annal. li. 6.
cap. 7.Tiberius his hypocrisie.
His libidinousnesse.Tacit. Annal. li. 6.
cap. 3.

His Epicurisme.

A wine-biber.

Cæsar in government.
The provinces vnderstanded.Britaine without
foraine garrison
or government.Tacit. Annal. li. 3.
cap. 5.

Jeffrey Monmouth.

Mero. Dissolute and careless he was in government, though some haue accounted him a wife and politicke Prince: for the Provinces he left to defend themselves, and yet daily charged them with larger Tributes, to their great impouerishment, and almost vtter ruine.

(4) In this state, amongst others neglected, Britaine stood, wherein Tiberius neither maintained garrison, nor attempted alteration, and whereby (as it may be thought) their owne Lawes and Princes bare sway among themselves, howsoeuer the cause for Tribute was ballized betwixt them. And most certaine it is, the Britaines, if not in subiection, yet were well affected to the Romanes, as appeareth by Tacitus in the kinde entertainments, and in releuering their shipwacked souldiers, that in crossing the Seas were by tempest driuen vpon their Coasts, and courteously sent thence by their petty Kings vnto Germanicus their Generall. Notwithstanding, Jeffrey Monmouth seemeth to affirme the contrary, that bringeth the reign of one Guiderius, and the valour of Arminagus, the sonnes of Cunobeline (of whom more hereafter) to withstand the Romish Command, and vtterly to refuse the payment of Tribute, banding both against Tiberius, as also against Caligula and Claudius the Emperours succeeding.

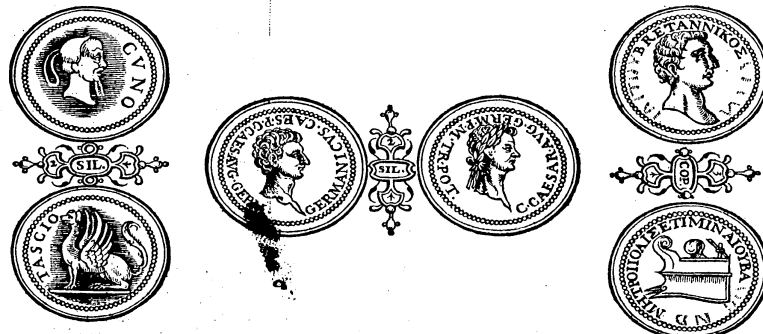
(5) Other remembrances of these times concerning vs finde we none, besides that which is common to all, namely the death of our Saviour Christ, which vnder this Tyrant, and in his eighteenth yeere was accomplished by the proceeding of his (as wicked) Deputy Pontius Pilate, who both aduoged him to die, and to bee guiltlesse of deserving death: whereby was wrought the myserie of our Redemption, with such signes and euidences of our Deitie, that the wicked Iudge himselfe wrote thereof to Tiberius, and hee to the Senate, to haue him consecrated among the Roman Gods. Which they refused to doe, that the wisdom and diuine power of God in the doctrine of Salvation should not need the allowance and commendation of men, as Eusebius hath well obserued.

(6) Finally, when hee had raigned hated of all men the space of three and twenty yeeres, with no better liking then is read of Ioram King of Iudah, that liued without being desired, hee was smothered to death (as is thought) by Caligula, the fiftenth of the Kalends of April, the yeere from Christs Natinitie thirty nine, and the seuentie and eighth of his owne age. He was of personage tall, and of body strong, broad chested, and vied both his hands alike, faire of complexion, but great and goggle-eyed, whereby hee saw so cleerely as is incredible to report.

Our Saviour
Christs death.Tertull. in Apolog.
aduoc. gentes, c. 5.Husht. Recies.
hij. l. 1. c. 1.Tiberius his
raigues, age,
and death.
Tacit. Annal. li. 6.
cap. 7.
2. Chr. 2. 2. 10.
Tacit. lib. 6. c. 11.

CAIUS CALIGVLA.

CHAPTER V.

Caius Caligula
his parents.
Tacit. Annal.
lib. 3. cap. 9.

His prodigallitie.



Ext vnto Tiberius succeeded his nephew Caius Caligula, the sonne of Germanicus, (whose face is expressed aboue) the sonne of Drusus. His mother was Agrippina, the daughter of Iulia, Cæsars wife; liked rather for his fathers vertues, (who was for learning, vertue, valour, and courtesie, the most admired man of that age) then for any parts of his owne answerable to so high a place, as being neither naturally framed for good preface in Throne, nor qualified in minde for an Imperiall Command. Euer in condition opposite to all, and (which is more) most times to himselfe. One while lasciuiously prodigall, in excessive banquetts, admirable Sea-workes, with needlesse leuelling of mountaines, and filling vp their vallies: Ano-

ther while extremely couetous, imposing taxes vpon the Provinces, and exacting gaines out of the base earnings of pollutions: Alwaies cruell and libidinous. His owne mother he defamed to bee incestuously begotten; his grand-mother he poisoned; his brother Tiberius he murdered; with his three naturall sisters hee liued incestuously, and vpon Drusilla the second (who was contented to be deflowred by him when they were both but children) hee so incredibly doted, that hee vied to sweare by her sacred name, and desired her for a Goddesse by the name of Panthea, commanding diuine honours to bee done vnto her. The like deitie conceited he of himselfe, causing his Statue to be worshipped, and placed in his vniuersall roobes amongst the Romane Gods, and would haue let it in Ierusalem Temple (as Iosephus recordeth) had not that great God cut him off by death. His Imperiall government was without either enlargement of circuit, or enforcing by armes a dutifull subiection, rather seeking to make himselfe

His couetousnesse.

His vile actions.

Philo. Iude.
Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 6.Ioseph. Antiq. lib.
20. cap. 11.

himselfe feared by *Tyrannie* at home, then any waies famous by *Acts* abroad.

(2) How the other *Provinces* stood affected, I leaue to themselves; but by *Tacitus* it should seeme the *Britaines* and *Germans* were not his best subjects: for these are his words, that *Caius* had a meaning to invade *Britaine*, it is certainly known: but his rash running head, and hasty repentance in his attempts against *Germany*, turned all to nothing. And *Suetonius* ascribes the foolish erection of that admirable bridge ouer a creeke of the *Sea* in *Campania* (whereof *Dion* writeth at large) to his vaine-glorious conceit, that by a brute blazed abroad of so huge and monstrous a worke, he might terrifie *Germanie* and *Britaine*, vpon which Countries he meant to make warre. The issue whereof was as fruitlesse as his great cost was ridiculous. For hauing set forward for the conquest of *Britaine* with no small preparation, he proceeded no further then to those parts of *Holland* that confront against *Northfolke*, where he suddenly pitched his tents, and staid.

(3) At which time, *Adminius* the sonne of *Cunobelin* King of *Britaine* being banished by his father, fled ouer *Sea* with a small power, and submitted himselfe vnto *Cæsars* protection: wherupon *Caligula* wrote vaunting letters to the *Senate*, as if the whole *Iland* had beene yielded into his hands: commanding the messenger that his letters should be carried in a Chariot into the *Curia*, and not deliuered but in the Temple of *Mars*, and that in a frequent and full assembly of the *Senate*. And hauing no further matter to worke vpon, hee caused certaine *Germane* prisoners secretly to be conueied into a wood, and word to bee brought him in great feare and amazement of the sudden approach of the enemy; against whom with shew of great manhood and noble resolution in all haste and warlike manner he marched, and in chaine openly shewed them as his captiues taken in warre, forbidding the *Senators* the wonted celebration of their *Festis*, or to enter their *Theaters* to take solace, seeing their *Cæsar* exposed himselfe to so many perils, and fought to great battles with hazard of his life. Last of all, as if he had meant to make a small dispatch for euer of the warre, hee drew his forces downe to the *Sea-coast* of *Belgia*, and embattailed his army vpon the *Ocean* shore; planting his *ballists* and other *Engines* of artillerie in their seuerall places, no man witting what hee meant: which done, himselfe in a *Galley* launched into the *Sea*, and immediately returning, caused the *Trumpets* to sound the battle, and commanded his *Souldiers* forthwith to fall a gathering of cockles and muscles into their helmets, terming them the *Spoiles of the conquered Ocean*: Against which hee also built a Tower, as a Trophy of his victorie, the ruines whereof as yet remaine in *Holland* to this day, and is called *The Britons house*, in memorie of that fantastick seruice: vpon which exploit he made a glorious Oration to his souldiers, commending and requiring their valours with rewards, and auowing their *shell-spoiles* worthy offerings to be presented in the *Capitoll*, writing letters to *Rome* of this his great Conquest, and demanding *Triumph*, and diuine honours to be assigned him: which when

the *Senators* made some question of, hee threatened them with death. But this *Sea-seruice* (as it seemeth) so ranne euer after in his minde, that one night hee dreamt that the *Sea* in dreadfull shape came and expostulated with him, which cast him into an incredible horroir and affright.

(4) In his last yeere of life and raigne, *Pontius Pilate*, vnder whom *Christ Iesus* suffered, was apprehended and accused at *Rome*, deposed and banished to the Towne of *Lions* in *France*, where, in despair he slew himselfe in the yeere from *Christ* his incarnation, forty one, and from his death, the seuenth, as *Eusebius* hath noted.

(5) And now both the *Ambition* and crueltie of *Caius* was growen so intolerably sauage, as that he often lamented that some rare and vnusall disaster (as either some horrible slaughter of huge Armies, or some vniuersall plague, or famine, or fire, or opening of the earth, or ouer-flowing of the *Sea*) happened not in his time, whereby his raigne might be killed by him at one stroke. But this his will was preuented by a blow on himselfe, his death and downefall being complotted and executed by certain *Tribunes*, whereof *Cherea* was chiefe; who following him from the *Theater* with resolution for the fact, tooke the time when *Caligula* turning suddenly aside into a narrow Cloister to see certaine boies sent him out of *Asia*, lost the defense of his fore-warders, and the straitnesse of the place permitted not his guard to follow, on which aduantage *Cherea* demanded his watch-word, which he (according to his vsual manner) gaue in great disdain and scorn, whereunto *Cherea* replied, and with his sword wounded him in the necke, and iaw; and then the rest of the *Conspirators* comming in, with thirty wounds made an end of his life, after hee had most impiously raigned three yeeres and tenne moneths.

(6) He was of stature tall, of complexion pale and wan, of body somewhat grosse and vn-fashionable, his necke and legges exceedingly slender, his eyes sunke into the hollow temples of his forehead, and that also frowning and full of wrinkles: his haire was thin and shaggy, but bald on the crowne, though otherwise so haire of bodie, that all the time of his raigne if a man did but name a Goat, it was held a touch and offense of *Laesæ Maiestatis* against his imperiall person. His Countenance naturally sterne and grimme, which by composing and gesture he purposely made more vgly and terrible. His apparell alwaies costly, but not alwaies Court-like, neither ciuill: his beard hee wore of gold like *Iupiter* or *Æsculapius*. In his hand for a Scepter, a Mace three-tined, as *Neptune* or *God of the Sea*, and vpon his body the Curace of *Alexander the Great*, taken from his Sepulchre and Monument. Hee died aged twenty nine yeeres, whose memory was so hateful vnto all, that all the Copper Coins or Modals stamped with his picture were melted downe by decree of the *Senate*, whereby (if it were possible) his name and feature might be forgotten vnto future ages.

Affrighted in his sleepe.

Pontius Pilate banished killed himselfe.

Euseb. lib. 2. cap. 7.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 1.

Caligula's name.

His personage.

Suetonius. Annal. 7. lib. 2.

Dion lib. 60.

His hatred after death.



CLAVDIVS

CLAVDIVS DRVSVS.

CHAPTER VI.



Claudius Drusus chosen by the *Preterian* Souldiers.

Joseph. Antiq. lib. 19. cap. 3.

Claudius his Personage.

The Britaines detaine their Tribute.

Dion Cass lib. 60. Ann. Dom. 43.

Aulus Plautius sent against the Britaines.

His Souldiers unwilling. Dio lib. 60.



As the *Senate* had decreed and determined to reduce the *Citie* into her ancient libertie, without admission of any *Cæsar*, or subiection to such absolute and sole authoritie; notwithstanding, the power of this *Army*, and the vote of the *Citie* so prevailed, that the election was confirmed, and the Imperiall dignity by him assumed, as the next, and onely man to whom it must of right belong: whose father *Drusus* was the sonne of *Livia*, wife to *Octavian*, to whom the *Emperours* succeeding held it a glorie to be any waies allied.

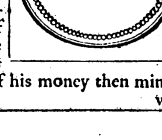
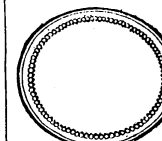
(2) In his first proceedings with the *Provinces* affaires, hee determined warre against the *Britaines*, whose *Tribute* had beene a long time neglected, and whose subiection was now to be feared: all of them being raised in a tumultuous vprore. The cause pretended was certaine fugitiues, (the traitors of their State, and liberties) lately departed, and by the *Romans* receiued with protection of the *Emperour*: a matter that moued them to great discontents, and serued as a shew for their iust reuolt.

(3) *Claudius*, as ready to preuent the worst, being thereto further incited by *Seneca* one of those British fugitiues as *Dion* reporteth, in the second yeere of his Empire, and from *Christ* his Natinitie forty five, sent *Aulus Plautius* a *Romane* Senator, well experienced in the affaires of warre, to take charge of the *Army* remaining in *Gallia*, and with those old trained Souldiers to make ouer into *Britaine* to retaine their obedience. Which seruice vpon them thus imposed, was generally disliked, as apparently was shewed by their unwillingnesse thitherward, muttering and complaining, that they must now be enforced to make warre out of

the world, and protracting time, could hardly bee drawne forward, though the *Emperour* sent his second command.

(4) But being at last embarked and crossing the *Seas*, their shippes were beaten with contrary winds, which still added discouragements vnto their proceedings, and had not an accident the same time happened, the edge of their courage had beene more abated: for euen in this distraction suddenly a fiery leame shot it selfe from East to West, the same way that their shippes made faile: which presently gaue hopes to their despairing hearts, being heathenishly interpreted for a signe of good lucke, and so sent from their Gods, whereupon without any resistance, they came to shoare and tooke land.

(5) The *Britaines* that mistrusted no such sudden inuasion, and now thus surprised vnawares, disperdely secured themselves in woodes and marishes, thereby to detract time, and the more to wearie the Enemy by delays: which thing *Plautius* well perceiued, and with much labour, and hazard followed so extremely, that many he slew, and tooke prisoner *Catagratius* their Captaine, the son of *Cunobeline* but lately deceased, which brought such terror amongst the *Britains*, that thereupon the *BODVNI*, the inhabitants of *Oxford* and *Gloucestershires*, yielded themselves to *Plautius* devotion: for which seruice thus effected, the *Senate* decreed his *Triumphs*; and it is probable that this defeat of the *Britaine* forces, and surpris of their King, fell out in the sixth yeere of this *Emperours* raigne, by the reuerse of his money then minted with



Encouraged by a signe from heauen.

Catagratius taken prisoner.

with

with a triumph arch and inscription, *De Britan.*

(6) But he following still the Enemy, being seconded by *Flavius Vespasian* (afterward Emperor) the leader of the second legion (the foundation of whose succeeding fortunes was first laid here in *Britaine*) gave them againe another overthrow. The chieft menes whereof was a *politic* they had gotten to gall the Chariot horses, whereby their riders were maimed, and their whole powers disordered: many *Britaines* in this battaile were slain, and more in danger, had not the night ended the skirmish.

C. Sidius Geta his valour.

(7) The next day the battaile was againe begun and maintained on both parts with equal advantage, till *C. Sidius Geta* enforced the *Britaines* to retire, whereby the victory rested in the *Romans*: for which exploit *Triumphall honours* were assigned him, although he had not yet attained to the *Confular degree*. In this Conflict, *Vespasian* hardly escaped, being fore oppressed by the Enemy, and in such sort, that had not *Titus* (his renowned sonne) come to rescue, he had beene slain, whose valour afterwards was tried in one and thirtie battailes, and in the Conquest of the Ile of *Wight*.

The Britains returned to places of advantage.

(8) After this conflict, the *Britaines* withdrew themselves into places of more advantage, and in the mouth of *Thamis* neere her fall into the Sea, passed the shallowes and firme grounds in safety, whereas the *Romans* ignorant of both, brought many into danger, and in their distressed passage, were sharply assailed by the Enemy, in which tumult, a bloody battaile was begunne, wherein *Togodunnus* a *British* Prince, brother to *Catacratus*, and sonne to *Cunobeline*, was slain: Notwithstanding, the courage of the *Britains* was not abated, but rather exasperated to a further revenge: for effecting whereof, new forces were gathered, and confluence of people assembled from each part of the Ile, *Plautius* the Lieutenant seeing daily the increase of their power, *Vespasian* imploied in other parts, and himselfe streined in a place of danger, proceeded no further, but sent word to the Emperor of the doubtfull estate of their affaires.

Claudius the Emperor commeth into Britain with a great Army.

(9) At that time (saith *Suetonius*) the Senate had by decree allowed *Claudius* his *Triumphall ornaments*. But he supposing that such a bare title of honour was inferior to the Maiesty of an Emperor, and willing of himselfe also to enterprize some exploit whereby hee might winne the glory of a compleat *Triumph*, made choice before all other Prouinces, of *Britaine*, attempted by none since *Iulius Caesar* of famous Memory. And with great strength entered into the journey, having with him a mightie *Armie* both of horse and foote, as also *Elephants*, a beast of great bignesse and burthen, whose strangeness then amazed the *Britaines*, and whose Carcases falling in this Land, their late found bones (no doubt) have bred our error, being supposed to be of men, and not of beasts.

Dion Cassius, lib. 60. Elephants first brought into Britaine.

(10) With very great danger he passed the Seas, and joining strength with his Lieutenant and *Vespasian*, they all together crossed the River *Thamis*, where presently they were encountered by the *Britaines*, who a while maintained the battaile very desperately, but in the end gave place and fled, whom the *Romans* pursued even to their strong *Camulodunn*, then the seat of *Adunius*, *Cunobeline* sonne, as may aptly be conjectured by the Medall of *Britannicus* the Emperors darling, figured in the front of this Chapter; which Citie they surprisid and fortified with their owne Garrisons, which the Emperor in the cleuenth of his raigne, as appeareth by the other coine, turned to a Colony of *Romane* Citizens. *Claudius* now disarming the *Britaines*, remitted further punishment either upon their bodies or confiscation of their goods: The which his favourable clemencie moved those distressed *Britaines* to such liking and love, that they erected a Temple and Altar in his name, and gave him diuine honour, as a God: The rest as vnable to resist, proffered their submissions, and promised a peaceable subjection vnder the *Romane* gouernement.

His clemencie maketh him to be honoured for a God.

(11) These things thus achieved, at the end of

six months *Claudius* in his ninth year returned and entered *Rome* in triumph with more then usual manner, stamping againe upon his monies his Arch of victory, as appeareth in the face of this Chapter, a perpetuall trophie of his victories and memory of our seruitude. After whose *Triumphall Chariot* rode *Mesfalina* his wife, the Monster of her sexe for impudencie and lasciuious life: and vpon the topp of his Palace he placed a *Nauall Coronet* in memoriall of the Ocean by him failed ouer, and subdued: withall affirming to himselfe, and sonne, the *Surname Britannicus*: And honoured *Plautius* with his presence in his *Triumphs* for *Britaine*, giuing him the right hand, ascending the *Capitoll*, and besides graced diuers Capitaines that serued vnder him in that warre with *Triumphall Ornaments*. So great an esteeme was held of the Conquest of so small a part of this land.

(12) The *British Historians* relate these things farre otherwise, reporting that their King *Aurragus*, the youngest sonne of *Kymbeline*, withstood *Claudius* in his enterprise, with whom (say they) he came to composition by giuing him his daughter *Genissa* in marriage, in memorie whereof, he built the Citie *Gloucester*, according to his name, which now is called *Gloucester*: But *Suetonius* writing the life of *Claudius*, his wives and children, nameth his daughters onely to be *Claudia*, *Antonia*, and *Octauia*, without mention of *Genissa* at all, and therefore not likely to haue any such: And *Dion Cassius* reporteth that *Claudius* himselfe staied not aboute sixteen daies in *Britaine*, a time too short for the sending to *Rome*, and thence for the returne with his daughter, or for the building of so great a Citie as *Gloucester* is. Neither indeede was *Aurragus* knowne in the daies of *Claudius*: But rather liued in the time of *Dominian* the sixteenth in succession after him, as plainly appeareth by *Iuuenal* the Poet, in those his verses spoken to *Dominian*, which elsiwhere we cited. Whereby appeareth that the sturres of this King could not accord with *Claudius* raigne, and that the truth of this report is much weakened from more sufficient authorities. But to proceede, *Aulus Plautius* (the first Lieutenant authorized ouer the *Britaines*, vpon some occasion was thence reuoked, the warres not quieted, and with a small *Triumph* (as *Tacitus* saith) entered *Rome*. Vnto him succeeded *P. Ostorius Scapula*, for reputation in martiall affaires nothing his inferior, who at his first landing found all in an vprore: Of whose proceedings let vs heare *Tacitus* speake: The *Britaines* (saith he) that were yet unconquered, ranged the Countreies of the confederates, presuming both vpon the approach of the winter, and the Proprietors unacquaintance with his Army: But he knowing that the first successe breedeth either feare, or confidence, gathered the Cohorts, and made towards the Enemy, slaying all that made head against him, and disarming those whom hee most suspected. And to retaine *Cogidunus* the King in stricter assurance and fidelity to the Emperor, granted diuers Citie and States to him by way of Donation.

The first that beganne to stirre, were the *Icenians*, the Inhabitants of *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntington-shires*, a strong people vnshaken with warres: And with them (at their instigation) their neighbours adioining. These together chose a fit place for fight, compassed in with a rude, but defensible trench, which had only one narrow entrance whereby the *Horsemen* must be much impeached. This *Rampire* notwithstanding the *Romane* Capitaine, with the onely aide of the *Allies* brake downe, and disordered the Enemy euen in this their owne fortresse, who seeing all passages for escape to be stopped vp, *Ostorius* hauing hemmed them in with Garrisons betweene the Rivers *Antonia* and *Sabrina* (threwed great valour in their selues, and

Claudius returneth to Rome, & entereth in Triumph. Sueton. in vita Claud. Sed. 12.

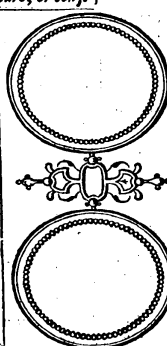
The British Historians varie in relating Claudius doings in Britan.

Dion Cass. lib. 60.

Aulus Plautius first Lord Deputy.

Tacit. in vit. A. Gric. Claud. lib. 13. cap. 7.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 13. cap. 8.



Confederates perchance is meant. New in Northamptonshire, faith Camden.

and by their deaths gave place to the *Romans*. This overthrow and slaughter of the *Icen* wrought a more staied resolution in those that before were wauering betweene warre and peace. And the Army led against the *Cangi*, with waile and spoile consumed the Countrey, the inhabitants not daring to bee seene in field. Whereupon the *Romans* pierced thorow the Land euen vnto the Sea-coast that looks towards *Ireland*.



His manner of encamping.

His animating of his souldiers.

His resolution.

A small resistance was made by the *Brigantes*, but without much trouble some quieted by the execution of some few, and pardoning of the rest.

(13) But the *Silures* (that is, those of *South-wales*) could not be brought to beare the *Romish* yoke of subiection, who besides their owne courage relied much vpon the strength and valour of their Prince *Caratacus* (whose Coine we haue heere expressed) a man which had waded thorow many dangers, and in many adventures both prosperous and luckie had gotten such reputation, that hee was preferred before all the *British Capitaines*. This *Generall* knowing his owne strength vnable to match the enemy, by policie thought to supplie that want, and hauing advantage of the Countrey, remooued the warre vnto the *Ordouices*, which is now *North-wales*, where all joined to him that either feared or disdained to hold peace with the *Romans*. Heere he chose a place to encampe his host, euen on the top of a hill naturally defended from access: and where any doubt was, there he stopped vp all passage with heapes of stones in manner of a *Rampire*; neere the foot whereof ran a River with a foord somewhat dangerous, and not easily found, where a troope of his best souldiers were let in order to receiue the Enemy.

The more to animate their mindes, the Leaders went about exhorting and encouraging the Souldiers, taking all occasions of feare from them, and putting them in hope, with all inducements of resolution: especially *Caratacus*, who courting hither and thither, protested that day and that battle should bee the beginning either of a recovered libertie, or else a perpetuall seruitude and bondage: and euer hee called vpon the names of his valiant Ancestors, who formerly had chafed *Caesar* the Dictator out of the Ile, by whose valour they were deliuered from *Hatchets* and *Tributes*, and enioied freely their wives and childrens bodies vndefiled. The Souldiers also themselves shewed as great forwardnesse, and as *Echoes* redoubled his words, vowing according to the Religion of their Countrey, neuer to yield for wounds or life, which they all were ready to sacrifice in the cause of their liberties.

This their apparant resolution much appalled the *Romans* cheerefulness, and most of all the Capitaines and Leaders, who before their faces saw the River, on both sides of them had the hanging hills, and the Fort commodious for the enemy, but deadly vnto them: all which notwithstanding the common Souldiers despised, and demanded the battle. *Ostorius*, whose studie was chiefly to performe the parts of a *Generall*, studied the River with some little difficultie, and leading his *Armie* vp to the *Rampire*, was met with such a shoure of darts, that many therewith were wounded and slain. Yet at length breaking downe those rude compacted stones, joined battle with the enemy, and afront came close to handy strokes; wherein the *Britaines* hauing better courage then armour (for they had neither headpiece nor coat of defense) were fore galled with their lauellings and two-handed swords, and so disordered, that they betooke themselves to flight.

Ostorius his care.

The Britains put to flight.

Caratacus wife, daughter, and brethren taken prisoners. Himselfe betrayed by *Carismandua*.

quettours after his nine yeeres most generous resistance. Whereupon his fame being carried ouer the *Ilands*, and spread abroad thorow the Prouinces, was also renowned in *Italie*, and they desired to see him that so many yeeres had contemned their forces. Neither was his name meanly esteemed of at *Rome*; for whilest *Caesars* worth and power was there commended, a more glorious conceit was held of the conquered *Caratacus*: and against his comming to the Citie the people from all parts were assembled, as to behold some notable and most rare spectacle. The Emperours Guard in armes and good order were placed in the field before the Campe, thorow whom the Capitaines and Trophies were carried, and presented after this manner: first the vassals of *Caratacus* going foremost bowed their bodies to the people as they passed, and seemed by their ruefull countenances to discover the sense of their calamitie. The captiuities, his chaines, and other spoiles gotten in the warres, were carried after them. Then *Caratacus* his brethren, wife, and daughter followed, and last of all himselfe, whose attire and stout behaviour filled the peoples eyes with wonder and delight. His bodie, for the most part, was naked, and painted with figures of diuers beasts. Hee ware a chaine of iron about his necke, and another about his middle: the haire of his head hanging downe in curled lockes, couered his backe and shoulders, and the haire of his upper lip parted on both sides, lay vpon his breast. Neither was his behaviour lesse noted then the frangeness of his habit: for he neither hung downe his head, as daunted with base feare; nor craved mercie, as the rest; but with a confident spirit, and bold countenance, held on till he came before the Imperiall Seat, where making his stand, and a while beholding *Caesars* Maiesty, at last with great courage spake to this purpose.

(15) If my moderation in prosperitie had beene as answerable to the greatness of my birth and estate, or the successe of my late attempts to the resolution of my minde, I might haue come to this Citie rather as a friend to be entertained, then as a Captiue to be gazed vpon; neither wouldst thou disdain to haue receiued me on crimes of amitie and peace, being a man of roiall descent, and a Commander of many warlike Nations. But what cloud fouer hath darkened my present lot, yet haue the Heauens and Nature giuen mee that in birth and minde, which none can vanquish, or deprive mee of. I well see, that you make other mens miseries the subiect and matter of your triumphs; and in this my calamitie, as in a mirror, you now contemplate your owne glory. Yet know that I am, and was a Prince furnished with strength of men and abilliments of warre; and what maruell is it if all bee lost, seeing experience teacheth that the events of warre are variable, and the successe of policies guided by vncertaine fates? As it is with me, who thought that the deepe waters, like a wall inclosing our Land, and it so situated by heavenly prouidence, as in another world, might haue beene a sufficient priuilege and defense for vs against foraine inuasions: but I now perceiue that the desire of *souerainty* admits no limitation; and if you *Romans* must command all, then all must obey. For mine owne part, while I was able I made resistance, and vnwilling I was to submit my necke to a seruile yoke, so farre the law of Nature alloweth every man, that he may defend himselfe being assailed, and to withstand force, by force. Had I at first yielded, thy glory and my ruine had not beene so renowned. Fortune hath now done her worst: wee haue nothing left vs but our liues, which if thou take from vs, our miseries end; and if thou spare vs, wee are but the obiects of thy clemencie.

(16) *Caesar* wondring to see such resolutions and so free a minde in a Captiue estate, pardoned *Caratacus*, his wife and brethren, who being vnbound, did their reuerence to *Agrippina* the Emperesse, that sat aloft on a Throne Roiall. This Conquest and Tri-

Hee refted the *Romans* nine yeeres. Tacit. Annal. 13. cap. 8.

Caratacus led in triumph.

His habit and attire. Hee his proper mag. Britan.

His vndaunted necke.

His Oration to *Claudius Caesar*.

Events of warre variable.

Britaines wall.

Ambition hath no bounds.

Nature disdaineth seruitude.

Tacit. Annal. li. 12. cap. 8.

Ostorius and his fortunes decline.

The Britains take heart again.

Their victory.

Cæsar threatens make the Britains more resolute.

Ostorius dieth.

Aulus Didius sent Lieutenant into Britaine.

Tacit. Annal. . 12. c. 8. Ostorius Palens encountered the Britains with ill successe.

Didius for a while keepeth them in awe.

umph over *Caractacus*, ministred matter of discourse and admiration thorough out all *Rome*, and the *Lords of the Senate* held it no lesse honourable, then that of *P. Scipio*, who triumphed over *Syphax* the *Numidian King*, or that of *Perfes*, whom *Paulus Aemilius* vanquished, or then any other King that had beene taken in warre, or exhibited to the view of the people. Then were also publicke *Triumphall honours* decreed for *Ostorius*, whose fortunes vntill then had beene very prosperous, but now began to be doubtfull, or rather to decline, either because *Caractacus* (the foile of his glory) was removed, and thereupon (as though all had beene subdued) a more carelesse seruice entertained, or else the courage of the *Britains* was more inflamed to reuenge through the feruent compassion of the fall offe mightie a King.

(17) For immediately they enuironed the *Camp-master*, and the *Legionary Cohorts*, which were left to build fortresses in the Country of the *Silures*, whom with eight *Centurions*, and the forwardest *Souldiers*, they slew, and had put all the rest to the sword, if rescue had not speedily come from the villages and forts adjoining. The *Foragers* also and troope of horse that were sent to aid them they put to flight. These affronts touched *Ostorius* to the quick, and left their aids should grow to a greater head, he sent forth certaine light-harnessed companies, which with the *Legionary Souldiers* vndertooke the battle, and with small odds was it continued till the night came, and parted them: diuers other *Skirmishes* afterwards were made, though for the most part in woods and marshes, whence taking their advantage in falling forth, they many times preuailed, sometimes by strength, sometimes by mere courage, and sometimes by chance; neither were they alwaies commanded by their Captaines, but many times fought voluntary and without warrant.

(18) The principal motiue that induced the rest to take Armes, was the example of the *Silure*, who were most resolutely bent, as being exasperated by certaine speeches that the *Romane Emperour* himselfe had vsed, which was, that as the name of the *Sugambri* was destroyed, and the people transported into *Gallia*, so the memorie of *Silures* should vterly bee extinguished: And in this heate as men desperat (whose definitions were read and lots cast already) they intercepted the scattered troopes of the *Romans*, taking of them many prisoners, and recouering rich booties, which they sent and distributed amongst their neighbours; whereby many other were drawne to reuolt: These proceedings fate so neere *Ostorius* his heart, who with long cares and trauels had wearied his spirits, spent the strength of his bodie, and thereunto had now added the discontentment of his minde, that in these vexations hee gaue vp the Ghost, the *Silures* reioicing that so worthy and victorious a Captaine was fallen in their warres.

(19) But *Claudius Cæsar*, left the Prouince should make head, presently sent *Aulus Didius* for his Lieutenant into *Britaine*; where, notwithstanding all his haste, he found all out of frame. For *Marinus V. alens* with his Legion had encountered the *Britains* with ill successe, yet not so bad as the *Ilanders* gaue forth, thinking thereby to terrifie their new-established *Gouernour*: which report himselfe also in policie was contented to augment, thereby to purchase more praise in appeasing so dangerous stirres; or if hee could not, to retaine his own credit without his valours impeachment. These resisters had made many inroads into the subdued Countries, against whom vpon his first arrival, *Didius* entred the field, and for a while kept them in awe.

(20) But *Venutius* a very expert man in Militarie affaires (trusty to the *Romans*, and defended by their power so long as the marriage betwixt him and *Cartimandua* continued) began a new rebellion: for *Cartimandua* (in speciall fauour with the *Romans* for the deliuey of *Caractacus*) abounding in wealth, peace, &

pleasures (which commonly are the Nurles of licentious liuing) fell in loue (as before was touched) with *Vellocatus* her husbands seruant, and harnesse-bearer, & forgetting her owne honour, preferred him before *Venutius*, and laboured to make him King. The good-will of the Country notwithstanding went generally vpon the lawful husband: who being deeply touched with this open iniurie, raised a power against her and her *Paramour*. At the first this quarrell was onely betwixt them, vntill that *Cartimandua* by policie had taken her husbands brother, and some of his neereft kindred, prisoners. Whereupon the next Inhabitants fearing her purposes, and diddaining to be brought vnder the yoke of a woman so defamed, declared themselves for *Venutius*, & with a choice band of youthfull Soldiers invaded her Territories: whereof *Didius* hauing intelligence, sent certain *Cohorts* to second her, and encounter them. In which conflict, the *Romans* for *Cartimandua* did preuaile; yet the kingdome remained to *Venutius*, and the warres still vnto them.

(21) For the *Silures* were not altogether quieted, & a Legion commanded by *Cæsius Nasica*, fought luckily against the *Britains*. In all which stirres *Didius* in person was absent, as being stricken in yeares, and hauing receiued many honours, held it sufficient to execute his charge by the assistance of others. The State of *Britaine* thus standing, let vs so leaue it, during this *Emperours* raigne, which now began to draw towards his last period, by the working of *Agrippina* his wife, and by her vpon this occasion.

(22) It chanced, *Claudius* in his wine, to cast forth a word of great suspicion, in saying: That it was fittall vnto him first to beare the leaudnes of his wives, & then to punish them. She knowing her selfe guiltie in disinheriting of *Britannicus*, who was *Claudius* his owne sonne, for the adoption of *Nero* who was hers, besides other insolencies, wherewith the might be taxed, sought therefore to clear her owne way by taking him out of the way: and with *Locustia* a woman skilfull in poisoning, and *Zenophon* a Physician, as large of conscience, conferred for the manner of his death: who in fine, concluded that poison was the surest and the least in suspect, or at leastwise the most difficult to be proved against her.

(23) This then resolved, they temper poison in a Mushrom, whereof he greedily did eate, and shortly after ended his life the thirteenth day of *October*, when hee had reigned thirteene yeares, eight moneths, and twentie daies, the yeare of *Christ* his incarnation fiftie fixe, and of his owne age sixtie foure. He was of stature tall, and of a pleasing Countenance, full of Maieitie and comely gray haire, his Head continually shaking, somewhat stammering in his speech, very learned, but therewithall very forgetfull, and altogether ruled by his wives, and domestical seruants, the two ordinary banes of most men who are aduanced to any eminent place of gouernement & command.

(24) This *Emperour* (saith *Seneca*) might make his boast that he was the first conquerour of the *Britains*, for *Iulius Cæsar* did but shew their land vnto the *Romans*, whereas *Claudius* made their necks yeeld to the chains of their captiuities. And *Agrippinus* saith thus of *Claudius*, It is wondrous if *Britain*, which liued without the world, but now by him reduced vnder the *Romans* Empire, and those whom the former ages knew not, neither themselves any seruitude, are now by him both made knowne, and seruants to the *Romans*. And againe: As great a matter it was to passe those Seas, as to haue triumphed over those *Britains*, wherein (saith he) euen the elements haue done homage vnto *Claudius*. In ioy whereof, and reuerence to the Gods, in his triumph he mounted the staires of the *Capitol* vpon his aged knees, being supported and lifted vp by his sons in Law on either side, the glory of this *Ilands* conquest had so possessed this old *Emperours* mind.



Tacit. hist. li. 3. cap. 9.

Tacit. Annal. 12. 8.

Claudius his own words the occasion of his death. "Messalina was his first wife, a woman of insatiable lecherie, who was put to death."

Tacit. Annal. li. 12. cap. 13.

Joseph. Ant. lib. 20. c. 6. 5.

The continuance of his raigne.

ANNO DO. 56.

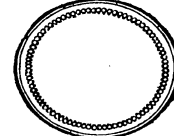
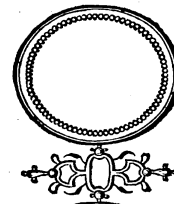
His indowments of bodie. His imperfections.

Wives and seruants most mislead great personsages.

NERO

N E R O.

CHAPTER VII.



Nero assumeth the Empire.

His parents.

Suetonius in vita Nerone.

His excessive lust and bloodshed.

Suetonius in vita Nerone.

Tacit. Annal. 16. cap. 3.

Rome set on fire by Nero.

Suet. in vita Nerone.

Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 10.

His violent and vnexpected death of *Claudius*, gaue breath and life vnto *Nero*, whose further hopes: for whilest the *Consuls* were assembled to make supplications for their Prince, (not knowing him already dead) *Nero* suddenly set open the *Palace* gates, and accompanied with shouts and acclamations, entred the *Cohorts* that kept the watch, where of them and the rest of the souldiers he was saluted *Emperour*, the *Senate* as men affrighted with amazement, not once contradicting the same.

(2) He was the sonne of *Domitius Nero*, and of *Julia Agrippina* the daughter of *Germanicus* brother to *Claudius* the precedent *Emperour*, vicious by nature, as sprung of those parents from whom (as his owne father *Domitius* said) no goodnesse could proceede: and the same vile disposition was perfected and augmented by his owne affected study and pursuit of all possible leaudnesse, as one who could well fit his wanton and lasciuious humours to the vnripenesse of his yeeres, being not passing seuentene when he assumed the Empire. All religion he had in contempt, and all lawes violated, letting loose the reins to all vnnatural lusts, and licentiousnesse of life.

(3) For blood and libidinousnesse hee was held a most insatiate furie, and amongst men a very monster of nature. His father he poisoned: vpon his mother he committed both incest and murder: vpon males, pollutions against nature: deflowred the *Vestals* (a matter sacrilegious & impious) slew his brother *Germanicus*, and his sister *Antonia*, his wives, *Poppæa* and *Octavia*, his aunt *Domitia*, his sonne in law *Rufinus*, and his renouued Tutor *Seneca*; Vnto such savage slaughter of the *Romane* Nobilitie, that *Tacitus* (their best Remembrancer) was wearied to record their names, whilest with a seruile patience (as he termeth it) they died honourably.

(4) The City *Rome* hee set on fire, charging the Christians with the fact, and inflicted such torments and death vpon them, that they were pitied of their enemies, and his owne cruelties thereby made more notorious. Whole Religion, though *Suetonius* tearmed new, and a wicked superstition; and *Tacitus* (as it were in contempt) nameth the Author thereof to be *Christ*, who in *Tiberius* raigne (as he with the *Enan-*

gelists agreeeth) was put to death vnder *Pontius Pilate* Procurator of *Iudea*, where that religion first began, yet by him it is confessed, that these men were innocent of the fact, and their doctrine to burst forth further into many other parts, inasmuch that *Rome* it selfe did affect the same. Yea and in *Neroes* Court also some embraced that faith, as by the words of the *Apostle* is manifest, who from the *Saints* in *Cæsars* house sent salutations to the Brethren. Phil. 4. 22.

(5) And lastly, to fill vp the measure of his bloudie cruelty, he crucified *Peter* vpon the *Crosse*, and beheaded *Paul* with the sword, two principal *Apostles* of *Iesus Christ*, and worthy instruments of the worlds saluation; and forgetting the Maieitie of his estate, fell into the sinke of contempt and all sinnes, giuing his minde leaue to digest all vncleannesse, and his bodie ouer to worke any base exercises, attending nothing besides his Harpes and Harlots, whereby a carelesse (but yet a cruel) gouernment was intertained, and the *Senate* fashioning themselves to feed his loose humours, strove each to outstrip other in their base flatteries.

(6) In this state the Prouinces subiections began to stand doubtfull, and the greatnesse of the Empire to ouercharge the foundation; for the *Parthians* vnder *Vologeses* gaue *P. Artabazus* the *Romane* a great overthrow, and that in such wise, that those which escaped were tearmed the *unfortunate Armie*. And in *Britaine* their affaires proceeded with no good successe; for aged *Didius* could doe no more then keep that which he had already gotten: and *Verannius* his successor, only with small inroades assailing the *Silures*, was in his first yeere cut off by death, inasmuch that *Nero* hauing neither will, motion, nor hope to propagate and enlarge the Empire, minded once to haue withdrawn the forces out of *Britaine*, had it not bene for very shame.

(7) But *Paulinus Suetonius* attaining the gouernment of that Prouince, in skill for seruice, and opinion of people comparable to any, sought to match his conuerent *Corbulo*, who with daily victories prospered in *Armenia*, himselfe wanting neither courage nor discretion to attchieue the like, only matter and occasion the *Iland* afforded none. Therefore determining an expedition into further parts, he made preparation to inuade the *Ile of Mona*, separated from the Continent by the *Riuer Menai*, and fronted vpon the midst of *Ireland*, both strong with inhabitants, and a receptacle of Fugitives.

(8) Against his approach the *Ilanders* had gathered their powers, which stood thicke vpon the shore ready

Christians in Neroes Court.

Peter and Paul put to death. Sufeb. li. 3. c. 25. Tertul. Apol. c. 5.

A great overthrow of the Roman. Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 2.

Tacitus in vita Nerone.

Angles invaded

readie armed to makerefrance, their women running among in mourning weeds, their haire loose, and firebrands in their hands, like furies of hell, together with their *Druides* (men of religion) who with hands and eyes lifted vp towards heauen, cried for vengeance, and powdered our curies as thicke, as haile. With the strangenesse of which sight, the *Romans* stood amazed, not offering one stroke; seeming rather to present themselves for a pray vpon their enemies weapons, then for the conquest of their land or liues: which sudden and vnexpected discouragement, their *Captaine* loone redressed, by putting them in remembrance of their wonted valours, which now was farre ouermatchable vnto a fearefull flocke of weak women, or a company of rude and franticke men: whereupon their *Engines* were displayed, and the *Enemy* presently disperfed and flaine, themselves becoming masters both of the field, and whole *Ile*: which no sooner was thus obtained, but suddenewes came to recall their powers, the *Provinces* being raised to a present revolt.

Romans amazed at sight of the Britiſh

The Reueler of tribute his oppression. *Dion. Cass. lib. 62.*

Tacit. Annal. 14. cap. 10.

* *Boudicca.*
* *Veronica.*

Prasutagus his Testament.

Tacit. in vit. Agric. pag. 190.

Prodigies daily scene.

Dion. lib. 62.

Other Provinces shake off the yoke. In the battaile against *Quintus* *Parian.* *Tacit. in vit. Agric.*

ted, and *Armenia* held play with *Corbulo*, as famous as *Paulinus*: Their cause was as iust, their land as well defended; their ancestors as valiant in resisting the first *Ring-leader Caesar*; and themselves better experienced of their adversaries powers, and their owne abilities. So now hauing attained the hardest point, which was their assembled Consultations (a matter of as great danger to be taken with, as in acting their intentions) in fine this was resolved, that libertie was to be preferred, though bought with their liues; and bondage to bee avoided, if not otherwise then by their deaths.

(12) These their often and noted assemblies brought suspicions of some designements, and the prodigies daily happening as they were motives of encouragements vnto the *Britaines*: So were they ominous signes to the *Romans*, of either part framed in their owne imaginations, and construed according to their hoped or feared events.

(13) The *Confederates* in this businesse were not to seeke their Leader: their *Queenes* dishonours so apparently knowne, (and for matter of government they made no difference of Sexe) her birth extracted from their *Royal blood*, her hearts affection approved to her Countrey, her indignities received of the proud oppressors, and her haughtie spirit threatening vengeance, assured them of her vermost endeavours: which accordingly she effected to her dying day, and to her neuer dying fame.

(14) The *Romans* likewise provided themselves, and in the absence of *Suetonius*, craved aide of *Catus Didianus* the *Procurator*; who sent them not about two hundred men, and those but badly armed. These ioining with the rest made no great power, al though relying more to the franchise of the place, then securing themselves with *Trench or Bulwarks*: And giuen ouer to pleasure, and play, as in the time of a publicke peace. Which advantages by the *Enemy* were wisely espied, and by *Boduo* comming on as nobly pursued, when with sword and fire he wasted all in her way, the Temple onely excepted, whereinto part of the *Souldiers* were fled, but after two daies siege it was battered and taken.

(15) In this heate of furie, the *Britaines* proceeded, and meeting *Petilius Cerealis* Lieutenant of the ninth Legion, on a halty March to rescue that which was already lost, they encounter his forces, and slew all his footmen, himselfe with his troope of Horse hardly escaping to his Campe, where in great feare he entrenched, not daring to attempt any further matter. At notice of these mishaps, *Catus* like a tall man, tooke to his heeles, and failed into *Gallia*: by whose crueltie and couetousnes the *Britaines* were thus enraged to take Armes and revolt, and their entrance thus fortunately proceeding, gaue heart and hope to further successe.

(16) For in this heat of blood and furie they set vpon, and sacked the free-towne *Verolanium*, both strong for garriſon, and rich in *Inhabitants*: which Citie (as also *Camulodunum*) had felt the rage of their mercilesse hands, from whence great booties were carried, and no lesse then *seuente* thousand Citizens and *Confederates* flaine. This commotion in *Britaine* by *Suetonius Tranquillus* is accounted one of the most infortunate losses to the Empire happening vnder *Nero*, and the more inominious to the *Romans* (as *Dion* obserueth) in that it was performed vnder the command of a woman, neither experienced in the feates of warre, nor vsing the victory according to the Law of Armes: for not any prisoner taken in regard of ranſome was saved, nor intercoure of exchange admitted, but kill, hang, burne, and crucifie, as though the measure of their reuenge could neuer be sufficiently heaped, or the wrath of their Gods satisfied with the blood of their Enemies.

(17) By this time *Suetonius* the Lieutenant was returned, and taking muster of his forces in *London* (a Citie euen then famous for concourse of Merchants, and of great renowne for prouision of all things necessary)

Their Rebelli- on.

Queene Boudice chosen Leader.

She surpriseth the *Romans*.

She putteth *Petilius Cerealis* to flight.

She forceth *Catus* to flee into *Gallia*.

She sacketh *Verolanium*.

Seuente thousand flaine by her Army. *Sueton. in vit. Nero. lib. 39.*

Dion. Cass. lib. 62.

London long since renowned.

(sary) stood yet doubtfull whether hee should chuse that place for the seat of warre, or no. But better aduising, dislodged his Host, and with the fourteenth Legion, the Standard-bearers of the twelfth, and other aids from places adjoining, incamped vpon a plaine, enclosed with woods, hauing a narrow entrance, and free from Ambush or enemy at his backe.

(18) The *Britaines* likewise, inferior neither in number nor courage, triumphed abroad by such troupes and multitudes, as the like had not bene scene, yea and so fierce of courage, and with such assurance of hope, that they brought their wines to the place to be witnesses of their valours. *Boduo* in her Chariot doing the parts of a most noble General, drove from troope to troope to see and commend their forwardnes, and dismounting attended with her two daughters, and two hundred and thirty thousand resolute *Britaines*, gathered to a feat made of marish turfes, after the manner of the *Romans*, apparelled in a loose gowne of changeable colours, wearing a kirtle thereunder very thicke pleated, the tresses of her yellow haire hanging downe to the skirts. About her necke shee had a chaine of gold, and in her hand held a light speare, being of personage tall, and of a comely, cheerefull, and modest countenance, and so a while shee stood pawling, in viewing her Army, and being regarded with a reuerend silence, at length to this effect she spake vnto them.

(19) My Friends and Companions of equal fortunes, there heedeth no excuse for this my present authoritie or place, in regard of my Sex, seeing it is not unknown vnto you all, that the wonted manner of our Nation hath bene to warre vnder the conduct of a woman, and not only ours, but also of the greatest Monarchies swaied vpon this vniuersall Globe: for the Empire of the *Aſſyrians* (the first and most famous that euer was) vnder the command of *Semiramis* triumphed oer the fierce *Aethiopians*; and the gold-veined *Indians*; *Babylon* for strength and beauty was both defended and enriched by *Nitocris* her sole Empreſse. The *Scythians* vnder *Tomyris* ouercame, and slew the great Conquerour *Cyrus*. *Aegypt* governed by *Cleopatra*: yea and *Romes* Monarches themselves ruled, if not ouer-ruled, by *Mefſalina* and *Agrippina* the monſters of our Sexe. My blood and birth might challenge some preeminence, as sprung from the roots of most royall descent: but my breath received from the same aire, my body sustained by the same soile, and my glorie clouded with imposed ignominies. I disclaime all superiortie, and as a fellow in bondage beare the yoke of oppressions, with as heauie waight and pressure, if not more. Had I with *Cæsars* mother bene suspected of Treason, or with false *Cartimandua* defiled my Bed, to the disturbance of their peace, my goods might have gone vnder the title of Confiscation, and these prints of the whip vnder pretext of iustice. But why name I iustice in these grand Catalogues of oppressions, whose Actors respect neither person, age, sexe, nor cause? For what abuse can be so vile, that wee haue not suffered? or indignitie so contemptible, that wee haue not borne? My stripes, yet felt and scene against their owne lawes, and the violent rapes of these my harmlesse daughters, against the Lawes of God and Man, doe witness well what government they intend: and your wealths consumed by their wastefull wantonnesse, your painfull trauels vpholding their idlenesse, doe scale the illues of our succeeding miseries, if not timely prevented by one ioint endeavour. You that haue known the freedome of life, will with me consent (I am sure) that libertie (though in a poore estate) is better then bondage with fetters of gold: and yet this comparison hath no correspondence in vs: for wee now enioy no estate at all, nothing now being ours but what they will leave vs; and nothing left vs, that they can take away, hauing not so much as our very heads toll-free. Other subdued Nations by death are quit from bondage; but wee after death

Boudicca furnished her troopes.

Her attire.

Her Oration to her Army.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14.

The custome of this and other Monarchies to be governed by women. *Iulian. lib. 3. Semiramis.*

Nitocris.

Tomyris.

Iulian. lib. 3.

Cleopatra.

Mefſalina and *Agrippina.*

Shee disclaimeeth all superiortie.

Reioiceth in her innocencie.

The indignities offered by the *Romans*.

Dion. Cass. lib. 62.

" must liue seruaile, and pay tribute euen in our grankes. " Haue the *Heauens* made vs the ends of the world, " and haue not assigned the end of our wrongs? Or " hath Nature among all her free worker created vs " *Britaines* only for bondage? Why; what are the *Romans*? Are they more then men, or immortal? " Their flaine carcases sacrificed by vs, and their putrefied blood corrupting our Aire, doth tell vs they " are no Gods. Our personages are more tall, our bodies more strong, and our ioints better knit: and (to say as it is) euery part of vs framed more fit for the speare then for the spade. But you will say they are our Conquerours. Indeede ouercome wee are, but by our selues: our owne factions still giuing way to their intrusions: for had not the Dictator *A Mandubrace*? " *Caligula* an *Admirus*? *Claudius* a *Bericus*, and *Co-* " *gidannus*? *Nero* (that strumper, and our still-living shame) *Cartimandua*? *Romes* instruments, and *Brit-* " *taines* vipers? without which, you shall see *Cæsar* in single fight, lose his sword, and after flie the Countrey (a dishonour indeleble) *Tiberius* forgoe his Tribute, though extremely couetous, *Claudius* glad to make peace, and be quiet: and *Nero* might still haue followed his fiddling trade at home, if our discords had not made vp his *Musike* heere abroad. Our dissensions therefore haue bene their only rising, and our designs still weakened by home-bred conspirators. " Neither hath our noble resistance euer bene without desert and note of honour: their publike triumphs being made more admirable by one *Britaines* Conquest, then usually hath bene solemnized ouer whole Kingdomes. *Caligula* for beholding our cliffs only would haue diuine honours: and forgetfull *Claudius* remembered vnto posterities (in his *Britannicus*) a glorious surname from vs. Our strengths haue bene acknowledged the maine support of other States, and shall it not bee supplied to maintain our owne? Wee haue as much to keepe as *Bith-right* hath giuen vs, that is, our Island possessed by our Ancestors from all antiquitie: Ours by inheritance, theirs by intrusions, claimes so different in the scale of iustice, that the Gods themselves must needs redresse, and set the ballance in their equal poise. Wee haue scene their propitious beginnings, in making vs instruments ouer leuenty thousand of our enemies; and yet in this reuenge our forces not diminished, but much increased in number and power: it is which thing, as it serues to our encouragements (so is it to their feare. For *Catus* hath let the Seas (a sure defense) betwixt him and vs; yet not a *Britaine* pursuing: for surely if any had, he would haue hid himselfe in the waues. *Petilius* the field-mouse doth keepe his hole, and with the *Moule* works the earth for his safest refuge: And *Posthumus* their Campe-master is too wise to venture all at a cast. Only *Plautinus* fleshed by his late victorie ouer a company of vnarmed Priests, whose resistance consisted only in praiers, and a few weak women, whose weapons were only fire-brands, builds the hopes of his aspiring minde, as *Caligula* did his *Trophy* of Cockle-shells. For see wee not him encamped rather to defend his owne, then to offend others? His Army crouched together, as fowles flocked against a storme, or rather like to fearefull Hares squatted in their bushes, who no sooner shall heare the crie of their pursuit, but their *Muske* or *Fortresse* will bee left: and for their last refuge, as *Hares*, trust to the swiftnesse of their speedy feet. Suddenly, as hee was thus speaking, shee let slip a Hare which hee had secretly couched in her lappe, which with a great shout escaped thorow the Campe, and gaue occasion to the Army (who little suspected it was done by her of purpose) to construe it as an ominous and luckie signe of victory.

(20) And thereupon with great force they assaile their enemies, whiles *Suetonius* was likewise encouraging his Souldiers to the like resolution. The fourteenth Legion by his direction kept the strait as a sure place of defense, till the *Britaines* in the fury of their

Tacit. Annal. lib. 14. cap. 11.

Cæsar. Com. lib. 5.

Britannish vipers.

Tacitus in *vit. Agric.* Domestike conspirators most dangerous.

Cæsar. Com. lib. 5.

Motives inciting to pursue the *Romans*.

Her device at concluding her speech.

The Britains
vanquished.Eightie thousand
Britains slain.Boudice's poi-
soneth her selfe.Tacit. Annal. lib.
14. cap. 11.Pentius flew him-
selfe. Tacitus hist. lib. 2.
cap. 31.The Britains mil-
laries.Julius Claufrici-
nus a recuatur.Promitteth Cle-
mentie.Tranquill' in vit.
Nero. Selfe, 40.Polyetes sent to
reconcile Claufrici-
anus and Suetonius.

first onfet had spent all their darts, which with good successe they had bestowed: but then failing and wearied in their first coming on too hotly, the Romans filled out vpon the plaine, the Auxiliaries and Horsemen with long launces making their way, and beating downe all that stood before them. The Britains vnable to endure or withstand such fierce assaults, were forced to giue backe, and at length fought to saue themselves by flight, but were hindered by their owne Waggon placed in the reere-ward of the Army, which gaue the more impediment to their retreat, in that they were then full of their women who in confidence of the victory came thither to behold the fight, which were among the rest all slaine, without regard of sexe or mercie. This day was famous and comparable in renowne for victory to any other of former times, for therein were slaine of the Britains the number of eightie thousand men: And the Land brought vnder an vnrecourable subiection.

(21) Boudice seeing the overthrow of her Army, was notwithstanding vnvanquished in her owne Noble spirit, and coming to be a peccetle in their triumphs, or a vassall to their willes, after the example of Cleopatra, shee made an end of her miseries and life, by poison. And Pentius Posthumus, Camp-master of the second Legion, seeing the good successe of the fourth and twentieth: for that disobaying the Generall (contrary to the discipline of warre) he had defrauded himselfe and followers of their parts of glorie in that seruice, for verie griefe flew himselfe: and for their good feruence there performed, Nero greatly honoured the eleuenth, thirteenth and foureteenth Legions, reposing a mortuere trust in their valour and fidelitie, euer afterward.

(22) Suetonius animated with this victorie, gathered his Army, & encamped again, purposing to end the residue of the warre, if any resistors should remaine: And at that present were sent him out of Germanie two thousand Legionarie Souldiers, eight Cohorts of Auxiliaries, and a thousand Horse, whereby his strength was augmented, and the ninth Legion which had bene much weakened by the rashnes of Petilius, fully supplied: So that bootlesse it was for the poore Britains to make any further resistance, and such as did, or stood doubtfully affected, were daily put to the sword. But nothing distressed them so much, as did famine, and want of Corne, being a people in all ages more giuen to warre then good husbandry, and rather relying vpon the provisions of others, than by the plough to provide for themselves, fierce of nature, and slowlie lending care to peace, or their minde to such Arts as either nourish, or are nourished by peace.

(23) In these times Tullius Claufricius, sent from Nero to succcede Catus in his office of receipts, an enemy, & at variance with Suetonius, the more to cloud his renouance, gaue it forth for certaine, that a new Lieutenant was to be expected, who without either hostile rancour, or pride of a Conquerour, would intreat the yeelders with all Clemencie: And likewise by letters sent to Rome, he signified that no end of warre was to be expected, so long as Suetonius remained Generall, attributing euerie aduersé lucke to his intolerable pride, and euery prosperous successe onely to the good fortunes of Cesar and State of Rome. These Great mens diffentions awaked Nero, fearing lest the Britains, thereby would be more forward to advantage, with whom experience had shewed there was no dallying, and his former losses among them being againe recovered, he thought himselfe discharged and quit from all fatall calamities, as Tranquillus doth affirme. Therefore he sent Polyetes, one of his freed seruitors, with Commission to examine the differences, and to interpose his autoritie to worke a reconciliation: at whose greatnes it was also thought that the Britains would haue quaked, and come in vnder feare. Which thing fell out otherwise: for howsoeuer the Capitaine and Souldiers regarded him for his place, vnto whom he shewed himselfe both arrogant and terri-

ble, yet the Britains made him but their laughing stocke, as being themselves borne free, and knew not what the power of freed-men was, much admired that such Commanders and Armies which had achieved so great exploits, could be brought to obey, and yeeld account of their actions to so base a bond-slave, as they termed him.

(24) But Suetonius growne great by his fortunes in these warres, and as it should seeme both suspected and feared of Nero, was by him commanded (the warres yet continuing) to deliuer vp his Armie to Petronius Turpilianus, who had lately giuen ouer his Consulship in Rome, a man of a softer, and more intreatable condition; and as a stranger to the faults committed before, readier to receiue to fauour and forgieue: who hauing composed the former troubles, not daring any further, neither egged, nor prouoked the Enemy, but gaue himselfe to a quiet, or rather idle life, which hee thought might passe vnder the title of an honourable peace. In which estate he gaue vp his charge to Trebellius Maximus, and was after slaine by Galba, nothing objected against him, but his faithfulness to Nero, in that he would not betray him, as the rest had done. For Nero now growne Odious to God and Man, Conspiracies were continually attempted, though not in act effected, vntill that Iulius Vindex Lieutenant of Galba opposed his proceeding, being the first stirrer, and the rowling stone that (as Tacitus tearmes it) tumbled Nero out of his Seate.

(25) For hauing proclaimed Galba Emperour, an old and weak man, at that time Governour of Aragon, neither priuie to the conspiracie, nor assenting to the title, he set vp daily many bitter and biting Edicts against Nero, whereby he was rowled from his lasciuious rest, and began to feare the fatal end, whereunto his impious life and bloody raigne had now lately brought him; who destitute of all power of resistance, did now let his whole hope and refuge, vpon that meanes, to which the compass of his time had euer pointed; for relying onely vpon his skill in Musique, hee intended his flight into Egypt, there to teach the instructions of that Art: into lush sudden basenes was his minde delected, that formerly had lashed out beyond all measure in luxurie, pride, and prodigalitie. Vnto this conspiracie ioined Virginius Rufus Lieutenant of high Germanie, with Nymphidius, Sabinus, and Sponius Tigellinus, Capitaine of the Guard, who after Vindex his death, (which happened vpon an accident euen in his entrance to Armes) maintained the election of Galba: and the Senate as forward to Neros destruction, proclaimed him Enemy to the State, and pronounced his punishment more maiourum, sending out each way to apprehend him aliue.

(26) In this feare Nero attended with foure seruants onely, had hid himselfe in a Country Cottage, not passing foure miles from Rome; whence hearing his decreed iudgement, and demanding what was meant by that sentence, it was answered, that his necke should be locked in the forke of a tree, and his bodie all naked, whipped to death; whereupon lamenting that so good a Minister should be made away, he ran himselfe through on his sword, and so rid the world of a Monster.

(27) Of stature he was indifferent, his body full of freckles, his haire somewhat yellow, his countenance rather faire then lovely, his eyes gray and dimme, his necke fatte, his bellie bearing out, and his legges slender and small; A most skillfull Musitian he was, and in that Art fought to excell others, and to equalize Apollo himselfe, as also in his Chariot-riding to imitate the swiftnesse of the Sunne. So prodigall in apparel, that he neuer wore one Garment twice, & so sumptuous in buildings, as is vncredible. He reigned thirteen yeares and eight daies, and died the eight of Iune, in the one and thirtieth of his age, and after the birth of our Saviour Christ the threecore and tenth: as Eusebius doth account.

Liberty or Freedom, were such as being first bond slaves, by their seruice obtained freedome, and many of them about the Emperour came to be of great sway. Suetonius deliue-
reth vp his charge.
Petronius his disposition.

Petronius Turpil-
ianus giuech vp
his charge to
Trebell. Max.

Petronius Turpil-
ianus slaine, be-
cause true to Ne-
ro.
Iulius Vindex op-
poleteth Nero.
Tacit. differ in vit.
Nero.

Proclaimeth
Galba Emperour.

Nero seeketh to
fly into Egypt.

The Senate tend
to apprehend
him.

Nero hideth
himselfe.

He killeth him-
selfe.

His lineaments.
Suet. in vita Neri.

His qualities.

Joseph. Bell.
Iud. lib. 5. cap. 6.
Euseb. lib. 3. cap. 5.

His raigne and
age.



GALBA.

CHAPTER VIII.



Nero the last of
the Cesars.

Suet. in vit. Galb.
Selfe.

The manner of
choosing the
succeeding Em-
perours.

Galba got the
Empire ere hee
looked for it.

Galba his policie
to make Nero o-
dious.

His Oration to
his souldiers.



In the death of this Tyrant, ended the progeny of the Cesars, and the Emperours succeeding were afterwards elected, either for the opinion of their owne worths, or els, (and that oftner) by the faction and voice of the Souldiers, whose violence the Senate euer feared to contradict, and whose Colonies in euerie Province sought to raise their owne Generall to that high estate. In which time of Combustion, though little be recorded of the British affaires, yet because the Monarchy of this Island was then and long after inuaded in the Imperiall dignitie, we may not omit to speake somewhat of the ensuing Emperours, as the chiefe Governours of this kingdom. Vpon Neros declining, diuers there were (as Vindex and Virginius, Nymphidius and Sponius) set vp against him, but Galba for his reputed integritie got the Garland from them all: who little dreaming of the Imperiall Diademe, fortune set it vpon his head before his hand had toucht the same: for Vindex in Gallia hauing proclaimed him Emperour, and himselfe in Aragon not free from Neros hatred, hee sought rather to hazard his life with the Glorie of a Crowne, then depend vpon his mercie, who had sent secretly the sentence of his death. And therefore mounting the Tribunal, the more to impress a fresh remembrance of former cruelties, he placed before his throne, the Images of certaine Nobles executed by Nero, with some personages sent for out of exile, whose presence might prouoke a deeper edge of hatred, and his Army about him readie for mutation, these, or the like words he spake.

(2) My fellow Souldiers and friends, wee at this time are assembled, to bestow that vpon others, which wee our selues haue finally enioied, I meane, libertie from bondage, and freedome from feares of a Tyrant. The life that I haue hitherto lead, will sufficiently discharge me from any aspiring conceit, and my owne Conscience doth witness that: I speake not vpon malice or priuate respects: It greuech me to say, but it bootes not to hide, that, which euerie man seeth. Hath euer Bond-man vnder a cruell master passed a yeere of harder seruice, then we haue done foureteen vnder Nero? what kind of exaction hath he not proued to supply with extortion, that which with shame hee hath spent? what kinde of crueltie hath he not practised? If we would conceale or seeke to suppress it, these dumb stones would declare them: For behold, hee poisoned his Father and brother, abused and slew his owne mother, murdered his wife, his Tutor, and what els so euer valiant or vertuous in Senate, in Ci-

tie, in Province, without any difference of Sexe or Age. I neede not to speake of the sorrowful sighes, and bitter teares of so many young gentlemen bereft of their fathers, so many wines robbed of their husbands, so many great men decried of their Country, all which cry vengeance vpon such a Prince: a Prince? nay an Incendiarie, a Singer, a Fidler, a Stage-plaier, a Cart-driuer, a Cryer, no Prince, nay no man; that hath a man to his husband, and a man to his wife, but a monster of mankind: And in truth a subiect, vpon whom, vice hath made her full experience, and raised her triumphs from the base of Cesars throne. Against whom, what Vindex in France hath already intended, I am sure you doe know, and I, for my part, am most forrie to heare. The whole course of my former life hath bene hitherto removed from Ambition in Court, or from aiming too high abroad, and this little that remains of my daies, I could hardly wish were to be spent in more care: But fith I know not by what my fortune, some haue imposed vpon me a Part which, I neuer meant to sustaine, and least of all at this age, I will not refuse, if you will also approue it, to sacrifice this old Carcase of mine for the wealth of my Country, not as Emperour or Augustus (which sacred names I adore afarre off, not daring to approach them) but as ———— And no further heard, was with great acclamations saluted Emperour.

(3) But such is the height of glory, which is raised by the blasts of the multitude, that it falls againe as the bubble burst in the swelling, which leaues neither circle nor signe of his former pride. And so is the state of Galba with one breath applauded, and placed vpon the Imperiall Throne; and that scarce cold, ere they dislike of their owne hastic election: for newes being brought that the State stood firme for Nero, and for certaine that Vindex in his quarrell was slaine, euen in his first enterprife of revolt; that Virginius was sided by his Germane Legions, and his name inscribed in their banners; that Nymphidius was the man whose defects could not be sufficiently honoured with lesse recompence then the princely Diademe: These distractions so much ouer-swaied his aged and passionate heart, that he retired to Clunia in great dejection, repenting himselfe of that which hee had done, and wished againe his priuate estate.

(4) But the death of Nero commonly diuulged, and Virginius his refusall of the Imperiall Title, gaue strength and life to his former election, now further ratified by the full resolutions of the Armie: who the more to seeme both strong and valorous, though indeed a weak, sickly, and filly old man, Souldier-like in his coat of Armes shewed himselfe, and in that array passed the vast mountains for Rome. With whose entrance, entred the dislike of his person, as one vn-

Nero described.

Nero solemnely married one of his youths called Euriphantus, and kept him as his wife: so likewise did he with Sponius, whom he endeauoured to transforme into a woman.

Glorie like a Bubble.

fit to support the state of others, that by age and imbecillie was not able to sustain his owne: to which were added the imperfections of his government, carried every way farre vnder expellation. And long hee late not before hee saw his owne defects: to redresse which hee elected *Piso Licinianus*, *Cesar*, joining him in power with himselfe, and declaring him his *Succesor*, in a short and blunt Oration, in presence both of the *Senate* and *Souldiers*.

(5) Whereat howsoever others stood affected, yet *Marcus Salinus Otho* (one, who for commerce in leaudnes was very deare to *Nero*, and whose hope depended vpon the common disturbance, for that his excessse in riot had now brought him to the brink of beggary) much enuied therat, rather because himselfe had entertained a hope that *Galba* would haue adopted him, and therefore as his concurrent set his own aspiring mind for the *Crown*. And even now this time best fitted his attempts, as being the wane of *Galbaes* authority, and before the full of *Pisces* power, his *Astrologers* and *Starre-gazers* forwarding him with their vaine predictions, a kinde of people euer to

Princes vnfaithfull, to hopers deceitfull, and in a common-wealth alwaies forbidden, yet alwaies retained. The souldiers likewise euer disliking the present, and affecting the new, fell without respect to *Othoes* side: amongst whom *Sulpitius Florus*, one of the *British* *Cohorts*, slew *Piso* the elected *Cesar*; *Galba* himselfe being murdered and mangled by the Souldiers and band of *Hortemen*.

(6) He was of a good stature; his head bald, his eyes gray, and his nose hooked, his hands and feet crooked by reason of the gout, and a bunch of flesh or wen vpon his right side. A great feeder and *Sodomite* hee was, feare in iustice, and ouer-ruled by his seruants. Hee died aged seuentie three yeeres, hauing out-lived fise Princes. In prosperitie happier vnder the *Empire* of others, then in his owne; for hee late only fiseen months, and them with small contents. In his flourishing age with great renoune he had serued in *Germany*: *Africke* he ruled as *Proconsul*, and the neerer *Spain* vprightly and well; seeming more then a priuate man while he was priuate, and held capable of the *Empire*, had he neuer bene *Emperour*.

Galbae the sixth
Piso Licinianus
for his Cesar.

Tacit. hist. 1.
Silius.
Salinus Otho
conspireth Gal-
baes death.

Astrologers and
Starre-gazers.



THE FIRST PLANTING OF RELIGION IN BRITAIN.

CHAPTER IX.



His short time of *Galbaes* gouernment, with the conspiracies against his *Predecessor*, admitteth small remembrances of our *British* affaires: which *Province* (saith *Tacitus*) amongst all other stirres against both *Nero* and *Galba*, held amity, and stood

in quiet; whether it was the farre distance of place, secured by *Sea* from the seditions of the *Reuolters*; or that by continuall feruice against the *Enemy* the malice of their humours were spent, it is vncertaine. Therefore while to digresse from the *Succession* of our *British* *Monarkes*, and to fill vp the emptinesse of those *Times* with matters incident to our selues, let it not seeme either tedious or superfluous, to speake of the planting of this *Kingdome* in this *Island*, whose *Rule* in short time extended to the *Ends* of the *Earth*; and whose *Ambassadours* (as some haue written) about the midde of *Neroes* *Reigne*, and in the yeere of *Christis* *Incarnation* sixty three approached for the *Inhabitants* saluation, *Aviragus* then swaying the *Scepter* of this *Kingdome*.

(2) At which time (say they) were sent certaine *Disciples* out of *France* into *Britaine* by *Philip* the *Apostle*, whereof *Ioseph of Arimathea*, that buried the body of *Christ*, was chiefe; who first laid the foundation of our faith in the West parts of this *Island*, at the place then called *Adulon*, (afterwards *Inis Vitrin*, now *Glastenburie*) where he with twelue *Disciples* his

Assistants preached the *Gospell* of life vnto the *Islanders*, and there left their bodies to remaine for a iofull *Resurrection*. This doth *Gildas* affirme, and *Malmesburie* in his *Booke* of the *Antiquitie* of *Glastenburie* written to *Henry de Blois*, brother to *King Stephen*, and *Abbas* of the same place, report, and is contented vnto (for the matter, though all agree not touching the time) by the learned *Antiquaries* of later times, grounded on the *Testimonies* of the best approved *Ancient* writers: who account the most happy influence of *Christianitie*, to haue bene by those glorious *conduits* conuayed into these remote parts of the world: that so (according to the promise of *God* by *Esaiah*) *The Isles a farre off which had not heard of his fame, should be converted, and haue his glorie to them declared among the Gentiles*.

(3) And if the credit of *Dorotheus* Bishop of *Tyre*, (who liued to see the *Apostacie* of *Iulian*) weigh any thing with vs, in his tract of the *Liues* and *Deaths* of the *Prophets*, *Apostles*, and *Disciples*, he bringeth *Simon Zelotes* (an *Apostle* of *Iesus Christ*) to preach the word, and to suffer *Martyrdom* on the *Crosse* here in *Britaine*: with whom *Nicophorus*, and after him *Iohn Capgrane* (in his *Catalogue* of *English Saints*) agree, saying that the same *Simon* spread the *Gospell* to the west *Ocean*, and brought the word of life into the *Isles* of *Britaine*: and, in the conuersion of *Countries* wrought by the *Apostles*, the same *Nicophorus*, with *Egypt* and *Lybia* assigneth *Britaine* also to be one. And the foresaid *Dorotheus*, as also *Mirmanus*, nameth *Arifobulus* one of the seuentie *Disciples* (the same whom *Saint Paul* in his *Epistle* to the *Romans* among others

Piso slain;
Galba murdered.

His description.

His vices.

His age.

And reigne.

Ioseph of Arima-
thea buried at
Glastenbury.
Gildas in vii. du-
ret. Ambrosij.
Malmesburie.

Camden. in Brit.
Brit. Cent. 1.
Matti. Park.
Antiq. Eccl. Brit.
Polyd. Virg.
et alij.

Elay 66.19.

Dorotheus in the
liues of Saints.
Luk. 6.13.

Simon Zelotes
martyred in
Britaine.
Nicophorus lib. 2.
cap. 40.
Iohn Capgrane.

Nicophorus lib. 3.
cap. 1.

Rom. 16.19.

others saluteth) to haue taught the doctrine of *Saluation*, and to haue executed the office of a *Bishop* heere in *Britaine*.

(4) To these first *Planters* and *Sowers* of this heauenly *Seed*, *Cesar Baronius*, that voluminous *Historian*, ioineeth *Mary Magdalen*, *Lazarus*, and *Martha*, who (by his relation) being banished *Ierusalem*, in a masterlesse ship without tackling arrived in *Gallia*, and with them *Ioseph of Arimathea*, who afterward landed in *Britaine* (not tradunt, as hee faith, out of an old *Manuscript* which he saw in the *Vatican Library*;) yea and with them also *Eurgain* the sister of *Ioseph*, who afterwards married a *Britaine* named *Siarkas*, if the authoritie whereon *George Owen-Harry* doth ground that report, be of any credit.

(5) But yet there are others, who vpon a very good ground from the words of *Gildas* (the most ancient of our *British* *Historians*) will haue the *Summe* of the *Gospell* long before to haue risen in this our *West*, and this *Island* of *Britaine* to haue enioied the very morning of his *Assent*, the brightnesse thereof piercing thorow the mistie clouds of error, and shining heere in *Britaine* euen in the daies of *Tiberius*, towards whose end *Christ* suffered his death, and by whose indulgence towards *Christians*, their profession was propagated farre and neere. Which assertion the said *Gildas* doth not deliuer coldly or doubtingly, but with great confidence, & relying vpon good grounds, as it appeareth when he faith, *Scimus*, &c. Wee know for certainty, that this was in the latter times of *Tiberius*. Which was immediately after our blessed *Sauours* *Passton*.

To which vncontroleable testimonie some others haue added (though not perhaps on foundoubted warrant) that *S. Peter* the *Apostle* preached the word of life in this *Island*, as to other *Gentiles* he did, for whom *God* had chosen him, that from his mouth they might heare the *Gospell* and beleue, (as himselfe allegeth) and that hee heere founded Churches, and ordained *Priests* and *Deacons*, which is reported by *Simon Metaphrastes* out of the *Greece* *Antiquities*, and *Guilielmus Elisingenius* in the first of his *Centurie*, who faith that *Peter* was here in *Neroes* time; whereas *Baronius* thinketh it was in the reigne of *Claudius*, when the *Iewes* were banished *Rome*, and that therefore *Paul* in his *Epistle* to the *Romans* mentioneth him not. Indeed *Baronius* and some others plead very hotly for *S. Peters* preaching heere: but I see not well how it can stand either with *Eusebius* his account, which keeps him so long at *Rome* after he was *Bishop* there, or with *Omphrius*, who denieth that he went westward (being expelled by *Claudius*) but to *Ierusalem*, and thence to *Antioch*, where he liued till the death of *Claudius*: whence it must follow, that if *Peter* were heere at all, it was before euer he went to *Rome*, and that the *Gospell* was preached heere before it was in *Rome*, if *Peter* were the first (as some hold) that preached there: both which may be the more probable, if wee consider the huge multitudes of *Christians* (fifteen thousand, faith *Baronius*) which dispersed themselves into all parts of the world vpon the martyring of *S. Steuen* at *Ierusalem*, (which was presently vpon the death of *Christ*) and that *Ioseph of Arimathea* was one of that number, *Baronius* doth confesse. I am heere contented to step over that *Monkish* tale reported by *Aluredus Rinalensis* (the writer of *King Edward* the *Confessors* life) that a holy man (forsooth) studious and careful for a *Gouernour* to succeed, was in his sleepe told by *S. Peter* that the *Kingdome* of *England* was his, wherein himselfe had first preached, and would also provide him *Successors*. For seeing it was a dreame, for a dreame wee leaue it, and *Peter* among the other *Elders* to attend his *Throne*, that now siteth in glorious *Majestie*, and who in this life minded no such earthly preeminence, no not to diuide betwixt brethren, though the *Kingdome* and rule of all things was his alone.

(6) Certes *Peter* was principally the *Apostle* of the *Circumcision*, and therefore more likely to haue spent

his endeuours on them: but for *Paul* (the *Dottor* of the *Gentiles*) his arrival heere may seeme more warrantable, who doubtlesse (after his first releasement from *Rome*) confirmed the doctrine of *Christ* to these *Westerne* parts of the world, and among them, as may appeare, to this *Island* of *Britaine*, as both *Sophronius Patriarke* of *Ierusalem*, and *Theodore* an ancient *Dottor* of the Church, doe affirme and approue, saying that *Fishers*, *Publicans*, and the *Tent-maker* (meaning *S. Paul*) which brought the *Euangelicall* light vnto all Nations, reuealed the same vnto the *Britaines*. That *Paul* came into *Ilyricum*, *Gallia*, and *Spain*, and filled all those parts with his doctrine, both *Eusebius*, *Dorotheus*, and *Epiphanius* doe testifie: and of this generally *Ambassage* the *Apostle* himselfe faith, that the *sound of the Gospell went thorow the earth*, and was heard vnto the ends of the world: which his sayings cannot more fitly bee applied to any other *Nation* then vnto vs of *Britaine*, whose Land by the *Almightie* is so placed in the terrestrial globe, that thereby it is termed of the ancient, *The Ends of the Earth*, and deemed to be situated in another world; for so in an Oration that *Agrippa* made to the *Iewes*, and *Agricola* to his *Romans*, it is called: which made *Solinus* write, that the coast of *France* had bene the *End* of the *Earth*, had it not bene for *Britaine*, which was as another world. And in *Dion* we read, that the old *Souldiers* of *Gallia*, whom *Claudius* commanded for *Britaine*, complained that they must bee enforced to make warre out of the world. And of this Land and latter *Apostle* (if credit may be giuen to a Poet) *Procopius* thus recordeth:

*Transijt Oceanum, & qua facit Insula Portum,
Quasq; Britannus habet terras, quasq; ultima Thule.*

*He crost the seas vnto the land, and vtmost coasts of Thule,
Arriving at the Ports and Isles where Britains bare the rule.*

(7) Thus for *Paul*: well known in *Rome* by his long imprisonments, and (at that time) in reuerend regard for his doctrine with many there: among whom also there were some *Britaines* that embraced the faith, whereof *Claudia Rufina* (remembered by *Martial* another Poet) was one, whom he thus extols:

*Claudia ceruleis cum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, cur Latia pectora plebis habet?
Quale decus forme? Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt, Atthides esse suam.*

*How hath Dame Claudia, borne of Britaines blew,
Won fame for wisdom with our fages grave?
Her comely forme and learning, as their due,
Rome claimes for hers, and hers would Athens haue.*

This *Claudia* is by the learned commended to haue bene most skilfull in the *Greece* and *Latine* tongues; of whom heere them (not me) speake. At the commandement of the *Tyrant Nero* (say they from *Tacitus*) many Noble *Britaines* were brought to *Rome*, who remaining there their *Confederates*, they held it an honour to haue their children named after the nobilitie of the *Romans*: and from *Claudius Cesar* was this *Ladie Claudin* named, who according to her worth was matched in marriage to *Rufus* a gentleman of *Rome*, then a *Coronell*, after a *Senator*, a man of a milde disposition, naturally modest, a great *Philosopher* in the Sect of the *Stoikes*, for his sweetnesse of behaviour called *Pudens*, who by his graue perswasions caused *Martial* (the witty but wanton Poet) to reforme many things in his writings, and by him is commended for his *humanitie*, *pietie*, *learning*, and eloquence: as also his wife *Claudia* the *Britaine*, for her *beautie*, *faith*, *fruitfulness*, *learning*, and *languages*. In proofe whereof, *Bale* hath mentioned three feuerall treatises, besides others by her compiled, both in the *Greece* and *Latine* tongues. *Dorotheus* nameth *Pudens* to be one of the seuentie two, and *Volateranus* affirmeth them both *Pauls* *disciples*, from whom he sendeth greeting to *Timothens* in these words: *Eubulus* and

Martial lib. 9.
Epi. 54.

Matti. Park.
Arch. in Antiq.
Eccl. Britan.
Bale, &c.

Claudia her learned
writing.
Dorotheus of the
liues of the
Disciples.
Volateranus
lib. 18.
2. Tim. 4. 27.

Britaine in quiet
repose.
Tacit. hist. 1. ca. 3.

Christianity sup-
posed to bee
brought into
Britaine in Ne-
roes time.
Ex Antiq. Ma-
nuscript.
Eusebius Lexi-
con. vii. Tom. 2.
lib. 5. cap. 4.
William of Mal-
mesburie.

Bale Centur. lib. 1.
Harding faith
fourteene cap. 47.

The lame *Claudius* that *Paul* and *Martial* speak of.

Enfub. Ecclef. lib. 3. cap. 22.

Alcibiades his beauntie in old age.

Claudius sends both *Paul* and *Martial* writings into *Britaine*.

Martial lib. 7. Epig. 10.

Tacit. Annal. 15. cap. 10.

Aulus Plautius his wife became a *Christian* in *Britaine*.

Tacit. Annal. 13. 7. & lib. 15. 10. *Suetonius* in *vita* *Nero* lib. 16.

B. Rheanus in his *Hist. of Germany*. *Caution*.

Holinshed de scriptis lib. 1. cap. 9.

and *Publius*, and *Linus*, and *Claudia*, and all the brethren salute thee. But some may object, that *Martial* *Claudia* could not be that *Ladie*, who living in *Neroes* time gaue hospitalitie vnto *Peter* and *Paul* at their being in *Rome*, for that she could not retaine such beauntie and perfection as the *Poet* to her doth ascribe in the raigne of *Domitian*, the fourth in succession from *Nero*, the time being too long (saith *Ado*, *Bishop of Treuers*, *Psuarius* and others) for beauntie to be so freshly preferred. Now these account her age then to be fixtie; but if we reckon according to *Enfubius*, we shall see that hee sets the last of *Claudius* in the year of grace fiftie fixe, and the first of *Domitian* in eightie three, betwixt which are but twentie seven yeeres, and yet *Paul* came not to *Rome* till the tenth of *Nero*, and in his thirteenth year, from the prison wrote his Epistle to *Timothie*, as the same *Enfubius* declareth: so that from hence vnto *Domitian*, is left but fourteene yeeres, a time no whit vnpossible to retain e beauntie, though twentie yeeres and many more of her age had beene formerly spent; seeing that in those times *Plutarch* praiseth *Alcibiades* to be passing faire when he was threcore yeeres of age.

This *Claudia* then with *Pauls* spirituall *Manna*, is said to send likewise the choicest and chafest of the Poetics of *Martial* (whose verses generally are no lessons besitting Ladies) for new yeeres gifts vnto her friends in *Britaine*, both for to feede their Soules with the bread of life, and to instruct their minde with lessons best fitting vnto ciuill behauiour; which thing moued the *Poet* himselfe with no small selfe-glorie in his verse thus to write:

Dicitur & nostras cantare Britannia versus.
And *Britaine* now (they say) our verses learns to sing.

(8) It hath also passed with allowance among the learned *Senate* of our *Antiquaries*, that when *Claudius* & *Nero* began to banish and persecute the *Christians* in *Rome*, (whose superstitions, as *Tacitus* pleaseth to teame them, from *Iudea* had infected the *Cities* it selfe) many *Romanes* and *Britaines* being conuerted to the Faith, fled thence vnto their remote parts of the earth, where they might and did more freely enjoy the libertie of their *Professions*, vntill the enuie of *Tyrants* by the flame-light of *Persecutions* had found out all secret places for the safeties and assemblies of *Gods Saints*: as after in the daies of *Dioclesian* we shall finde. And from this *Sanctuarie* of *Saluation* the sad lamenting Lady *Pomponia Graecina*, the wife of *Aulus Plautius* (the first Lord Lieutenant of *Britaine*) brought that Religion, whereof she was accused and stood indicted vpon life and death, which was none other, then the *Christian* Profession, seeing the same both by *Tacitus* and *Suetonius*, is curie where termed the strange superstitions and new kinde of Sect that the *Christians* embraced, and for which they were accounted vnworthy to liue.

(9) And much about these times (as *Beatus Rheanus* in his *Historie* of *Germanie*, *Pantaleon* and others do report) one *Suetonius* a Noble mans sonne in *Britaine* conuerted to the Faith by the first Planters of the Gospel in this land, and after his Baptisme called *Beatus*, was sent by the Brethren from hence vnto *Rome*, to be better instructed, and further directed by *Saint Peter* himselfe; and returning thorow *Switzerland*, found such willingness and flocking of the people to heare and receiue the Doctrine of *Christ*, that he there flatted and built an *Oratorie* not farre from the lake *Thun*, and neare the Towne called *Vnderfesen*, where in preaching and praier he employed his time to the day of his death, which happened in the year of grace 110.

And that there were *Christians* in *Britaine* at these times I make no questiō, though some exceptions may be taken against the *Monk* of *Burton* the reporter thereof, who saith in the 141 yeare and raigne of *Hadrian*, nine masters of *Grantecester* were baptized themselves & preached to others the Gospel in *Britaine*; howsoever the faith in the Emperours name, which yeare was the

second of *Antonius Pius* his successor, and ascribeth to these men Schoole-degrees, altogether vnknowne for nine hundred yeeres after, yet these do not hinder the truth of the thing, though that *Monke* was none of the best *Historians*. It is reported also that *Patrick* the Irish *Apollie*, and Canonized *Saint*, long before the Raigne of King *Lucius* preached the Gospel in many places of *Wales*; As also that *Ninianus* Bernicius of the race of the British Princes conuerted the *Picts* to the Religion of *Christ*. Vnto these aforesaid authorities and testimonies howsoever we stand affected: yet it is certaine by *Cheminutius* citing *Sabellicus*, that the *Britaines* were with the first Conuerts: And *Tertullian*, who liued within two hundred yeeres of *Christis* *Natiuitie*, sheweth no lesse: Who the more to prouoke the *Iewes* against whom he wrote, calleth to witnesse the fruitfull increase of the Gospel of *Saluation*, through many Countries and Nations, and among them nameth the *Britaines* to haue receiued the Word of life, the power whereof (saith he) hath pierced into those parts whither the *Romanes* could not come. Whence *Petrus Cluniacensis* suppoeth the *Scottish* men the more ancient *Christians*, as not being in the like subiection to the *Romanes*, as other then were.

(10) *Origen*, who flourished not much about two hundred yeeres after *Christ*, in his Homilies vpon *Ezechiel* sheweth, that the first fruits of *Gods* harvest was gathered in the land of *Britaine*: who conuerted to the Christian faith by the doctrine of their *Druides*: that taught one only *God*: with whom *Helior Boetius* agreeth, saying, that some of these *Druides* condemned the worship of *God* in Images, and allowed not the applicatio of the *God-head* vnto any visible forme: which might be the cause why *Claudius* the Emperour forbad their Religion, as fauouring in these things too much of *Christianitie*, whom likewise he banished *Rome*, as some from *Suetonius* coniecture. Of these *Druides* we shewed before, that their offices were most imploied about holy things, and that their doctrine chiefly consisted in teaching the immortallitie of the soule, the motions of the heauens, the nature of things, and the power of the *Gods*: yea and *Poellus* from others will inforce, that they prophesied likewise of a virgins conception. These were the helps, saith *Tertullian*, that caused the *Britaines* so soone to embrace the Doctrine of *Christ*, and thereupon immediately after his death doth *Gyldas* fasten our conuersion, where he writeth, That the Glorious Gospel of *Iesus Christ*, which first appeared to the world in the later time of *Tiberius Caesar*, did euen then spread his bright beames vpon this frozen land of *Britaine*.

(11) Whereby we see the waters of life, flowing from *Ierusalem* Temple, into these farre feild Countries and vttermost Seas, to be made both fruitful & wholesome, according to the sayings of the Prophet, that in that day the waters of life should issue from *Ierusalem*, halfe of them toward the East Sea, and halfe of them toward the vttermost Sea, and shall remaine fruitful both in Sommer and winter: and euen in the infancie of *Christianitie*, both the *Apollies* themselves, and also the *Prophets* their *Disciples* to become fishers therein for the Soules of Men, as *Christ* in chusing of them said they should bee; whereby his Kingdom was soone enlarged vnto these Ends of the Earth, and his Throne established among those *Heathen*, whom *God* his Father had giuen to be his. So fruitful and famous was this spreading of the Gospel, that *Baptista Mantuan*, a *Christian* Poet, compares the increase thereof with that of *Noah*, thus alluding vnto it:

Sicut aquis quondam Noe sua misit in orbem
Pignora sedatis, ut Gens humana per omnes
Debita Caelitum Patri daret orgia terras;
Sic sua cunctos vellet Deus alta in regna reuerti,
Discipulos quosdam transmissit ad Vltima Mundi
Littora, docturos Gentes quo numina ritu
Sint oranda, in quibus Caelum placabile Sacris.

In English thus:

As *Noah* sent from the Arke his sonnes, to teach

Patrick the Irish *Apollie* preached in *Wales*.

Cheminutius in *examin. conuil. Triden.* ex *Sabellic.*

Tertullian cont. *Iudeos* cap. 7.

Petrus Cluni. ad *Bernard.*

Origen in *Exe.* lib. 10. m. 14.

Helior Boet. *Chr.* Scot. lib. 8. The *Druides* allowed not Images nor any visible forme of the *God-head*.

Suetonius in *vita* *Claud.* lib. 25.

Tacit. Annal. 14. cap. 10. *Caesar.* Com. lib. 8.

Tertullian.

Gyldas de *Exc.* lib. 1.

Ezech. 47. 8.

Zachar. 14. 8.

Matt. 4. 19.

Pal. 2. 8.

Baptist. *Mani.*

The

The Lawes of *God* vnto the World aright;
So *Christ* his Seruants sent abroad to preach
The Word of Life, and Gospel to each Wight:
No place lay shadowed from that glorious Light:
The farthest Isles, and Earths remote bounds,
Embrace'd their Faith, and ioy'd at their sweet founts.

(12) To which effect also the sayings of *S. Iohn Chrysostome*, *Bishop* of *Constantinople*, enforce, who shewing the increase of *Christianitie*, and the successe of the Gospel preached, sheweth the power thereof to haue extended, not only to the Countries farre iacent in the Ocean it selfe, and amongst them exprelly nameth this our *Britaine*; whose *Inhabitants* (saith hee) haue also consented to the word which is planted in euery heart, in honour whereof they haue erected their Temples and Altars. And againe: Those *Britaines* (saith hee) which had formerly fed vpon humane flesh, making no difference betwixt the blood of man and beast, now through the power of the word by them embraced, haue learned the law of true pietie, and giue themselves to a religious abstinence, and holy fasts. Of which *Barbarisme* *S. Ierome* also complained, that some of those Nations vied to eat the buttocks of boies, and Paps of Virgins, which in their Feasts were ferued for the daintiest dishes. But elsewhere speaking of the *Britaines* conuersion, he saith, that they had turned themselves from their westerne Paganisme, and now had directed their faces towards *Ierusalem* in the East, whose beauntie shined in the word of *God*.

(13) And thus we see by the planting of the Gospel in this land, the saying of the *Psalmist* accomplished, that *God* would giue his *Ionne* *Christ* the *Heathen* for his inheritance, and the Ends of the Earth (the proper attribute of this our *Britaine*) to be his possession. And the successe in *Historie* most apparently sheweth these parts (by an especiall prerogative) to bee *Christis* Kingdom. For albeit that *Ierusalem* and *Antioch* may rightfully claime the precedence of all other places, the one being as it were the charner where *Christians* were first borne, and the other the font where they were first *Christened* with that most sacred name: yet *Britaine* in some other graces hath outstript them all, hauing the glory to be graced with the first *Christian* King that euer reigned in the world, which was our renowned *Lucius*, the first fruits of all the Kings that euer laud their Crowne at the foot of our Sauours Crosse: as also for producing the first *Christian* Emperour that euer by publicke authoritie established the Gospel thorow the world, which was *Constantine* the Great, borne and brought vp here in *Britaine* by Queene *Helena*, a most vertuous and religious *British* Lady: vnto whose daies the succession of *Christianitie* did here continue, as by the martyrdomes of many *Saints* vnder *Dioclesian* is apparant. Herein also reigned the King that first vncrowned the head of the vipersing Beast, and triple-headed Cerberus, and freed the Land from his decouring Locusts: putting downe Idolatrie with *Heczekiel* that brake the Brazen Serpent: and with *Isack* new digged the Wells that those *Phylistines* had stopped. And lastly hath this land produced that most royall and *Christian* Monarke, whose learned pen hath first depainted *Antichrist*, and pierced the heart of all *Papall* Supremacie, as the sword of *Gedeon* did *Zalmunna* (* the Image of trouble). King of *Median*. And as a Lion hath he met that crooked * Serpent in the way of his vipersurped authoritie; whereby in short time vndoubtedly the * *Kall* of his heart will be broken, if other Potentates likewise by his most goodly example, cast off the yoke of vassallage, and in their seuerall Dominions gouerne (as free Princes ought) the people that *God* hath committed to their charge. So that in those and many other the like Princes of this happy land, most properly is performed that propheticall promise made vnto the Church of *Christ*: that Kings should become her nursing Fathers, and Queenes should be her nursing Mothers: Of both which may be truly said to *Britaine*, in imitation of that of *Salomon*,

Chrysost. in *Serm.* de *Paucitate*.

Aders. *teu.* lib. 2.

Epiph. *Mar.* lib. 1. c. 10.

Pal. 2. 8.

Act. 11. 26.

Britaine had the first *Christian* King. *Ex* *Archib.* *Ciuit.* *London.*

Britaine had the first *Christian* Emperour.

Helena mother of *Constantine* a *Britaine*.

King *Henry* the Eighth the first that quailed the Pope. *Apoc.* 9. 2. King. 18. 4. Gen. 26. 18.

King *James*.

* For so the word *Zalmunna* signifies. *ibid.* *Ind.* 7. 50. * *Isa.* 27. 1. * *Hof.* 13. 8.

Isa. 49. 23.

Many kingdomes haue done gloriously, but thou hast surmounted them all.

(14) And of such power hath *Christ* bene in these His Possessions, that euen the *Hostile Kings* and Conquerours thereof, were they neuer so fange and idolatrous at their first entrance, yet when they here had feasted for a time they became milde and religious, and gladly submitted their hearts to the Religion of those, whose necks themselves held vnder the yoke of subiection.

(15) Such were the *Romanes* in this land, whose *Deputies* at the day-spring almost of *Christianitie* were conuerted; as *Trebellianus*, *Pertinax*, and others, which submitted themselves to that profession, and were mortuies to King *Lucius* more publicly to maintain the flame: as also *Constantinus* the father of great *Constantine*, that here in *Britaine* permitted the profession of the Gospel, with the erections of Churches for the true seruice of *God*, and prohibited the superstitious worships of the *Gentiles*.

(16) The *Saxons* after them (in time, but not in Idolatrie) had neuer tasted the liuing waters of *Siloh*, till they were here seated in *Christis* Possession, where they changed their affections as farre from their wonted manners, as did the *Messengers* to *Iehu*, which turned after his Chariot to destroy the *Altars* of *Baal*: or as *Saul* and his seruants, who no sooner had entred *Naioth* in *Ramah*, but that their spirits were ioined to the Prophets, and the heat of their furie, with their garments, cast downe at *Samuels* feet.

(17) The *Danes* likewise, their Conquerours, and Successors in this *Royall Throne*, euer vntill then were both bloody and barbarous, and therefore of all our Writers commonly called the *Pagan Danes*, whose many delolations and ruines remaine as records of their cruelties in many places euen vnto this day: yet being a while in this Land, King *Guthurn*, with thirtie of his chiefe Princes and people, were drawn by the valour and vertue of King *Alured* to receiue the *Christian* Faith, by whose bounty thereupon they enioied the possession of a faire portion of this Kingdom. And afterward *Canutus*, their great King, no sooner almost had this *Imperiall* Diademe set vpon his head, but that hee held it his chiefe *Maignite* to be the vassall of *Christ*, confessing him only to be King of Kings: and with such religious deuotion as then was taught, crowned the *Crucifix* at *Winchester* with the Crowne he wore: and neuer after, throw all his raigne, by any meanes would weare the same: and the *Danes* his Souldiers remaining in *England*, began by little and little to embrace *Christianitie*, and in short time were all conuerted to the Faith. Thus then we see the happie increase of these holy seeds springing from the furrows of this blessed ground: and the Tents of *Sem* to be spread vpon the Mountaines of *Britaine*, wherein *God* (according to his promise) perswaded vs who are of *Iapheth*, to dwell.

(18) As hitherto we haue searched the first foundation of our Faith, so neither want we testimonies concerning the continuance of the flame in this Land vnto following Posterities; although the iniurie of Time and Warre haue consumed many Records. For the *Britaines* that were daily strengthened in their receiued faith, by the Doctrine of many learned and godly men, left not their first loue with the Church of *Epheesus*, but rather tooke hold of their skirts, as the Prophet speaketh, vntill the tortures of *Martyrdom* cut them off by death: And those Fathers euen from the *Disciples* themselves, held a succession in Doctrine, (notwithstanding some repugnancie was made by the *Pagans*) and preached the Gospel with good successe, euen till the flame at length went forth with a bolder countenance, by the fauourable Edicts of *Adrian*, *Antonius Pius*, and *Marcus Aurelius* Emperors of *Rome* (as *Enfubius* hath noted:) and in *Britaine* was established by the authoritie of *Lucius* their King: whereby this was the first of all the Prouinces (saith *Marcus Sabellicus*) that receiued the Faith by publicke ordinance: Of the teachers of those times *Bale* from

Pro. 31. 29.

Britaine conuerted her Conquerours to the faith of *Christ*.

Holinshed lib. 4. c. 9.

2. King. 9. 18.

1. Sam. 19. 20.

Or *Gurmo*.

Canutus crowned the *Crucifix* with the Crowne hee wore. *Hen. Hunt.* lib. 6. *Polyd.* lib. 6. c. 20. *Bale* *vota* lib. 1. *Acts* and *Mon.* lib. 3. p. 222.

Gen. 9. 27. *Origen* vpon *Isa.* *Isa.* 54. 2.

Apoc. 2. 4.

Zecha. 8. 23.

Radulph. *Siger.* *Zeland.*

Enfub. lib. 4. c. 9. & c. 13. & lib. 5. cap. 5.

Marcus Sabel. in *Exord.* lib. 9. *Ex* *Bale.* *vota* lib. 1.

from some other hath these verses.

*Sicut erat celebris cultu numeroq. Deorum
Cum Iouis imperium staret, Britannica tellus:
Sic ubi terrestres celo descendit ad aras
Espectata salus, patribus fuit incerta sanctis.
Qui Neptunicolim campos, & Cambricam rura,
Coryneisq. casus, loca desolata, colebant.*

*As were the Brittaines famous for their zeale
To Gentle Gods, whilst such they did adore,
So, when the Heavens to Earth did Truth reveale,
Bless'd was that Land with Truth and Learnings store:
Whence British Plains, and Cambrins desert ground,
And Cornwalls Crags, with glorious Saints abound.*

In which number were *Elianus* & *Medunius*, those two learned Divines, which were sent by King *Lucius* unto *Eleutherius* Bishop of *Rome*, with whom returned two other famous Clerks, whose names were *Euganius* and *Damianus*; these together, both preached and baptized amongst the Brittaines, whereby many daile were dravne to the Faith: And, as a worthy and ancient Historian saith: *The Temples which had bene founded to the Honour of their many Gods, were then dedicated to the one and only true God: For there were in Brittain eight and twenty Temples, and three Arch-Summs, in stead of which, for many Bishops and Arch-bishops were appointed: under the Archbishop of London were the Provinces of Loegria and Cornubia: under Yorke, Deira, and Albania: under Yrbs Legionum, Cambria: By which means, this happy Kingdome vnder that godly King, was nobly beautified with so many Cathedral Churches, and Christian Bishops Sees, before any other kingdome of the world.*

That this *Lucius* should be the Apostle to the *Baunians*, or that his sister *Emenita* was crowned with the flames of Martyrdom fifteen years after his death, I leave to the credit of *Aegidius Scandus*, and *Hermanus Schedelius* the reporters, and to the best liking of the readers. But most certain it is, that the Christian Faith was still professed in this land, found and vndeified, as *Beda* witnesseth, notwithstanding the cruel persecutions of the bloody Emperours.

For, all this time (saith the said *Dieticus*) Christian Religion flourished quietly in *Britannia*, till in *Diolethians* time, their Churches were demolished, their holy Bibles cast into Bon-fires, the Priests with their faithful flocke bloodily murdered. In which number, about the year two hundred ninety three, as we read (in *Beda*, *Malmebury*, *Randolphus*, and others) *Albanus* with his teacher *Amphibalus* were both of them martyred for the profession of the Gospel at the old Towne *Ferolaminum*: as also in *Leicester*, those two Noble Citizens, *Aaron*, and *Iulius*, with multitudes both of men and women in sundrie places (saith *Beda*) as shortly after no less then a *Thousand Saints* suffered death at *Lichfield*, wherupon the place was called another *Golgotha*, or field of blood: In memorie whereof, the Cite beareth for Armes to this day, in an *Eshucheon* of Landspit, sundry persons diversly Martyred. And yet after these times also the Brittaines continued constant in Christianity, and the censures of their Bishops (for the great estimation of their Constancie, pietie, and learning) required, and approved in great points of Doctrine among the assemblies of some General Councils; as that of *Sardis* and *Nice*, in the time of great *Constantine* (the first Christian Emperour, and this our Country man, whose blessed daies gave freeway to that Profession, to the Councils *Authoritie*, and to the whole world Peace) had we our Bishops present; whose forwardness against the *Arrian Heresie*, afterwards *Atanasius* aduanceth in his *Apology* unto *Ioaninus* the Emperour, among three hundred Bishops assembled at the Council of *Sardis*, in Anno three hundred and fiftie: whose words (as *Nicephorus* reports them) are these. Know most Christian Emperour (saith he) that this faith hath bene alwaies preached and professed, and that all Churches of *Spain*, *Britain*,

France and *Germany* at this day with one voice doe approve the same. As also at that of *Ariminum*, in the year three hundred fiftie nine, and in the reign of *Constantinus*, who caused foure hundred welterne Bishops to be there summoned in fauour of the *Arrians*, whereof three were out of *Brittain*, (as *Salpustius Senecus* the good Bishop of *Burges* hath reported) that gaue their suffrages against that Heresie. These doth *Hilarie* tearme the Bishops of the Provinces of *Brittain*, by whom they were somewhat derided, because beinge farre from their owne Countie they liued vpon the Emperours charge. And *Beda* testifieth, that from *Diolethians* time they both rectified their former Temples, and founded new also in memorie of their then fresh-bleeding Martyrs, and enioyed a generall and ioyfull peace in their religious profession, till that *Arrian Heresie* hauing first filled the Continent, sought and found passage ouer the Seas into our Island.

Gennadius in his Catalogue *Illustrum Dinorum* tells vs of another learned Bishop of *Brittain*, *Eustidius*, who in the time of *Cessius* Bishop of *Rome*, wrote vnto one *Fatalis* a booke de uita Christiana, and another de uiderute seruanda; of much diuine learning and comfort. *Chrysanthus* likewise is recorded by *Nicephorus*, to be sonne of Bishop *Artian*, who hauing bene a Consular Deputie in *Italie* vnder *Theodosius*, and made Lieutenant of *Brittain*, where with great praile he managed the common wealth, was against his will afterward made Bishop at *Constantinople* of the *Neonians*, that called themselves *Cathari*, that is, pure, makinge a schisme in the Church by their denial of *Saluation*, to such as fell into relapse of sinne after Baptisme once received. This is that Bishop of whom we read, that of all his Ecclesiastical reuenues he reserved only for himselfe two loaves of bread vpon the Lords day. And in the first Tome of Councils is mention of *Restitutus* Bishop of *London*, whom (because that, as is most probable, Christian Religion had in those primitive times taken more firme footing in *Brittain* then in *France*) the French Bishops called to their National Council, the second at *Arles*, in Anno three hundred thirty five, that he might with his Suffrage approve their Decrees. About the year foure hundred fcutenty, was a Provinciall Council held in *Brittain* for the reforming of Religion, and repairing of the ruined Churches, which the Pagan marriage of *Vortiger* had decayed, to the great griefe and discontent of the people, a pregnant signe of the continuing zeale, which vnto those daies had left a glorious memorie.

(20) And the Ensigne of *Arthur*, wherein the Virgin with her sonne in her armes (as is noted by *Pancientius*) was portraied, so often displayed for Christ, and his Countie libertie, against the Pagan Saxons, is as a seale to confirme vs of their Profession, and doth shew the badge of that ages Christianity. But the famous Monastrie of *Banchor*, as a College of diuine Philosophers, and by *Clarinalensis* truly acknowledged to be the Mother of all other in the world, and her Monkes distributed into seuen feuerall parts, euery part numbering three hundred soules, and earning their bread by their daily labours, doth notably witness to all succeeding ages, that Christian Religion was then both planted and preached in this Island. And in the Synod held at *Austins Oke* were seuen old Britaine Bishops, besides other Doctours, who met with that *Romane Legate*, and not in points of doctrine, but rather in their feuerall rites and ceremonies did varie, by any thing that in that Assemblies appeared. For as it is most vndeoubted, that (if we speake properly) *Ierusalem* is the Mother of vs all, and of all Churches; and our former allegations doe euince, that the first Plantation of the British Faith was altogether by *Iewes* and others of the *Easterne Church*: so the very rites of this Religious College of *Banchor* do euidently proue, that their first institution in Religion came from the East, *Beda* shewing that in all of them they differed from the *Romane Church*; yea, and that they neuer did, nor then would acknowledge any authoritie of the Bishop

Salpustius Seneca, lib. 2.

Hilarie in an Epist. to the Bishops.

Red. lib. 1. cap. 8.

Gennadius in Catal. Illus. Din.

Nicephorus in Eccl. Hist.

Tripart. Hist.

Arthurus Ensigne, Vincentius in his speculo Hist. lib. 1.

Clarinalensis, Bangor in Wales the first Monastrie in the world. *Beda*, lib. 1. cap. 1. 2. c. 2.

Beda, lib. 1. cap. 1.

(shop of *Rome* ouer them in matters of the Church and service of God. All which accordeth right well with that before cited out of *Zachary*, that the waters of life should issue from *Ierusalem*. And *S. Hierome*, who spake most properly, in laying the Brittaines leauing Paganisme, had turned their faces to *Ierusalem* in the East.

The foundation of the said College is ascribed to King *Lucius*, from whose time vnto the entrance of this *Austlin* the Monke, foure hundred thirty eight yeeres were expired: in all which space we haue seene that the Christian Faith was both taught and embraced in this land, notwithstanding the continuall persecutions of the *Romans*, *Huns*, *Visits*, and *Saxons*: which last made such defolations in the outward face of the Church, that they droue the Christian Bishops into the deserts of *Cornwall* and *Wales*. In which number were *Theomius* and *Thadocius* Bishops of *London* and *Torke*, chusing rather to suffer aduerlity with the people of God, then to enioy the pleasures of sinne for a season. By whose labours the Gospel was plentifully propagated among those vast mountainies, and those parts especially about all other made very glorious, by the multitudes of their holy Saints and learned Teachers.

(21) Lastly, (for the close of all) that these testimonies are sincerely vs produced, for the first preaching and planting of the Gospel, and by such means and men as we haue declared, and particularly by *Ioseph* of *Arimatea* and his associates, the content of all Writers, both forraigne and home-bred, doth sufficiently approve: and the recurent regard had of the place, with the many Charters thereof to this day remaining, are strong inducements for those our first Apostles Residences and Burials: whereof one, exemplified vnder the Seale of King *Edward* the third, is to be seene at this day, reciting that the Abbey of *Glasterburie* being burned in the time of King *Henrie* the second while it was in his hands, at the request of the Patriarke of *Ierusalem* (then present in *England*) inquired further both by the Bishops and Nobilitie, hee did rectifie the same, causing diligent search to be made for the ancient Charters of that foundation, and among many recited in that exemplification, in one of them it is called, *Origo Religionis in Anglia*: in another, *Tumulum Sanctorum*, ab ipsius discipulis Domini edificatum, fuisse venerabilem. Also in the same Charter amongst many other Kings, there is mention made of King *Arthur*, to be a great Benefactor vnto that Abbey; whose Armes vpon the stone walles, both in the Chappell (called *S. Ioseph*) and in diuers other places of the Abbey, are cut: which is an *Eshucheon*, whereon a Crosse with the Virgin *Mary* in the first quarter is set, and is yet to this day remaining ouer the Gate of entrance, and is held to be also the Armes of that Abbey. This place is said to haue bene given to *Ioseph* and his brethren, by *Arviragus* then King of *Brittain*: and from hence were those two diuine Doctours sent to *Euthierus* by King *Lucius*, as by their Epithetes doth appeare: the one of them called *Elianus Aulonius*, or of *Glasterburie*; and the other, *Medunius* of *Belga*, that is, *Welles*, nere vnto this place. And to these persons and place, *Polydore Virgil*, that dwelled among vs, and had perused most of our Antiquities, ascribeth the originall and precedence of our Christian Faith, in these words: *Haec omnia Christianae pietatis in Britannia existere primordia, quam deinde Lucius Rex accendit & adauxit, &c.* And our other later Writers likewise with him agree of this place, further affirming, that at first but poore, and without all pompe, it was their Oratorie, built only of wretchen wands, as both *Capgrave*, *Bale*, *Maier*, *Scrope*, *Harding*, *Thorne*, and others affirme: Afterwards by diuers Princes raised vnto greater glory, with many large priuileges & Char-

ters granted; to wit, of *Edgar*, *Elmund*, *Elfred*, *Edward*, *Bringwalthus*, *Kentwin*, *Baldred*, *Ina*, *Kenwall*, the Conquerour, *Rufus*, and others: all which were diligently perused by King *Henry* the second, as we haue said, & that Rectorie in these Charters continually termed *The Graue of Saints: The mother Church: The Disciples foundation*, and dedicated vnto Christ, as the first place in this Land wherein his Gospel was first preached and embraced.

(22) To conclude this digression, growen much greater then was intended, we see it is most apparant, that the Brittaines had a settled opinion in Christianity, before the found thereof was heard from *Rome*; and that the Lord had here set vp his Standard, whereunto these Islanders resorted as to the Tower of their strength, and was the first Kingdome of the Gentiles, that are said to bring their James thus in their armes, and their daughters thus vpon their shoulders, vnto the Lords Sanctuarie: whose knowledge continually increasing, hath hitherto, to *Englands* great ioy and fame, bene still continued, though the spiritual sparkes thereof for a season haue sometimes bene couered in the cinders of the Pagans defolations, or with the superstitious worships of mans inventions; both which now dispersed as clouds before the Sunne, the light appeareth in his full strength, and the most pure waters of the word run vntroubled. This land then, in this thing made happy before the most, the inhabitants became Instrumens of others, and in their earthly needs bare this heavenly liquor, which thorow their golden Conduits ran into many other Countie, and filled their Cesternes with this water of life. For from hence was *Netherland* conuerted to Christianity, as testifieth the story of *Switzerland*: *Burgundie* by our *Columbanus*, saith *Siebert*: *Scotland* by *Brandanus*, as *Bernard* the French Monke affirmeth: *Swedenia* by *Gallus*, as saith *Petrus de Natalibus*; and *Frissa* by *Wilfred*, as is recorded by *Beda* and *Matthew* of *Westminster*: the *Francians*, *Hestians*, and *Thuringians*, by *Winifred* our Deuonshire man: the *Norwegians* by *Nicolas Brekspere* of *Middlesex*; and the *Lithuanians* by *Thomas Walden* of *Essex*. Again, if we shall call our eie on all the Reformed Churches in *Christendome*, and with them on *Luther*, *Husse*, and *Prage*, they will all confesse, they first deriued their light from the learned *Wickliffe* of *Oxford*; the Lampe of whose sacred knowledge hath illuminated not onely all the corners of this Kingdome, but also all those forraigne States, whom it hath pleased God to deliuer from the thraldome and vengeance of *Babylon*: so that with the German Poet, to Gods glorie, and Brittaines praile, the English thus may sing:

*Quin se Religio multum debere Britannis
Seruata, & late circum dispersa, fatear.*

*Religion doth confesse, to Brittaine deepe she stands
In debt, by whom preserued she now firs forraigne Lands.*

In which regard, *Polydore Virgil* doth rightly call *England* the Parent or Mother-Monastrie of all Europe. As likewise *Peter Ramus* termeth *Brittain* to be twice Schoole-mistresse vnto the Kingdome of *France*. And the *Annals* of *Flanders* testifie, that no Nation had so many Diuine Nobles (they might likewise haue said, so many Noble Diuines) as *England* hath had; neither any more bountifull to Gods Saints. Our Kings for sanctitie ranked before all other Potentates of the earth, as *Vincencius* recordeth: Our Nobles truly honourable, and the sonnes of Princes: Our Diuines and renowned Nurseries of learning and Religion, shining like the two greater lights in our British firmament. And all of vs claiming our spiritual lots of Inheritance in the midst of the Tribes of *Israel*.

Many Kings benefactors to *Glasterburie* Abbey.

Brittaines professed Christianity before it came from *Rome*. *Elay* 49. 22. *Dan* 1. 1. 31. *Micalah* 4. 8. *Elay* 2.

Switzerland, *Siebert*. *Bernard*. *Petrus de Natalibus*. *Matthew* of *Westminster*. The Brittaines conuerted many Countie.

Polydore Virgil.

Peter Ramus. *Annals* of *Flanders*.

Vincencius. *Ecclesi* 10. 17. *Ier. Lam* 4. 7.

Ezech 47. 22.

O T H O.

CHAPTER X.



Ann. Do. 70.



But leaving *Christi* proceedings to the dispose of himselfe, let vs returne to the *subiect* from whence wee haue wandered, and continue the successions of Great Brittaines Monarchs, vnto them that haue held it, whether by chance of warre, or voice of Election: In which sort (as is said) *Galba* got it, and but short time kept it: And from him *Otho* tooke it, and a shorter time enioied it.

Otho his original.
Tacit. Hist. 2. cap. 17.

(2) Whose Original (*sith Tacitus*) was from *Ferrentum*, his Father a *Consull*, his mothers blood somewhat disparaged, but yet not base; his youth run ouer with voluptuous wantonnesse and prodigall expences, more ready for disturbances, then depending vpon preferment or dignitie of State; and hauing gone thorough all his wealth, retained onely the heartie affections of the *Souldiers*, which *Galba* had vtterly alienated. Neither did *Otho* himselfe bandy against *Galba*, but *Vitellius* in Germanie was fauoured against both; Two persons so vile and ambitious, as was much feared, would proue the scourge of the Empire, and the ruine of Rome.

Vitellius much fauoured.

(3) Vnto *Vitellius* sided the Brittaines, vnder the Conduct of *Trebellius Maximus*, (remembered before) a man vnfit for warre, and vnexperienced of seruice, compounded altogether of conceitnesse, and for his niggardly sparings, and vnmmerciful pollings, exceedingly hated of his Armie: which was further aggravated by *Rafcius Calus*, Lieutenant of the twentieth Legion, his ancient Enemy, betwixt whom the sparks of enmie shortly burst forth into flames of reciprocal accusations. *Trebellius* being charged of insufficiency for command, with the begging of the Province, and Legions; and he againe accusing *Calus* of factious behaviours, & diffusing of discipline: through which dissensions a negligent regard was held of the *Souldiers*, who carried themselves arrogantly, euen against both; and as men that had rather be doing ill, then doing nothing, grew daily into mutinies. In these strifes *Maximus* finding himself vnable to withstand *Rafcius*, (the common affection swaying on his side) with his friends and followers entred Germanie in the quarrell of *Vitellius*, and joined those British forces to maintain his cause, who now presuming vpon his owne strength, and others his *Confederates*, ambitiously plaied the Prince, growne to that height euen of nothing.

In chap. 7. sect. 14.

Rafcius Calus & Trebellius accuse each other.

The Souldiers thereby dissatisfied.

(4) *Otho* his Concurrent (in this thing only commendable, fought by all meanes to stay the effusion of more ciuill blood, and that already spent, so possessed his thoughts, that his minde was still distracted and nightly affrighted with the seeming appearance of *Galbaes* ghost: for which causes hee sent conditions of peace to *Vitellius*, offering him an equal part in the Empire, and to giue him also his daughter in marriage. But *Vitellius* disdainning any competition, refuseth all Capitulations, and prepares himselfe for the warre. *Otho* thus constrained, sets forth his forces, and in three feall skirmishes had the victorie, but in the fourth at *Brixellum* lost the daie; yet not so much weakened or vnrecouerable, (his Armie in number and courage surmounting the other) as himselfe was vnwilling to trie the chance of warre any more; for being importuned by his Captaines and Leaders, to re-enforce the Battaille, with many reasons, and probabilities of an assured victorie, in a thankfull and short Oration, answered thus their Petitions.

Otho affrighted in the night.

Sueton. in vita O. the. sect. 7. His offer to Vitellius.

Hath the victory in three skirmishes. Lost the day in the fourth.

Importuned by his Souldiers to renew the battell, as vnwilling.

His Oration to his Souldiers.

(5) To hazard your vertues and valours for one Mans estate, I hold dangerous, and needlesse if it, that my life should be prized at so deere a rate; already fortune and I haue had sufficient experience each of others, and not the least in this my short time of glorie, wherein I haue learned, it is harder to moderate affections in the excess of felicitie, then either industrie or hazard for attaining the same. These ciuill warres *Vitellius* beganne; which I for my part purpose not to continue, and hereby let Posteritie esteeme of *Otho*, that others haue kept the Empire longer, but neuer any that left it more valiantly. Let this minde therefore accompany me to the Grane, that you for your parts would haue died for my sake, and I to saue your liues die voluntarie and vnuanquished. I blame not the Gods, nor enuie your Emperors rising glorie: It is sufficient that my house hath touched the highest strain of Honour, and my selfe to be left in records, The *soveraign Monarch of the World*.

He killeth himselfe.

His age and raigne.

His lineaments and habit.

(6) And thereupon solemnly taking his leaue of the whole Army, went to his Tent, and with his dagger wounded himselfe vnder the left pappe, whereof immediately he died, in the year of his age thirty seuen, and daies of his raigne nineteen sine. He was of stature but lowe, feeble in his feete, and vnto so great a minde, his bodie not any waies proportionable; his face without haire and woman-like, his attire nice and delicate, and his life and death nothing at all consonant or agreeable.

VITELLIVS.

VITELLIVS.

CHAPTER XI.



Ann. Do. 70.



Hen certaine newes of *Othoes* death was brought *Vitellius*, he presently assumed the name of *Caesar*, and administred the affairs of the Empire, with no lesse authoritie then the absolute Commander of the World. And of such acceptance was the accident, that he dedicated the dagger wherewith it was done, vnto *Mars* in his Temple at *Colley*, as the luckie instrument of his aduanced Estate.

Vitellius glad of Othoes death.

Sueton. in vit. Vitellius cap. 1. His offer to Vitellius.

Otho magnificall about measure.

His defect disceily reported.

Cap. 1.

Tacit. Hist. 3. c. 13.

Vitellius in favor with the former Emperours.

His excessive gluttonie. Sueton. in vit. Vitellius cap. 13.

Tacit. Hist. 3. c. 17. His huge expense of treasure.

Tacit. Hist. 3. c. 13.

(2) Naturally ambitious hee was, and now the same the more inhaunched by his strengths of the German Souldiers, and the flatteries of the Senate, which euer bare faile with the fairest winde. His entrance into Rome was about measure magnificall, hauing the naked sword of *Iulius Caesar* borne before him, with sound of Trumpets, Ensignes, Standards, Banners, and Flags, accompanied with an Armie worthie of a better Prince then *Vitellius* was.

(3) His original is diuerly reported: either framed according to the affections of his flatterers, or blasted with the tongues of deprauing back-biters; & both in extremes, extremely disagreeing. For *Quintus Ennius*, as *Suetonius* writeth, deduceth his descent from *Fannius* King of *Aborigines*, and Lady *Vitellia* his wife, worshipped in many places for a Goddess. But *Cassius Severus* affirmeth him to be sprung from a better roote then a Cobyler, and a common naughty-packer the daughter of a Baker. Howsoeuer, true it is, that *Lucius* his father bare thrice the Consulship in Rome, was *Prouost* of Syria, and in such credit with the Emperour *Claudius*, that in his absence and expedition into Britaine, he had the whole charge of the Empire committed vnto him: himselfe in special fauour with *Tiberius*, and in use for his trumpets: with *Caius*, for his Chariot-running: with *Claudius*, for his dice-playing: and with *Nero*, for his flatterie: vnto whose Ghost in publike shew hee sacrificed, and disposed the Imperiall affaires at the discretion of base Stage-Players.

(4) His vnmeasurable gluttony was such, that the whole imployments of his Capitaines were to provide him Cates, and that in such excess, that two thousand dishes of fish, and seven thousand of fowle, were serued to his Table at one supper; and yet was he not affamed to commend his owne Temperance, in a set Oration before the Senate and People, who well knew him to be guiltlesse of that vertue: in so much that *Tacitus* reporteth, in those few moneths wherein hee raigned, he had wasted nine hundred millions of sesterces, which amounteth to seven millions, thirty one thousand, two hundred fiftie pounds sterling. And *Iosephus* thinketh if he had liued longer, the whole reuenues of the Empire

had not bene sufficient to maintaine his Gluttonie. A Prince otherwise no way memorable, as being indeed without skill in profession of Armes, without counsell in matters of the greatest importance, commonly drowned in surfeit, and farre vnmeet to wield weighty affaires.

(2) These defects found ready vent to his Opposites, and gaue libertie of speech in the Assemblies of their Estates: amongst whom *Vespasian* was held the only Morning-Starre, worthy to ascend on the setting of this darkend Sunne, vnto whom *Licinius Mutianus*, Gouernour of Syria, was no aserle, *Marcus Clnius Rufus* of Spaine stood very well affected, and *Tiberius Alexander* of Aegypt for him the formost. All with him sided the Kings *Sohemus*, *Antiochus*, and *Agrippa*, with the beautifull *Queene Berenice*: vnto whom *Vespasian* and his sonne *Titus* were well knownen, Gouernours together in the Prouinces of Syria and Iudaea.

Vespasian his Abettors for the Empire.

Tacit. Hist. 3. c. 13.

(6) The first that did reuolt were the Illyrian Bands: to suppress which, *Vitellius* sent vnto *Vespasian Bolanus* Lieutenant of Brittain, for aid of that Province, hauing had good experience of their seruice in his warres before. As when *Hordoneus Flaccus* brought eight thousand Brittaines to his quarrell against *Otho*. As also when *Trebellius Maximus* (formerly mentioned) joined them to the German forces. Which last man had now againe resumed his former place in Britannie, without either Maistie or Authority; but rather ruled by way of intreatie, and at the discretion of the Souldiers.

The first reuolters from Vitellius.

Tacit. Hist. 3. c. 10.

Tacit. in vit. Agric.

(7) Vnto whom, this *Vespasian Bolanus* succeeded for Deputie: a man of no great parts in warre, but more temperate, and not odious for any crime. His answer vnto *Vitellius* was, that the Countrey of Brittain stood not so quiet, that he might spare any number thence, the Souldiers and *Confederates* hauing their hands full, to hold all vpright. Neither (in truth) were they fast to his side, but rather affected *Vespasian*, whose reputation in warlike affaires was first gotten amongst them in Brittain, in the raigne of *Claudius*: though we find in *Tacitus*, that the *Vexillaries* of three British Legions followed *Vitellius* in his expedition against the Illyrian Armie, wherein the flower and strength of all the Brittaines are reported to haue been, and that their fourteenth Legion came to his aide, in whom notwithstanding he had no good confidence: but hearing the daily reuolts of the Prouinces, and the approach of *Vespasian*, was minded to resigne his dignitie vnto him, had not the out-cries of the people bene against it.

Hist. 3. cap. 9.

Hist. 3. c. 10.

Hist. 3. cap. 1.

(8) Finally, when he had raigned only eight moneths, and five daies, as *Iosephus* accounteth, he was slaine in most ignominious manner: for his hands were bound behinde his backe, a halter fast about his necke, his clothes rent and torne, a sword point set vnder his chinne, and head held backward by a bush

His raigne.

His death. Ioseph. bell. Iud. cap. 13.

His age.

bulsh of haire, as condemned malefactors were vfed, to the end, that he might fee and bee scene of all, to fatisfie their malice and augment his miseries. Hee died aged fiftie feuen; and as hee is fet in the Table after *Malmesburie*, *Huntington*, and others our English writers, the ninth Calends of *Iannarie*: But yet it should seeme by his edicts set out against *Astrologers*, that commanded all of that profession to depart out of *Rome* and *Italie* before the first day of *October*, that much about that time he should die: for *Suetonius* re-

cordeth, that the said *Astrologers* set another against him in the words as follow. WEE GIVE WARNING BY THESE PRESENTS VNTO VITELLIUS GERMANICVS, THAT BY THE CALENDIS OF THE SAID OCTOBER HEE BEE NOT SEENE IN ANY PLACE WHERESOEVER.

(9) Of stature he was exceedingly tall, his face red, and a fat paunch, and somewhat limping vpon one legge, by a hurt formerly receiued.

Suet. in vita Vit. lib. 14.

By his owne Joseph. de Belle Iud. lib. 5. cap. 10.

Tact. in vit. Agric. lib. 7.

Petilius Cerealis Deputy in Britaine.

Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmerland, and the Bishoprick of Durham.

Julius Frontinus substituted the Britains. * South-VPale.

Julius Agricola Lieutenant in Britaine.

Joseph. de Belle Iud.

Tact. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Hee ouercameth the Ordovices.

Vespasian chooseth Emperor by the Britan Souldiers.

FLAVIUS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XII.

Vespasian.

Petilius.

Ann. Do. 72.

Vespasians worth and estimation.

His original. Sueton. in vit. Vespas. lib. 1.

His employments in former times. Tact. in vit. Agric. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Josephus Bel. Jud. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Sueton. in vit. Vespas. lib. 1.



O acceptable was the fall of this Prince, and such hopes reuiued at the entrance of his Successour, as that all mens mindes were raised to an expectation, that the glorie of the Empire, so much eclipsed through the ciuill broiles of *Galba*, *Otho*, and this last

Vitellius, should now shine againe in the beaurie of her former libertie, by the desired gouernement of aged *Vespasian*; whose integritie, valour, and seruice, had bene sufficiently approved by his many Expeditions in all the *Provinces* wherein he had to doe.

(2) His descent was from the *Flavian* family, and that but base and obscure: his Father called *Titus Flavius*, his Mother *Polla Vespasia*, his Wife *Domitia*, and his Sonnes *Titus*, and *Domitian*, both Emperours succeeding after him.

(3) In his young yeares, hee serued as a *Militarie Tribune* in the Countrey of *Thracia*, and as *Questor* in the *Provinces* of *Crete*, and *Cyrene*: Vnder *Claudius* the Emperour, he went forth into *Germanie*, as Lieutenant of a Band, and from thence was sent into *Britaine*, to be Leader of the second Legion, where the foundation of that greatnes whereunto after hee attained, was first laid: for as *Suetonius* hath written, therein with victorie hee fought thirty set Battales, and was also Conquerour of the *Ile of Wight*: whereby two mightie Nations were subdued to the *Romanes*, and twentie Townes wonne from the *Britaines*: for which exploits he had *Triumphall ornaments*, worthily assigned him by *Claudius*, whose owne Triumph, (as *Josephus* saith) was gotten without his paines, but by the only prowess of *Vespasian*. After this, he gouerned *Africke* with singular integritie and much honour, and was lastly sent by *Nero* for his Vice-roy into *Syria* vpon this occasion.

(4) There had bene spread thorow all the *East* parts, an old Prophecie and felied opinion constantly beleued, that it was appointed by the *Destinies*, there should come out of *Iurie* him that should be Lord of the

whole world: which how it serued for the *Iewes* to reuolt, or for the *Romanes* to apply onely vnto *Vespasian*, the euent sheweth, which cannot agree to any other, then to the person and power of *Christ Iesus*, there borne, and throughout the whole world still reigning: Yet vpon the confidence of such an accomplishment, the *Iewes* reuolted from the *Romanes* obedience, and slew their President *Sabinus* by name, putting to flight *Gallus*, Lieutenant General of *Syria*, that came to his aide, and got from him the maine Standard, or Ensigne of the Eagle. This Nation was so populous and strong, that none was thought fitter to stay their attempts, then was *Vespasian*, who with great honour and approbation, reduced that *Province* vnto their former subiection, and there remained the short time of *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius* their Raignes, of whose proceedings there *Josephus* writeth at large, vnto whom I must referre the vnatisfied Reader.

(5) All which times, the ciuill stirres amongst the *Romanes*, gaue the *Provinces* occasion to attempt their former libertie; as did the *Batauians*, *Germanes* and *French*, with whom the *Britaines* also rooke hart to reuolt: But the first that sided with *Vespasian*, were two thousand expert Souldiers, drawne out of the *Mesian* Legions, and sent to aide *Otho* against *Vitellius*; who marching as farre as *Aquileia*, they heard there of the certaine death of *Otho*, and thereupon taking the aduantage of the offered opportunitie, with an vncontrolled libertie, committed many robberies and outragious villanies: In so much, that fearing condigne punishment, they held it their best policie, to combine some speciall man by their fauours vnto them, whereby their facts might bee either quite smothered, or lightly repared: neither in their opinions was any so gracious for desert or power, as was *Vespasian*, and therefore with one assent they proclaimed him Emperour, and wrote his name in their Banners, thinking themselves as worthy to make an Emperour, as were the Legions either of *Spain*, or *Germany*.

(6) Of the like minde were his owne Legions in *Syria* and *Iurie*, growne now so famous by the prosecution of those warres, that they highly conceited his

An ancient prophecie in all the East parts.

The cause of the Iewes reuolt.

Joseph. de Belle Iud.

Tact. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Hee ouercameth the Ordovices.

Vespasian chooseth Emperor by the Britan Souldiers.

his valour, and their owne sufficiency to bee inferiour to none: And therefore all on the sudden at *Cæsarea*, both Captaine and Souldier salute him Emperour; which title when he resolutely gainesaid and refused, with drawne swords they threatened his death. Thus their being brought into danger euery way, he sent his letters vnto *Tiberius Alexander*, Lieutenant of *Aegypt*, who likewise at *Alexandria*, presently proclaimed him Emperour.

(7) At this time *Vettius Bolanus* sent by *Vitellius*, was Lieutenant of *Britaine*, there ruling in a gentler and milder manner then was fit for so fierce a Nation: for the Souldiers hauing gotten head, by the remisse Gouernment of *Trebellius Maximus*, continued the same loosenesse in discipline still; and *Bolanus* in stead of awe and Obedience, retained onely their affections and good wils. But most especially the short Raignes of these last Emperours (whose beginnings were altogether imploied to fatisfie their licentious pleasures, and latter times spent for the defense of their Liues from violent Deaths) gaue way to many imperfections of the Gouernors, and midemeanours of the common Souldiers.

(8) But when *Vespasian* had assumed the Empire, great Captaine and good Souldier, were sent into the *Provinces*, and into *Britaine*, *Petilius Cerealis*, that had formerly there made prooue of his seruice vnder *Nero*, in the warres against *Boduo*, and afterwards in other parts, as against the *Gauls* and *Batauians*, with prosperous victories. The fame of this man strooke great terror into the hearts of the wauering *Britains*, and amongst them of the *Brigantes*, the most populous State of the whole *Province*: against whom at his first approach he warred, and in many battles, and some of them bloody, the greatest part of these people were wasted, and their Countrey came into the *Romish* subiection.

(9) Whereby the glory of *Cerealis* might well haue dimmed the fame of his Successour, had not *Julius Frontinus* a great Souldier also, sustained the charge with reputation and credit, in subduing the strong and Warlike nation the *Silures*: where he had, beside the force of the enemy to struggle with, the straits, and difficult places of rocks and mountaines, for access.

(10) After whose gouernment (no further Acts being mentioned) *Julius Agricola*, who in *Rome* had bene *Questor*, *Tribune*, and *Pretor*, and Lieutenant in *Aquitania*, was sent General into *Britaine* by *Vespasian* the Emperour, the yeere before his death. This man formerly had there serued vnder the command of *Petilius Cerealis*, whereby hee had gained experience both of the People and *Province*; and at his first approach gathered the Ensignes of the Legions, and other aids of the Auxiliaries, (who for that yeere attended an end of their trauels, because the Summer was almost spent) left by protracting time, the violence of the Ordovices should further burst forth, who a litle before his entrance, had vterly almost cut off a wing which lay on their Borders, the rest of the Countrey, as men desirous of Warre, allowing their example.

Against these *Agricola* addressed, who kept themselves in places of aduantage, and durst not defend into indifferent ground. Hee therefore being himselfe foremost, lead vp his Armie to their encounter, and seconded with the courage of his trained Souldiers, put them all to sword and flight, whereby the whole Nation was almost quite destroyed.

(11) And now that his fame began to ascend, he knew well that with instance it must be followed, and as the first affaires had issue, the rest would succede; he therefore deliberated to conquer the *Iland Mona*, from the possession whereof *Paulinus Suetonius* was reuoked, by the general Rebellion vnder *Boduo*. But in a purpose not purposed before, and ships wanting, the policie of the Captaine deuised a passage; for hee commanded the most choice of the Aids, to whom the shallowes were well known (and without whom

the *Romanes* did almost attempt nothing) to put ouer at once, and suddenly to invade them. These *Britains*, after the vse of their Countrey manner, were most skilfull swimmers, and in swimming armed, able to gouerne themselves and horses. The *Mona*ns thinking themselves secure, for that no Ships were scene in their *Riuer*, now thus suddenly surprized, as men amazed, firmly thought that nothing could bee inuincible to them, who came with such resolutions to Warre, and therefore they humbly desired Peace, and yielded the *Iland* vnto *Agricola*s deuotion.

(12) Who now in these prosperous proceedings of his fortunes, fought not with any glorious relations or letters of aduertisements, to improve and augment the greatnesse of his honour; but rather in seeking to suppress his fame, made it shine more bright; and addressing himselfe for ciuill gouernment, reformed many abuses in his House, his Campe, and in the whole *Province*, and those especially that most touched the poorer sort, as by moderating the increase of *Tribute* and *Corne*, wherewith the *Britains* were daily burdened: by the suppressing of which enormities (and the like) an honourable opinion of him was euery where entertained, and a general inclination vnto Peace, which partly by the negligence, partly by the auarice of former Gouernours, had bene no lesse feared then Warre it selfe.

(13) And whereas the *Britains* hitherto still harried with Oppressions and Warres, had little leisure or will to apply themselves to things which accompany Peace, and are the ornaments of Ciuill and settled Societies, and therefore were prone vpon euery occasion to reuolt and stirre: to induce them by pleasures to quietnesse and rest, he exhorted them in private, and help them in publike, to build Temples, Houses, and Places of Assemblies, and common resorts, and likewise provided that the Sonnes of their Nobles should be instructed in the liberal Arts and Sciences, commending the industrie, and preferring the wits of the *Britains* before the Students of *France*, as being now grown curiouse to attaine the Eloquence of the *Roman* Gentrie, (yea euen the *Gowne*, the habit of peace and peaceable Arts) and to delight in gorgeous Buildings, Banquets, and Baths.

(14) And thus farre had *Agricola* proceeded before the death of *Vespasian*, whose managing of the Imperiall dignitie was euery way answerable to so high a place, and whose death was as much lamented, as his Vertues did furmount his Predecessours. But as touching his miraculous cures of the Blinde and the Lame, as they serue not either to bee vrged or inserted in this our present *Historie*; so yet may they conuince the indurate *Atheists*, whose conscience is feared with the sinne of incredulitie of the Miracles wrought by our blessed Saviour *Iesus Christ*. For if the wisest *Historians* of those times haue beleueed themselves, and left Records vpon their credit to following posterities, that by his touch onely hee cured a Lame-man, and with his spittle opened the eies of the Blinde, being a mortall and sinfull man; shall it then be doubted, that hee which knew no sinne, neither receiued the gift by measure, either in power could not, or in act did not worke such Miracles as were the witnesses of his Godhead, and for such are recorded to confirme our faith? But to our purpose.

(15) When *Vespasian* had liued threescore and nine yeeres, seuen moneths, and seuen daies, and had reigned ten yeeres, as *Eusebius* saith, hee died peaceably in his Bed; which no Emperour since *Augustus* cuer did, having bene a great Scourge and Instrument of God against the miserable *Iewes*; whose kingly race from *Dauids* line hee fought by all meanes to extirpate, that so all their hopes and expectations might for euer be cut off.

(16) Hee was of a middle stature, well set, and strongly compact: his countenance not altogether amiable, neither any waies deformed; a great fauourer of Learning, very Liberal, a Iust, Wise, and most Valiant Prince.

He winneth the Iland of Mona.

Agricola good to the poore.

His good course in winning the people from wildnesse.

The Britains ciuiliuzd.

Agricola cureth the blinde and the lame, and that miraculously.

Suet. in vit. Vespas. lib. 7.

Tact. lib. 7. cap. 9.

Agricola's miracles conuince Atheists that deny our Saviours miracles.

Vespasian dieth peaceably. Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 3. ca. 12. & 13.

A great scourge of God against the Iewes.

His endowments of body. Sueton. in vit. Vespas. lib. 7. ca. 13. His vertues.

TITVS FLAVIVS VESPASIAN.

CHAPTER XIII.



Titus Emp.

Ann.Do.81.

Titus made Em-
peror without
all contradic-
tion.Called the de-
light of mankind.Sueton in vit.
Tit. Sed. 4.
I lived with all
heroicall ver-
tues.
His happy ment
in former times.Joseph bell. Ind.
c. 6. & 7.
He wonne Teru-
salem in the life-
time of his fa-
ther.

His faults.

His repentance
at his death.

Recently vpon the death of this Emperour, Titus his eldest sonne, surnamed *Flavius Vespasian*, without all contradiction was receiued and obeyed for his rightfull successor: as well for that his Father in his lifetime had made him his Partner in the Empire, and

at his death by Testament declared him his Heire, as also for the generall opinion conceived of him, for his inbred goodnes and noble conditions; called & esteemed the *lonely darling and delight of mankind*. Indeed of a most comely presence he was, & fitted thereunto with all heroically vertues, a great *Souldier*, learned in the Arts, a good *Orator*, a skillfull *Musitian*, and could by artificiall characters write both very fast and very faire.

(2) His youth he spent in Militaric qualities, and served in *Germanie* and *Britaine* with exceeding commendations, and in *Iurie* warred with the like glories, which is nothing impaired by the learned stile of his Recorder *Iosephus*, vnto whom againe for these affaires I must referre the curious Reader.

(3) *Ierusalem*, with the slaughter of cleuen thousand *Iewes*, euen on the birth day of his daughter, with such honour he wonne, that thereupon presently he was saluted *Emperour*, euen in the life time of *Vespasian* his Father: and from that day carried himselfe as his Associate in the Empire; for with him hee Triumphed, and with him he jointly administered the *Censorship*, his Colleague he was in the *Tribunes* authoritie; and his Companion also in seuen *Consulships*: In all which, though the *Edicts* went forth in his fathers name, yet were they penned by himselfe. Of this his victorie over the *Iewes*, hee left the remembrance to posteritie by stamping vpon the reverse of his coines *IVD. CAP.* with pictures expressing his Triumph and the *Iewes* overthrow, which in the front of this Chapter we haue also placed.

(4) Somewhat he was blemished with the loue of *Berenice*, the beautifulle *Queene of Iewes*, and much more with the murder of *Julius Civilis*, by through icalousie conceived of her: and whether what was the sinne whereof at his death he repented, is vnertain, when lifting vp his eyes to *Heauen*, hee complained why his *Life* should be taken from him, that excepting one offence defered not to die. As himselfe in glorie wielded the *Emperiall Scepter*, so did his Sub-

stitutes gouerne the *Provinces*; at which time in *Britaine*, *Agricola* was President, and therein had spent almost two yeares vnder the raigne of *Vespasian*, in such manner as wee haue declared.

(5) In his third yeare, he discovered new Countreies, and parts of this *Iland*, yet vnouched, or at leastwise not thoroughly subdued, as altogether vninhabited of that which was gotten, & sought to draw the confines of the Empire with a larger compass: therefore marching Northward to the *Frith of Taus*, waited all as he went, and without any resistance fortified the places with *Castles* and *Bulwarkes*, which hee stored with sufficient prouision; where euerie *Garrison* winning, garded it selfe, and with the Summers seruice, euer repaired the Winters euents, whereby euermore the Enemy went to the worse, and his designs prospered as himselfe wished.

(6) The fourth Summer was spent in perusing and ordering that which he had ouer-runne. And if the glory of the *Romane* name could haue permitted, or so beene satisfied, it needed not to haue sought other limits of *Britaine*: for *Glota* and *Bodotria*, two armes of two opposite Seas, shooting farre into the Land, and onely diuided asunder by a narrow partition of ground, the same was both garded and fortified with *Castles* and *Garrisons*: so that the *Romanes* were absolute *Lords* of all the South-side, and had cast the Enemy as it were into another *Iland*.

(7) In this state stood this *Province of Britaine* at the death of *Titus*, whose short raign hath left no long matters of discourse, and his *Acts* greater vnder other Emperours, then when he was Emperour himselfe; yet that little time wherein he gouerned, was with *Iustice*, *Liberalitie* and *Loue* of all. A great Enemy he was to *Promoters*, *Pettifoggers*, and *Extortours* of penall lawes, which *Canker-wormes of Common-wealths*, and *Caterpillers* to Courts of *Iustice*, he caused to bee whipped and banished out of *Rome*. Louing and familiar hee was to all his *Subjects*, and so desirous to giue them satisfaction, that his vsuall saying was, *No man ought to goe sad from the speech of a Prince*. Mercifull he was to the poore, and so ready to do them good, that one day being spent by him without any notable action, in sorrow he said: *I haue quite lost a day*. He died the thirteenth of September, the yeare from *Christs Nativity* eightie three, when he had reigned two yeares and two monthes, and in the two and fortieth yeare of his age, being poisoned by *Domitian* his Brother and Successour.

Agricola
Lieut.Taet in vit. A.
gric.
Agricola enlargeth the Empire.T V E R D E, as
is thought.* The fifth of
Dunbretton.
b Edenborough
fifth.Titus gouerned
with loue of
all.His propensitie
to do good.
Ruseb. l. 3. ca. 11.
His age & raigne.Sueton in vit. Do-
mit. l. 4.

FLAVIVS

FLAVIVS DOMITIAN.

CHAPTER XIV.

Domitian
Emp.

Ann. Do. 83.

Sueton in vit. Do-
mit. l. 1.His escaping
killing.Taet. l. 3. c. 13.
He dedicateth a
Temple to
Iupiter.Plinie in his Pro-
uence of naturall
histories.
Martial in his
Epigram. Ro.
Emp. fol. 134.
Sueton in vit. Do-
mit. l. 4.His vaine im-
agining the
time.Taet in vit.
Agric.

Domitian attaining the Empire by the death of *Titus*, (wrought by himselfe) as farre differed from him in vertuous conditions, as he was linked nere him in confanguinitie of blood: His youth not spent in *Armes*, with his Father and Brother, but inertiouly consumed in lasciuiousnesse and penurie.

(2) At *Rome* hee was in the *Vitellian* troubles, where, with *Sabinus* his Vncle, he had beene murdered, had not the Sexton of the Capitoll hid him in his house, and in the habit of a Minister vnknown, thence escaped: which place afterwards, when hee came to be Emperour, hee gorgeously built for a Temple to *Iupiter* his supposed Prefecur, and consecrated himselfe in the lap of that heathenish *Ioll*. Hee very speedily apprehended the hope of an Empire, for no sooner was his Father made Emperour, but that hee assumed the name of *Cesar*, and in *Rome* carried himselfe with such prodigality, and so liberally made promises of the *Imperiall Offices*, that his father hearing thereof, said, *he marvelled why his sonne sent not one to succeed him in his place*. But to dissemble and cloake his idle conceits, he gaue himselfe to the study of *Poesie*, (although with little affection, as the end prouoed) for which notwithstanding both *Plinie* and *Martial* doe highly commend him, as it is the manner of men to admire the very shadow of a good quality in Princes and great ones: and so doth *Iuuenal* and *Suetonius* praise his braue minde, for his shewes in the *Amphitheater*, wherein not only men, but women also were brought, and forced to fight for their liues with wilde beasts: a cruell spectacle neuertheless, and vnbecoming to humanity.

(3) His first entrance into state and dignitie was neither greatly applauded nor gainesaid, hee seeming to carrie an equall mixture, and his vertues to hold leuell with his vice. But Ambition now supported with Soueraignty, did quickly set the scale onely for the worse side. The affaires of the Empire hee altogether neglected; and impatient of labour, or affection to *Armes*, daily retired into a priuate chamber or Gallery, wherein hee vsuall applied himselfe onely to catch *Flies*, and with the point of a bodkin to prick them thorow: whereupon one being asked what company was with the Emperour, replied, *Not so much as a flie*. In which princely exercise let vs a while leaue him, and returne to his better employed Lieutenant *Agricola*.

(4) Who now in the fifth yeere of his gouernment took the Seas, and with many prosperous conflicts subdued some adiacent places and people, before that time vnknown, and furnished with forces

those parts of *Britaine*, which lay coasted against *Ireland*: to which Countrey also hee had a minde, and would often say, that if the *Romanes* were therein planted, the *Libertie* of the *Britaines* would soone be banished quite out of fight, and out of hope.

(5) Now in the sixth yeere of his Prefecture, because a general rising of all the farther Nations beyond *Bodotria* was feared, and passages were all beset with power of the Enemies, he manned a Fleet to search the creekes and harboroughs of the ample Region beyond it, and with his Armie marched further North. The *Britaines* heereat, especially at sight of their ships, much amazed and troubled, knowing now that the secrets of their Seas were all discovered, and no refuge left if they were overcome, armed themselves with great preparation; and the *Caledonians* (a most puissant and strong Nation in those parts) the foremost, who, as challengers, braued the *Romanes* so boldly, and in such manner, that some counselled the *Generall* to retire his forces on this side *Bodotria*, and rather of his owne accord to depart, then to bee repelled with shame.

(6) *Agricola*, whose courage could not be clouded with any dauntless fear, held on his intents; and hearing by prisoners taken, the manner of his Enemies proceedings, ordereth his host accordingly, diuiding his armie into three battles, and so lay entrenched; the weakest whereof, containing the *Ninth Legion*, the *Britaines* by Night assailed, and hauing slaine the Watch, brake into their Campe with a furious noise: to whose rescue, *Agricola* sent his Light horsemen, and a Band of foot, whose *Ensignes* and *Armour* glittering in the appearance of day, so rebated the edge and further purposes of the *Britaines*, that they gaue backe to the gates of the Trench, where, in the straits the conflict was sharpe and cruell, till in the end they were forced to quit the field. Vpon this battle so manfully fought, and so famously won, the *Romanes* presuming that to their prowess all things were now easie and open, cried to lead into *Caledonia*, and to finde out the limits of *Britaine*, with a course of continued Conquests: and those which crewhile were so wary and wise, waxt forward and bold after the event, and grew to speake bigly: such being the hard condition of Warres, that if ought fall out well, all challenge a part, misfortunes are onely imputed to one. Contrariwise, the *Britaines* presuming that not valour, but skill in the *Generall* by vpling the occasion, had carried it away, abated no whit their wonted courage, but armed their youth, transported their Children and Wiues into places of safety, and fought by Assemblies & Religious rites to establish an Association of the Cities together. And so for that yeere both parties did depart, incensed to further preparations.

(7) In the beginning of the next, *Agricola* sending his Naue before, which by vnexpected spoiling

Agricola
Lieut.Agricola his opi-
nion of Ireland.He searcheth the
creekes and har-
boroughs.Caledonians most
puissant.Agricola search-
eth out the li-
mits of Britaigne.

*Grant chain.

The Britains gather a great power.

Galgacus their Generall.

His Oration to the Britains. Tacit. in vit. Agric.
The cause of a flourishing estate. The necessity of resolution.

A dishonour for the chiefe of a Nation to be daunted.

Former battles not vnfurortate.

Subjection will not caule.

The Romans gouernement and peace.

The last to bee conquered ought most to scift.

Manhood and finelle of place more iustified of a zealous Soueraigne.

in severall places, should induce a greater and more vncertain terror, followed himselfe with his Armie by Land: having drawne to his partie some of the valiantest Britains, whom by long experience in Peace, he had found most faithfull for his Warres: and so arrived at the Mount * *Grampius*, where the Britains had lodged themselves before, and as men nothing dejected by the vnfurortate chance of the former battaille, had now prepared themselves attending onely for *Reuenge* or *Scrutide*. And being taught, that common danger must be repelled with mutuall Concord, by Leagues and Embassages they assembled the power of all their Cities together, aboute thirtie thousand armed men, as by view was taken, besides an endlesse number of youth which daily flocked vnto them, and many lustie Old men renowned in the former warres, and bearing the Badges due to their honour: at what time, *Galgacus*, for vertue and birth, of all the Leaders the Principall man, seeing the multitude hotly demaund the Battell, is said to have vied this, or the like speech.

"(8) When I behold this present Assemblie, and consider the cause of this instant necessitie, I haue reason to presume, that this day, and this agreement in consent, will giue a happie beginning to our freedome, and an end of troubles vnto our Land. For, wee which inhabit these furthest Pro-montories, know no Land beyond vs whereunto we may flie, nor no Seas left vs now for safetie, the *Romane* Nauie thus (as you see) surueying our Coasts: So that combat and armes, which men of valour desire for honour, the very dastard of force must now vie for his securitie. Wee that are the flower of the *British Nobilitie*, and are seated here in the vttermost part of the Ile, far neuer yet the borders of those Countries which serued in slaucerie, our eies being vprolled and free from all contagion of Tyrannie. Our former Battailles fought with the *Romans* had their euent, yet so, that refuge and hope rested still in our hands; wee haue hitherto liued in libertie, whereas none beside vs are free; vs hitherto this Corner and secret recess hath defended, now the vttermost point of our Land is laid open: and things the lesse they haue bene within knowledge, the greater the glorie is to atchieue them. But what Nation is there now beyond vs? what else see we but *Water* and *Rocks*, and the *Romans* within, *Land-lords* of all, nay rather *Robbers* of all, both in Land and Sea? whose intollerable pride by humble subiection in vaine shall wee seeke to auoid. If the Country be rich, they seeke to winne wealth; if poore, to gaine glorie: but neither *Eaſt* nor *West*, can satisfie their greedy affection, much lesse this cold *North* can let an end to their desires. To kill, to spoile, and take away by force, that falsly they terme *Empire* and *Gouernement*: and when all is made a waste wilderness, that they call *Peace*. Most deare vnto man are his Children and blood; but those are pressed for their warres, and serue as their slaues, we know not where; our Goods are their tributes, our Corne their prouision; our *Wives*, *Sisters* and *Daughters*, in *Warre* violently forced, in *Peace* vnder title of friends and guests, shamefully abused, and our own Bodies worne & consumed in paing of Bogs and other seruile drudgeries, with thousands of stripes, and many indignities more. Slaues which are borne to bondage are sold but once, and after are fed at their Owners expences; but *Britanie* daily buyeth, daily feedeth, and is at charges with her owne *Bondage*. We are the last to be conquered, and therefore is our destruction most sought, as being the most vile in account: No Fields we haue to manure, no Mines to be digged, no Ports to trade in, and to what purpose then should they refuse vs aliege? Besides, the Manhood and fierce courage of the subiect, pleaseeth not much the ialous *Soueraigne*; and this Corner being so secret, and out of the way, the more securitie it yieldeth vs, in them

"it workes the greater suspection. Then, seeing all hope of fauour is past, let vs take courage to defend and maintaine our owne libertie as well as our honour. The *Teemans* led by a *Woman*, fired the *Colonie*, forced the *Castles*, and if that luckie beginning had not bene ended in a carelesse securitie, the *Southerne Britains* might with ease haue shaken off the yoke. We as yet neuer touched, neuer subdued, and borne to be free, not slaues to the *Romans*; wee (I say) now are to make proofe of our valour, and to shew in this encounter, what men *Caledonia* hath reserved for her selfe. And do you thinke, that the *Romans* are as valiant in Warre as they are wanton in Peace? I assure you, nothing lesse: for not by their Vertues, but by our larrings, they are growne into fame; and of the enemies faults they make vie to the glory of their owne *Armie*, composed (we know) most of diuers Nations, and therefore as in prosperitie they hold not all alwaies together, so doublelesse, if fortune turne aside, their seruices will appeare: vnlesse you suppose the *Gauls* and *Germanes*, and (to our shame be it spoken) many of our owne Nation, (which now lend their liues to establish a *foraine vsurper*) bee lead with hearts affection; whereas contrariwise it is apparant, that *Terrour* and *Distrust*, (weake workers to conserue loue) are the onely causes, which once removed, then those that haue made an end to feare, will soone begin to hate. All things that may incite vnto victorie are for vs: the *Romans* haue no *Wines* to harden them, if they faint; no *Parents* to vpraid them, if they flie, most of them haue no Countrey at all, or if they haue, it is by intrusion taken from others: A few fearefull persons stand here before vs, trembling and gazing at the strangeness of the heauen it selfe, at the Sea, and at the Woods, whom the Gods haue deliuered, mewed vp and fettered into our hands. Let not their braue shewes of glittering *Gold* or *Silver*, any way dimmy you, which of themselves neither offend nor defend. And be you well assured, amongst our enemies wee shall finde many on our side; The *Britains* will agnize their owne Cause; The *Gauls* will remember their wonted libertie and former estate; And the rest of the *Germanes* will leaue and forsake them, as of late the *Vspians* did. What then shall we feare? The *Castles* are empty; the *Colonies* peopled with aged and impotent persons; the free Cities discontent, and in factions, whilst those which are vnder, obey with ill will, and they which doe gouerne, rule against right. Here you see before vs is the *Generall* and *Armie*, on each side *Tributes*, *Scrutides* and other miseries inseparable, which whether we shall continue for euer, or cast off subiection as free-borne *Britains*, it lieth this day in this *Field* and your approued manhoods. Wherefore I beseech you in ioyning Battell, beare in your Minds your worthy *Ancestors*, your *Selues*, and following *Posterities*, which if you faile, shall for euer liue in subiection and slaucerie.

"(9) This speech was so vehemently deliuered, and so cheerefully of them all received, that with songs and confused acclamations (after their accustomed fashion) they clustered together on heaps, and some of the boldest advanced forward, whilst *Agricola* likewise was encouraging his men, who straightwaies ranne to their weapons, and rushed on furiously toward the Enemy.

"(10) The *Britains* were marshalled in the higher ground, fitly both to the shew, and to terrifie: the first Battalion standing on the plaine, the rest on the ascent of the hill, knir and rising as it were on: ouer another; the middle of the field was filled with clattering and running of Chariots and horsemen. *Agricola* seeing their number to exceede his, drew his battaille in length, and leauing his horse, advanced himselfe before the *Engines* on foote.

"(11) In the first assault before the ioyning, both sides encountered with discharge of their darts, wherein the

Womens valour ought to shame mens cowardize.

This time the first to procure our valour.

The Romans wanton in peace.

Their Armie composed of diuers nations.

They are destitute of many encouragements.

Many Cities in factions.

The number of Britains exceed the Romans.

The first encounter.

*Hillenders. off the Low Countiees.

The Britains Chariots disorder the horsemen.

The fight fierce on both sides.

The Britains discomfited.

The Romans lie, a stinck per chance.

The Britains that died.

*Angust in Scotland. Agricola sendeth to discover the North coasts.

the *Britains*, employing both art and valour, with their great swords and little Targets, avoided the volue of the *Romans*, shewing down withall great force of theirs vpon them, wherewith they were both galled and fore wounded. *Agricola* seeing his men thus stoutly resisted, tooke another course: for, spying the advantage, he commanded three *Bataian Cohorts*, and two of the *Tungrians*, to preece forward, and bring the matter to handy strokes and dint of sword, a thing which (in respect of their long seruice) they were very expert in, but contrariwise to the *Britains* very preiudiciall, by reason of their little Bucklers, and huge swords, being blunt pointed, and no waies fit for the close in fight. This command aduantaged the *Romans* much; for these with the pikes of their Bucklers, when they came to deale blowes, so managed the faces of the *Britains*, that they were not able to stand before them; and the rest, gathering courage vpon emulation of these, ascended the hill, bearing downe all that was in their way, so that many halfe dead, and some wholly vntouched, were ouer-passed, and left for foote of winning the field. In the meane while the *Chariots* mingled themselves with the battle of footmen, and the troops of horsemen began for to flie; who albeit they had lately terrified others, were now distressed themselves, by the vncuennesse of the ground, and thicke ranks of the enemy, and were forced to fight standing still, and by the maine weight of hories to beare downe one another. The wandering Wagons alide, and matterlesse hories, as chance or feare did guide them, ouer-bare many times their friends, and thwarted their way that met them.

"(12) The other *Britains* that kept the hill, and had leisure to behold the manner of fight, beganne to come downe by little and little, and sought to compasse the backe of the enemy; which intent *Agricola* soone preuented, by sending four wings of *Horsemen*, retained purposely about him for sudden dispatches and chances of warre. These so fiercely assailed them, that a most sharpe and bloody battle ensued, wherein the *Britains* on each side were beaten downe and slaine, notwithstanding many of them shewed both valour and reuenge euen to the end: the rest disbande, turned their backs, and fled towards the desert; whose pursuit was followed vntill Night, and fullnesse of blood made an end of the chafe.

"(13) Of the *Romans* side were slaine (if wee must credit their owne friends) onely three hundred and fortie persons, and of them, one of extraordinary note and account, *Aulus Articus*, Captaine of a *Cohort*, who vpon a youthfull heat, and fiercenesse of his horse, was carried amidst his enemies. Of the *Britains* fell ten thousand, and their designs so defeated and broken, that as desperate men, they forsake their houses, and in despite set fire on them themselves: the hurt persons they carrie and draw with them, and call them that are vnhurt, hopping to be releued by them. One while they chuse out holes to lurke in, for their liues safetie; etsoones in great haste forsake them, as doubting therein their owne securitie. Dispersed asunder, they lament, and attend death: assembled together, expostulate of their meanes and life: one while conceiuing a glimmering of some small hope, another while dejected with vter despair: Sometimes at the sight of their dearest beloued, moued to pittie; but much oftner stirred to rage, for reuenge; and many of them, euen by way of compassion, slew their dearest *Wives* and *Children*, to rid them from their future miseries.

"(14) *Agricola* hauing made euery where a desolation and silence, withdrew his Armie towards the *Horrifians*, where taking hostages for their fidelitie, sent the *Admirall* of his Navy to saile about the *North Coast* of *Britanie*, who with strength and store tooke the Seas, their terror gone already before, himselfe with easie and gentle iournies disposed his foot and horsemen in their Wintering places, and planted Garisons vpon the Borders betwene *Glota* and *Bodo-*

iria. And his Nauie with prosperous winde and successe arrived at the Port * *Tratulenſis*.

"(15) Thus, after many conflicts, about the space of one hundred thirtie fix yeeres from *Julius Caesar* first entrance, the vtmost limits of *Britannie*, and the *Iles of the Orades* lying on the North side of it, were by the valour and indutrie of *Julius Agricola* first discovered, and made knowne vnto the *Romans*; and the South part of the Ile, in the fourth yeere of the raigne of *Domitian*, (being the yeere of our Sauour eightie six) reduced into a full Prouince, the gouernment whereof was euer annexed and appropriate to the *Roman Emperours* themselves, and not at the disposition of the *Senate*, as other Prouinces were;

"(16) This state of affaires in *Britannie*, *Agricola* signified by letter, without any amplifying termes to *Domitian* the Emperour, who (after his manner) with a cheerefull countenance and greened heart, received the Newes, being inwardly pricked with feare and distaine, that his late counterfet *Triumph* of *Germanie* (wherein certain slaues bought for money, were attired, and their haire dressed as *Captiues* of that Countrey) was had in derision, and iustly scorned abroad; whereas now a true and imperiall victorie of so many thousand enemies subdued and slaine, was currant and famous in euery mans mouth: as being indeed a thing dangerous, that a priuate mans name should be exalted about his Prince. In vaine then had hee suppressed the studie of *Oratorie*, and other worthy politicke Arts, thereby to keepe downe other mens reputation, if he should in *Military* glory be discredited by another. And to be a good Commander of an Army, was to be a beaue priuate estate, that being a Vertue peculiar for a Prince, and therefore not lightly to be passed ouer. With these and the like incentives his minde was tormented; yet thought he it best to dissemble his malice, vntill the heat of his glory, and loue of his soldiours were somewhat abated. And forthwith he commanded for *Agricola*, *Triumphall* ornaments, statue, honours, and what else vually conferred in lieu of *Triumph*; hee yet remaining in charge, from whence, with the like policie also, hee was shortly displaced. For *Syria*, by the death of *Attilius Rufus*, lay destitute of a Lieutenant; and that place reserved for Men of great qualitie, *Domitian* gaue forth was purposed for *Agricola*, and sent him both his *Patent* and *Succesor* into *Britanie*; who thereupon deliuered vp the Prouince in a peaceable estate vnto *Salustius Lucullus*, and returned to *Rome*.

"(17) Where the life of *Domitian* was now grown vnmearurable vaine. The surname *Germanicus* he assumed to himselfe, for some finall seruice therein done. The Moneths *September* and *October* he changed into the names of *Germanicus* and *Domitianus*, because that in the one hee entered his *Empire*, and in the other was borne. He caused his Statue to be made in gold, and commanded, himselfe to be called *G O D*. His cruelty euery way marchable to his pride. The *Senatours* and *Nobles* vpon small surmises hee murdered: many new tortures hee inuented: *Confiscations* and *Banishments*, were fauours, not punishments. Amongst all which, the *Christians* bare a part, whose *Second Persecution* this Tyrant raised and began. The great *Euangelist Iohn* hee banished into the Ile of *Patmos*, where hee received his *Reuelations* from *Iesus Christ*, appearing vnto him in no lesse Maieſtie then *Daniel* before time had seene him in his *Visions*, and both (after a sort) in one and the same manner: their *Visions* alike, and almost to the like end: For as *Daniel* saw a *Lion*, *Beare*, *Leopard*, and *Manser* with *Ten horns*, persecute the *Iewes* Gods people, and to fall before the *Stone cut without hands*, which brake into powder the *Image* of their Tyrannicall Gouernment, to giue place to the peaceable *Birth* and *Kingdome* of *Christ*; so *Iohn* saw one *Beast* compacted of these foure, mouthed like a *Lion*, footed like a *Beare*, spotted as the *Leopard*, and horned for number and power with the *Manser*, retaining their *Tyrannie* in raising *Persecutions* in the Church of *Christ*, and clouding with *Idolatry* the

* Richboro.

Histor. mag. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 17.

Ariany wiolly discovered by Agricola.

Ann. Dom. 86.

Agricola writeth to Domitian.

Agricola receiveth Triumphall ornaments.

Suetonius in vita Domitiani. Domitian his vices.

Hee banished S. Iohn. Euſeb. Ecclesiast. lib. 3. cap. 17. Apocal. 1. 9. Daniel 10.

Apocal. 13. 2.

2. Theff. 2.8.

Salustius Lucullus put to death. Sueton. in vit. Domit. lib. 10. His offence.

the brightnesse of his Word: which shall bee cast into the Lake of fire and brimstone, when Christ shall binde vp SATAN, and by his appearance abolish the Man of Sinne.

(18) Among many others slaine by Domitian, Salustius Lucullus whom he had made Lieutenant General of Britaine was one, and the onely cause is reported to bee, that hee had deified and made certaine Spears or Launces for seruice, which hee caused to be called Lucullians after his owne name; which was a matter held very suspicious by Domitian, who thought euerie memorable act done by another, did plucke a feather from his plume. And in these courses continued so long, that lastly hee grew odious to all, euen to his nearest friends and followers which himselfe had raised, who, together with his Wife, conspired his death.

(19) The chiefeft in the Action was Stephen, a Procurator and Steward to Domicilla his Emperesse,

who faining himselfe lame of the left arme, in deliuering him a scroll containing the names of the conspirators, stroke him into the bellie with his sword, & the rest comming in, with seuen wounds made an end of his life; whose death was so acceptable to the Senate, that they disgracefully abused his carcase, cast downe his scutcheons and Images, and forbad all manner remembrance of him; albeit some of the Souldiers as much stormed, seeking to reuenge his death, and canonized him for a God.

(20) Of stature he was tall, his complexion faire, his countenance modest, his head verie bald, his eies red, full, great and dimme, of a comely forme, onely his bellie bearing out, his legges small, and his foote somewhat short. He died the eighteenth day of September, aged forty five, when hee had reigned fiftene yeeres, the yeare of our Lords incarnation ninetie eight, with whom both Tacitus and Suetonius end their Historie.

The actors of this death, and their treacherie

The Senate glad

The Souldiers enraged.

His personage.

His death, age, reigne. Sueton. lib. 10. cap. 10.



The Registers of the Romans proceedings in this our Iland of Britaine, in the daies of this Emperour Domitian, for these Southerne parts, was Arviragus, as from Iuuenal wee haue said; and in the Northerne Caledonia, was Gargacius their Captaine; whose Coines, as Remaines and Monuments of their neuer-dying fame, wee haue here againe inserted.



NERVA.

CHAPTER XV.



Nerva Emp.

Ann. Do. 98.



Itherto haue wee pursued the successions in the British monarchie, together with the Inuasions, attempts, and successesse of affaires, for the Conquest of this Iland, vnder the first twelue Emperours of Rome: And that from such writers, who though they were the most fauourable Registers of things done by the Romanes, yet had they beft means to know, and publish their Histories with warrant of truth. But after the death of Domitian died many Records, and the Provinces proceedings (especially those that most concerne Britaine) left vncertaine; and therefore are

neither with the like largenesse prosecuted, nor with the like authoritie auouched. And were it not that these Romane Emperours succeeding, did onely continue the succession of our British Monarchs, many of them might be quite omitted, as neither themselves, nor deputies, allies, or enemies once spoken of concerning our affaires, and the Government of this Province, during those times so maimed and defective (in respect of any warrantable relations) that hardly a method can be obserued to the fitting of a continuall Historie. Yet as we finde it, let vs haue libertie to deliuer it, and rather to expose Truth in the meane attire that Time hath left her, then by disguising her in richer robes to abuse the World, and make her seeme nought else but a counterfeite, as Plutarch in the life of Pericles hath complained.

(2) Domitian

Cocceius Nerva aged & prudent.

Gauls, Monmouth-shire.

Florus Historiographer of Nerva. describes this memorial to be erected for Nerva a Consul of Rome. Polyb. lib. 4. c. 13.

Arviragus the father of Marius. Chap. 6. lib. 11.

(2) Domitian therefore thus made away, Cocceius Nerva, a prudent, honourable, and aged person was elected Emperour by the Senate, assisted by Petronius Secundus, Capitaine of the Pratorian Armie, and Parthenius chiefe Chamberlaine, and one of the Murthe- rers of Domitian. His birth was noble, and of Italy in the Citie Narnia, and of the Prouince Vmbria: ruling so well as he may be esteemed too good a Prince, long to continue in so bad an age.

(3) What Lieutenants vnder him were in Britain or vnder his Successor Traian, I find not in Record: but our English Writers from the Arch-Deacon of Monmouth, bring a succession of British Kings, and amongst them Marius, who conquered Roderick, King of the Picts accompanied with the Scots, whose Tro- pie erected neere vnto Carlisle, remained a long time after, bearing the inscription of his victorie: and after him his sonne Coilius brought vp in Rome all the time of his youth, retained their fauours, and paid them tribute without constraint. Albeit by Iuuenal, it seemeth that Arviragus the father of Marius, a great re- sifter of the Romanes, liued in the reigne of Domitian,

as hath beene touched, vnlesse you will say; that Menigius and Arviragus was the same Marius, as a worthy Antiquarie affirmeth. But through these vncertainities and disagreements occasioned by the silence of better Authors, our Histories rest doubt- full, and so must we leaue them, returning to finish vp briefly the Raigne and Life of this good Emperour Nerva.

(4) Who hauing reformed many enormities, and remitted many greuous Tributes and exactions, as that of Carriages mentioned on the reuerse of the prefixed Coine, minted by authoritie of the Senate, in eternall memorie of his goodnes; recalled from banishment the Christians leuerally dispersed, and suffred them to enioy the freedome of their profession. At which time John the Euangelist returned from Pathmos, (wherein he had beene confined) vnto Ephesus, a Citie in Asia the lesse. And Nerva reigning only one yeare, foure moneths and nine daies died (of a passi- onate anger conceiued against a Senator) in the yeare of Christ his incarnation ninetie nine, the twentie se- uenth day of Ianuary, & leuentie sixth of his own age.

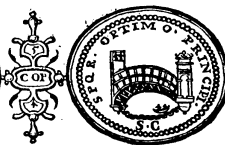
Hemphry Lloyd in the Breuallary of Brit.

Also in an old Manuscript is called Nerva. cap. 43. Cocceius Nerva recalled from banishment the Christians. Dion. Cass. lib. 8. John the Euange- list returned from Pathmos. Sueton. lib. 3. c. 13. Eusebius. Dion. Cassius.



TRAIAN.

CHAPTER XVI.



Traian Emp.

Ann. Do. 99.

Sextus Aurelius.

Traian raised the Romanes to the highest glory.

Dion. Cass. lib. 68.

Traian neuer heard of the Romanes till Traian came.

Traians affability and moderation towards his sub- jects. Eusebius.



Nto Nerva succeeded Vulp- pius Traian in the Roman Empire; borne neere vnto Scall in the Territories of Spaine: of a noble familie, but was much more en- nobled in himselfe for his princely endowments, which moued Nerva in his life time to adopt him into so high a calling, and the whole Senate after his death ioiufullie to confirme his Election, and so often to hon- our him with the title of the Most Excellent Prince, in publike dedications, as on the Coine aboue.

(2) Hee raised the Romane Empire vnto the very highest pitch of glory, and spread the power of their Command into the largest circuit that euer before or since hath beene possessed. For the Kingdom of Da- cia hee subdued; Armenia, Parthia, and Mesopotamia made subiect; Assyria, Persia, and Babylon conquered; passed Tigris, and stretched the confines of the Roman Empire vnto the remotest dominions of the Indies, which neuer before that time had heard of the Roman Name. And indeed, if wee looke vpon his policicke managing of the government, he may seeme (in com- parison of others) a right worthy, memorable and lovely Prince, of much affabilitie, and familiaritie euen with his inferiours, and of such cariage towards his Subiects, as he himselfe would with his Prince (he said) to vie towards him, if he were a Subiect. A great ob- server also of Iustice, in so much that when he inuested any Pretor, in giuing him the Sword, he commanded him to vie the same euen against his owne person, if he violated Law or Equitie. But yet against the good

Christians he vied neither of both: nay hee stirred vp their Third Persecution, wherein Ignatius and many other worthy Saints of God, receiued the Crowne of Martyrdome, in such cruell manner, as that his other vertues are much clouded by that taxation: for mol- lification whereof, he was compassionately intreated by Plinius Secundus his Tutor, whose Epistles to that purpose are yet extant.

(3) The Iewes in his time rose vp in armes against the Gentiles, and in Cyrene, Aegypt, and Cyprus, slew a great number: against whom Traian sent his Cap- taines with forces sufficient, and in diuers parts of the Empire put the Iewes to death, in such infinite num- bers, as that Massacre is accounted the greatest Exe- cution that euer had beene in the world. God suffering this their punishment to light vpon them for their in- fidelitie and obstinacie against his Christ.

(4) Finally, after his Conquests in the East, return- ing towards Rome at Seleucia in Asia the lesse himselfe was conquered by the stroke of death, by a fluxe the seuenth day of August, after he had reigned nineteene yeeres, six moneths, and fiftene daies, the yeere of our Redemption one hundred and eightene, and of his age fixtie foure: whose ashes brought to Rome, were inclosed within the Crowne of a goodly Pillar, wrought of one intire stone, containing one hundred forty foot in height.

(5) Of stature he was bigge, of complexion swar- thie, thinn of haire both head and beard, a hooked nose, brode shoulders, long hands, and a pleasant eie; whose liuely Image was borne in Triumpher after his death, and that in most glorious and pompous man- ner, in celebration of his great renowne and fame at- tained in his life.

The third per- secution of the Christians. Euseb. lib. 3. c. 30.

Iewes made war against the Gentiles.

Traian his slaughter vpon the Iewes the greatest that euer was.

Dion. Cassius. Polyb. lib. 4. c. 13.

Traians portra- ture.

(6) How

Rowardus in Praetorium.

(6) How silent fouer writers haue beene for this Emperours affaires in this our Iland, yet it is to be thought that vnto this, as well as vnto other *Provinces*, both *Properors*, *Lieutenants*, *Proconsuls*, *Pretors*, and *Proconsuls* were sent, and euery *Citie* to haue their municipal Magistrates. The *Pretor* that yearly proclaimed solemn Sessions, wherein himselfe sat aloft vpon a high tribunall seate, and guarded with his listers about him in great estate, did execute his authoritie throughout his owne iurisdiction, and determined all causes brought before him, where rods and axes were prepared for the common people, that were enforced to receive a new Ruler euery year. And surely as this yoke of bondage was grievously borne of euery *Province*, vpon whose necke, it was imposed & laid: So the *Britaines* vnderwent the weight of that subiection with such vnwillings, that in the time of this *Traian*, they revolted and rebelled, though presently suppressed, as it is euident out of *Spartianus*.

(7) The care that this good Emperour had for the weale of his Subiects is projected by his prouidence in making wayes passable from place to place, whereof remaine many testimonies by those his *Causies* drawne with wonderfull diligence, euen thorow the whole Iland, which now, though dismembred and cut in peeces by the Countrey people, wherethorow they passed, yet doe many remnants thereof

remaine, especially in pastures, or by-grounds out of the rode way, with bankes so high, that euidently they shew themselves. Of these *Causies* Gallen writeth as followeth: *The waies* (saith he) *Traian* repaired, by paving with stone, or raising with bankes cast up such peeces of them as were moist and miry: by stocking up and ridding such as were rough and overgrown with bushes and briars: by making bridges ouer Rivers that could not be waded thorow: where the way seemed longer then needed, by cutting out another shorter: if any where by reason of some steepe hill, the passage were hard and vn easie, by turning it aside thorow easier places: now in case it was haunted with wilde beasts, or lie waste and desert, by drawing it thence thorow places inhabited, and with all laying leuell all meuen and rugged grounds.

Along these *Causies* the Emperour caused to be set little pillars or Columnes, with numerall Characters cut in the, to signifie how many miles was from place to place. Of these *Sidonius Apollinaris* writeth thus:

*Antiquus tibi nec teratur agger,
Cuius per spatium satis vetustis
Nomen Casareum vires columnis.*

*Breake not the ancient Causies strong,
Whereon the Columnes stand along,
Nor names of Casars doe not wrong.*

Galen lib. 9. cap. 8. Melis.

Adrian wall. Ad. Lamprid.

Adrian Coins.

One hundred twentie foure, attended on by three *Legions*: of which, his *Army* for this exploit was then composed, as appeareth by his money in the entrance of his life, fixed in memorie of this vnder taking: With these hee encountered the Northern Riders, recovered such holds as they had taken, and forced them into the *Woodes* and *Mountaines*, whither the *Romane Horsemen* without danger could not pursue them. But perceiving the Aire too sharpe for the *Romans* constitution, and the Soile rough and of lesse profit then the rest, hee made a *Fortification* or strong Wall of Earth, which (as *Lampridius* saith) did continue on the West from *Ituna*, (that is, the River *Eden* in *Cumberland* neere *Carlisle*) vnto the River *Tina*, or *Time* at *Newcastle* in *Northumberland* in the East, and was no lesse then Eightie miles in length. This Wall (saith he) was made of stakes driuen deepe into the ground, and bound together in the manner of an hedge; and with Turfe and Earth intermured as a *Rampire* or *Bulwarke* to defend the Incurfions of the wilder *Britaines* and ill Neighbours that daily molested the peace of the *Romans*. *Hadrian* his worke finished, and the *Province* reduced to the obedience of the fatal *Gouernesse Rome*, at whose feet he had laid againe the name of *Britaine*, as appeareth in the first Ruerse of his *Coin*, placed in the fronture of this Chapter) triumphantly returned to *Rome*, and for his honourable aduenture and Expedition had his name inscribed vpon his *Coin* with this addition: THE RESTORER OF BRITANNIE.

(6) Neither after this seemed the Southerne *Britaine* greatly to contend, but patiently bore the yoke of subiection, which *Time* and *Custome* had made lesse painfull, the rather, for that they saw themselves to stand in neede of the *Romans* helpe against the inroades of their owne *Countreymen*, whose crueltie was now as much feared, as in former times the Inuasion of *Strangers*: whereupon they conformed themselves more willingly to the *Romane Lawes*, both in *Martiall* and *Ciuill* affaires: which were then principallie directed by *Licinius Priscus*, who had bene not long before imploied by *Hadrian* in the seruice of *Iewrie*, and was at this present *Lieutenant of Britannie*.

(7) This *Iewish* warre happened in the eighteenth yeere of the Raigie of *Hadrian*, who suddenly assailed and slew where they came, both *Romaines* & *Christians*: for reuenge whereof, besides an infinite number of them slaine and tortured, their *Citie Ierusalem* was also rased euen to the ground, and another built, but not altogether in the same place; and the name thereof changed to *AELIA*: the *Iewes* utterly banished thence, and (as *Aristion Pellucius* writeth) not lawfull for them to looke towards that *Citie* nor *Saile*, no not through the *Chinke* or *Crevice* of a dore: And vpon the Gate that leadeth towards *Beth-lehem*, hee caused a *Swine* to be engrauen, a Beast by the Law accounted most vnclane, and by them abominable.

(8) But as this Emperour was exasperated against the *Iewes*, so was hee gracious and fauourable to the *Christians*, and the rather at the request of *Quadratus*, a *Disciple* (as is supposed) of the *Apostles*, who wrote vnto him concerning them; and of *Aristides* a learned *Philosopher* of *Athens*, who made an *Apologie* for their defence, so that the *Persecution* then in practise was forbidden by *Hadrian* in a publicke *Edict*; who (as *Lampridius* writeth) was minded to haue built a Temple to the seruice of *Christ*, had not some dissuaded him therefrom. In extremie of sicknes hee designed *Cesar*, *Lucius Aelius*, whose Coyne wee haue hereunder expressed. A man deare to this Emperour, if we consider at how great a rate hee bought for him the acceptance of the *Commons* and *Militarie* men: And how short a time the blaze of that Honour continued: for hee died so soone, that *Hadrian* himselfe had wont to say,

*Offendit terris hunc tantum fata, nec ultra
Esse sinent.*

(9) When hee had reigned in great honour and loue the space of one and twenty yeeres, five moneths, and fifteene daies, hee died, the eighth or tenth, of *Julie*, of a *dropsie*: which maladie so tormented him, that willingly he refused all sustenance, and languished away through faintnesse. Hee was of personage tall, and very strong, of a good complexion and amiable countenance, wearing the haire of his head and beard long, and died aged fixty two, the yeere of our Lord God, One hundred thirte nine.

Dion Cass.

Ierusalem rased to the ground.

Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 6. Iewes not permitted to looke to Ierusalem.

A swine set on the Gate of Ierusalem.

Adrian fauourable to the Christians.

Lampridius in vit. Seueri.

Spartianus. Dion Cassius. Polychr.

HADRIAN.

CHAPTER XVII.



Hadrian Emp.

Cneus Trebell. Lieut.

An. Do. 119.

Polychr. lib. 4. c. 14.



After the decease of *Traian*, his Nephew *Elius Hadrianus*, by the consent of the *Armie*, who swore to him obedience, was proclaimed Emperour, the *Senate* likewise confirming their choice, as beeing a man indued with gifts both of Art and Nature,

answerable to the fortunes of his Estate.

His birth was of *Spaine*, in the *Citie Italia*, neere vnto *Ciail*, where *Traian* was born, his Father Noble, and his Mother in *Cales* descended of an honourable stocke.

(2) A great Mathematician he was, skilfull in *Arithmetike*, *Geometrie*, *Astronomie*, and *Indiculous Astrologie*; learned in the *Greeke*, and *Latine* Tongues; in which languages he wrote both *Poesie* and *Prose*: well scene in *Physicke*, and knew the Vertues of *Herbes*, *Rootes*, and *Stones*: A singular Musitian both for *Theorie* and *Practise*; and could both limme & carue with approbation of the skilfull: but about all, is the admirable report of his Memorie, who neuer forgot any thing that he either read or heard.

(3) His first businesse for the Empire, was rather a care to hold securely what was gotten, then by enlarging the bounds to endanger the Best: and there-

fore lessening the Compasse, and bettering the strength, he planted his forces along the River *Euphrates*, and assigned that for the *Easterne* limits, leaving out *India*, *Armenia*, *Media*, *Assyria*, *Persia*, and *Mesopotamia*, as Countreies too remote for the *Romans* to hold to their profit. By which his doings other *Provinces* tooke occasion to revolt, thirthing after *Libertie*, and among others the *Britaines* (as euer most impatient of Seruitude) attempted alterations, whose *Lieutenant Cneus Trebellius* (Successour to *Julius Agricola*) could not so gouerne his *Souldiers* which were growne out of discipline, and by long rest farre out of Order, but that they fell at variance among themselves, and disquieted the most peaceable of the *Britaines* by their licentious manners.

(4) The Northern Inhabitants, that were more at libertie, and imboldened by their Bogs and Rocks vnaccessable, set themselves to withstand their wrōgs, to whom also many others ioined their affections and forces, whereupon some bickering infused with losse and blood; to repress which *Julius Seuerus* was sent by *Hadrian*: but ere hee could settle the Commotion, was againe recalled and imploied in *Syria*, to suppress the *Iewish* rebellion.

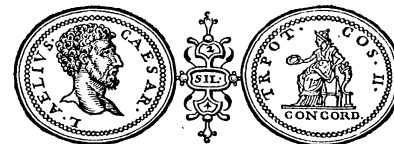
(5) These stirres here still continuing, the Emperour tooke it to be of such importance, that hee resolved in Person to adresse for *Britannie*, which he performed in his third Confullship, the yeare of Christ one

Britaines attempt alteration.

Hollingshed lib. 4. Cneus Trebellius Lieutenant of the Britaines.

Julius Seuerus sent to suppress the Commotions of the Britaines.

Hadrian himselfe came into Britannie to suppress rebellion.



Vnder this Emperour M. F. CL. PRISCOVS LICINIVS, was the Proprator of Britannie, and imploied in the Iourney of Iurie with *Hadrian*; as appeareth by this antique Inscripition in a broken Marble.

M. F. CL. PRISCO.
ICINIO. ITALICO. LEGATO. AVGVSTORVM
PR. PR. PROV. CAPPADOCIAE
PR. PR. PROV. BRITANNIAE LEG. AVG.

LEG. III. GALLICIAE. PRAEF. COH. III. LINGONVM. VEXILLO. MIL.
ORNATO. A. DIVO. HADRIANO. IN EXPEDITIONE IVDAIC.

Q. CASSIVS. DOMITIVS. PALVMBVS.

Spartianus. Hadrianus of an admirable memorie.

Hadrianus policy.

ANTONINVS
PIVS.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Antonin. Pius
Emp.Lollius Vrbicus
Lieut.

An.Do.139.



Ext vnto whom succeeded *Antoninus*, (for his many vertues) furnamed the *Pious*: and by the *Senate*, Father of his Countrey. This man did not onely equall his *Adopter* and *Predecessours*, in wisdom and other princely qualities, but was also compared,

for his peace and policie, vnto *Numa Pompilius* the second *King of Rome*, who for his renowned gouernment, is so famously in their Histories recorded. His birth was in *Lombardy*, the son of *Aurelius Fulvius*, and Nephew to *Titus Aurelius Fulvius*, that had bene *Consul*, and held other Offices of dignity and State. The whole time of whose *Raigne* was so spent in peace, that small remembrances remaine of any martiall affaires: yet such as we finde in *Britannie* we will deliuer.

Antoninus raigne
ned in peace.The Northern
Britaines rebell
in the beginning
of *Antoninus*
raigne.Adrianus Wall
fortified.

Iulius Capitolinus.

Ammianus in a
Panegyricke
Oration in praise
of *Maximian*.

Camden Brit.

* *Yorkshire*,
Lancashire,
Westmerland,
Higl. map. Brit.
lib. 3. cap. 11.
See *Saturnius*
Admirall of the
British Fleet.

(2) At his first entrance into the *Empire*, about the yeere of *Christ*, One hundred thirtie nine (as appeareth by the money minted in memorie of the reduction of *Britaine*) the *Northerne Britaines* in that part of this Ile began to stirre, and made inroads into the *Prouince*, notwithstanding the *Rampire* or *Wall* that *Adrian* had made. Against whom *Lollius Vrbicus* *Lieutenant* here vnder *Antoninus*, brought his power, and with some skirmishes put them backe: taking from the *Brigantes* part of their Land, as a *Mulck*, for the waffe they had done to the *Genouians*, a *Prouince* adioining vnto the *Brigantes*, whose people had put themselves vnder the Emperours protection. Which done, he repaired the *Wall* with stronger *Fortifications*; or (which is more probable) raised vp another not farr from the same, to double the defense: for (saith *Iulius Capitolinus*) *Lollius* the *Legate* to *Antoninus* ouercomming the *Britaines*, built another tursse *Wall* to diuide the *Prouince*, and to impeach the incursions of the barbarous. Notwithstanding the honour of this seruice (as is testified by the ancient *Panegyricke*) was (by one *Fronto*) attributed wholly to *Antoninus* the Emperour himselfe: who, although absent and in his Palace at *Rome*, yet sitting as it were at the Helme of a Ship, did command and direct the enterprise, and therefore had right to the glory thereof. This *Wall* also (as *M. Clarenceux* coniectureth, hauing seene it so traicted in an ancient Chorographical Chart) was drawn from the *Riuer Tine* vnto *Carleill*, but *Time* and *Warre* haue worne it now away.

(3) In the meane while a new insurrection was kindled among the *Brigantes*, that annoyed some of the *Romane* Confederates. But by the discretion of the *Generall*, it was quenched before it came to flame: for vpon the first rumour of the Reuolt, *Lollius* marched thither with part of his Armie, commanding *Seius*

Saturnius, Admirall of the *British Fleet*, to waffe vpon the *North* of the *Iland*, both to defend the *Coast* from danger, and also vpon occasions to further the *Land-seruice*, if need were: by which means, the *Brigantes* were easily reduced to obedience, euen by the presence onely of the *Lieutenant*, who for his good seruice done in *Britaine*, during the short time of his imploiment there, obtained the surname *Britannicus*. This may be the first figure in the face of this Chapter (being in the third *Consulship* of this Emperour) be coniectured to haue hapned in the yeere of *Christ* one hundred forty one; and by inscription of the last *Coin* in that ranke it is manifest that there was some other expedition against *Britaine* the yeere following.

(4) I cannot omit, though not directly pertinent to our purpose, the care that this good Emperour generally had for the distressed and persecuted *Christians* (who no doubt by his bounty enioied much tranquillitie here in *Britaine* also) in whose defense he wrote to his *Deputies* in *Asia*, and published an *Edict* against their Accusers, the effect whereof (from *Eusebius*) is this:

(5) The Emperour *Cesar Marcus Aurelius Antoninus Augustus, Armenicus, Pontifex Maximus*, fifteene times *Tribune*, thrice *Consul*, vnto the *Commons of Asia* sendeth greeting. I doubt not but the *Gods* themselves haue a care that wicked persons shall bee brought to light: for it much more doth appertaine vnto them, then it doth vnto you, to punish such as refuse to yeeld them worship. But this course which you take doth confirme them whom you persecute, in this their opinion of you, that you are impious men, and mere *Atheists*; whereby it cometh to passe, that they desire in the quarrell of their *God* rather to die, then to yeeld to the wils of such as you are, and to embrace your forme of *Religion*. Let it not seeme vnseasonable to call to your remembrance the *Earth quakes*, which lately happened, and which yet are to your great terror and grieue; because I vnderstand that in such like accidents you cast the enuy of such common misfortunes vpon their shoulders, whereby their confidence and trust in their *God* is much the more increased: whereas you being still ignorant of the true causes of such things, doe both neglect the worship of the other *Gods*, and also banish and persecute the seruice of the *Immortall God*, whom the *Christians* doe worship, and you persecute to the death all the embracers of that *Profession*. In the behalfe of these men many of the *Prouinciall Prefects* haue written before vnto our Father of famous memory: to whom he answered, that they should not bee molested, vnlesse they were proved to haue practised *Treason* against the *Emperiall State*: and touching the same matter some haue giuen notice

Antoninus Pius
great defender
of the *Christians*.

Euseb. Histo. lib. 4. cap. 13.

The Edict of
Antoninus for pro-
tection of the
Christians.Iulius Capitol.
Lollius Pius
chose *Cesar*.

Iulius Capitol.

Antoninus Pius
and vertues.

"vnto me; to whom I haue answered with like moderation as my Father did before me. And by this our *Edict* doe we ordaine, that if any hereafter bee found thus busie in molesting these kinde of men without any their offence, we command that hee that is accused vpon this point, be absolved, albeit he be proud to be such a man as he is charged to bee, that is, a *Christian*: and he that is his Accuser shall suffer the same punishment, which he sought to procure vpon the other.

This *Edict* was promulgated at *Ephesus* in the *General Councell* of all *Asia*: so fauourable was this good Emperour to the true *Professours*, and (indeed) to all sorts of men, hauing that *Apothezme* of *Scipio Africanus* rise in his mouth: That he had rather saue one *Subiects* life, then kill a thousand *Enemies*.

(6) He was of Stature tall, of a seemely presence, in countenance Maiesticall, in maners milde, of a sin-

gular wit, verie learned and eloquent; a great louer of *Husbandrie*, peaceable, mercifull and bounteous; in the last of which vertues, he so much exceeded, that thereby he set going whollie his owne priuate estate & demaines, wheratt when his *Empresse* much repined, he told her, that when hee vnderooke the Title and State of an Emperour, he then did forgoe the interest and proprieties of a priuate Person: meaning that a Prince is not much to respect his priuate wealth, so as the publike wealth and welfare of the State may bee aduanced. In fine, this large *Euloge* and praise is fastened on him, that neither in his youth he did anie thing rashly, nor in his age any thing negligently: In which honourable course, hauing raigned twentie and two yeeres, (some say twentie three) seven months, and twentie sixe daies, he died of a feuer at *Lorium* the seuenth of *March*, the yeare of his life seuentie fixe, and of *Christ* one hundred sixtie two.

MARCVS AVRELIVS.

CHAPTER XIX.

Marcus Au-
relius Emp.Calphurnius
Agric. Lieut.

An.Do.162.



from *Pius*, as from his native roote, yet was he his adopted Sonne, and grafted into his Stocke and alliance by the Marriage of his daughter *Faustina*: Hee was the Sonne of *Elivs Verus* who died *Prator*, and whose Pedigree is brought from *Numa Pompilius*, the second *King of Rome*; and his Mother was *Domitilla Camilla*, daughter of *Claudius Tullus*.

Iulius Capitol.
Lollius Pius
chose *Cesar*.

(2) This man chose to him for his Associate in the *Empire*, *Lucius Verus*, the Sonne of *Lucius Ceionius Commodus*, whom *Pius* had adopted (but died before him) and therefore this *Verus* was respectfully commended vnto *Aurelius*; betwixt whose natures and conditions was as much oddes, as betwixt *Day* and *Night*: The one very moderate, louing, and industrious, the other proud, careless and cruell: the fruits whereof, the poore *Christians* felt, whose chiefest pillars, *Polycarpus*, *Bishop of Smyrna*, and *Iustinus Martyr*, an excellent *Philosophy* with infinite more, were put to most cruell deaths; and by him the fourth persecution of *Gods Saints* was begun: whose licentious and bloodie life, lasting in Authority the space of

nine yeares, was cut off by an *Apoplexie* in the presence of *Aurelius* being then in expedition towards *Germanie*, whose *Coin* we haue here expressed as wee finde it minted with his face and reuerie.

(3) *Aurelius* the Emperour following the warres against those, who there reuolted, was inclosed about with his *Enemies*, called the *Quadi*, and suffered great mortalitie both by Pestilence, and much more by want of *Water*, whereby himselfe and Host were almost consumed: At which time many *Christian* Souldiers being in his Campe, and commanded (as *Jonas* was) to call vpon their *God*, they fell prostrate on the ground in prayers, and obtained of him so plenteous a shower of raine, as therewith after five daies extreamest drouth and thirst, the whole *Army* was refreshed, and the *Quadi* contrariwise by *Thunder* & *Lightning* were quite dispersed and ouerthrowne.

(4) This wonder (saith *Eusebius*) is reported euen by those *Historians*, who fauoured not *Christianitie*: and the prudent *Epistle* of the Emperour himselfe, (which hee wrote to the *Senate* for confirmation of this miracle, yet extant) doth warrant the same: whereupon he both mitigated the rage against *Christe Professours*, and (by testimony of *Apollinaris*) named that *Legion* of the *Christians*, for an euertlasting remembrance, *The lightning Legion*.

(5) In his *Raigne* *Calphurnius Agricola* was sent *Lieutenant* into *Britannie*, where the inhabitants sought some alterations of the State, fore repining at the oppressions of the *Romans*. But the Surname *Agricola* reuiuing the remembrances of their former ouerthrowes, so daunted their Courages, that at the presence of the *Generall*, who came amongst them to preuent all occasions, they gaue over their intended enterprise: for which, and for many other his policies there vsd, he worthily deserued great commendations, but (for the most part) the glorie of all such seruices

Aurelius obtai-
ned raine by the
Christians prayer,
Euseb. lib. 5. cap. 5.
Acts and Monu-
ments.Capitolinus.
P. Orosius.
Tertullian.

Terrill by
Onuphr.
Dion. Cassian.

most of the worthiest Emperours before him, nor matchable in qualities by many of the Monarchs that followed him: He died the twentieth day of April the year of our Saviour one hundred eighty one, and

of his owne age fiftie nine: leaving to the world a misse for the present, and to posterities a perpetual memorie of his vertues; and happy had he been, faith Capitellius, had he not left behind him a Sonne.

Valerianus lib. 1.

LIVIVS AELIVS AVRELIVS COMMODOVS ANTONINVS.

CHAPTER XX.



Ann.Dom.
181.
Eutropius.



HE prudent life, and love conceived of so good a Father, gaue hopefull signes and ioiull entrance vnto the Raigne of yong Commodus, his soone degenerating Sonne; who had nothing from him but Nature, and that also much suspected: The knowne

Adulteries of Faustina, his Mother strongly confirming the opinion of Bastardie.

(2) At nineteen yeeres of age, he was inuested Emperor, his raigne not long, but life as loose and impious as the worst: in fortiff pride equalizing Caligula, for intemperancie another Vitellius, and in cruelties a second Domitian. Three hundred Concubines continually he kept, and vpon one of them, named Martia, so doted, that he wore her painted Picture vpon the outside of his Garment; and infliting his money Hercules Commodiano or Romano, which was stamped about the yeere 193. Sometimes (Hercules-like) would shew himselfe robed in a Lions skinne, bearing a Club in his hand in stead of a Scepter. Other whiles wantonly clad in the habit of an Amazon woman; alwaies costly, but seldom ciuill.

(3) The Month August, he named Commodus, September, Hercules, and December, Amazonius, according to his owne or his Concubines names. Commendable in nothing but for his skill in darding, and for some small breathing of the persecuted Christians; which came not of himselfe, but (as Xiphilius writeth) by the mediation of Martia his beloued Concubine, who was found very fauourable to their doctrine: But the outrageous wickednesse of his life made him so hateful to all, as that his death was often plotted; and once by some of the Noblett, with whom Lucilla his owne Sister conspired; for which fact he put her, with the rest of the conspirators, to death. The Empire and all things els he wielded at the discretion of others, attending only his voluptuous pleasures, howsoever the State or Prouinces fared vnder him.

(4) In Britanny the Northern Borderers brake thorow the Wall, and finding the Frontiers but weakly guarded entred the Prouince, where suddenly they surprized the Roman Generalls, and killing many of the Souldiers, ranged the Country, waiting (without resistance) all where they went. Commodus at Rome, hea-

ring these stirres in Britaine roused vp his spirits, and sent one Vlpivs Marcellus to stay their fury; who with great difficulty forced them back beyond the Wall: and seeing the carelesse seruice of the Souldiers, reuiued againe the ancient discipline of Warre, that by long ease had been left off by the Romans. The repressing of this incurfion, as it seemeth by some reuolt of the prouince, was about the yeere of Christ one hundred eighty six, as appeareth by the monies of this Emperour set in the entrance of his life, at which time in memory of some worthy expedition and victory against the Britains he stamped them.

(5) This Lieutenant Marcellus is reported to be of a marvellous great temperance and strange diet; for all the time of his abode here hee would eat no Bread, but such as was baked in Rome, neither slept he more then would maintaine nature, whereby both his private businesse and protects for publike seruices were commonly dispatched by night. Seuerer he was in the execution of his place, not led by fauour of the person, nor staid from iustice by corrupted Bribes, esteeming Money only for necessity, and riches no further then made for publike good: But those his vertues though now with vs they get him honour, yet then did purchase him Ennie with the Emperour. Who line (saith Lampridius) for his Subjects mischiefe and his owne shame: For Commodus hearing Marcellus daily commended, contrived his Praise to be his owne Reproach; and doubting lest he should grow too high, thought good to crop him off betimes, and so sent him Letters of discharge.

(6) The Armie then feeling the raines loose that ere-whiles had bene borne with a stiffer hand, fell straight to a disordered mutinie, and therein proceeded with such boldnesse as they openly refused any longer to acknowledge Commodus for their Soueraigne: At which time Perennius was a chiefe Agent and so ruled all in Rome for the Emperour, as that he entertained a hope to be himselfe (in time) an absolute and sole-ruling Emperour, and hauing now fit occasion offered to spread his power further, he tooke vpon him to redresse these disorders (whilst Commodus wallowed in his lasciuious idleness) and displacing some worthie Captaines at his owne pleasure, sent other persons of meane respect or parts, to command those Legions in Britaine, that formerly had been led by Noble Senators and men of Consular dignity, whereby greater mischiefe began to accrew and ciuill dissensions daily to burst forth, the Armie scorning their

Vlpivs Marcellus sent Lieut. nant into Britaine.

Dion. Cass. lib. 7. Vlpivs Marcellus a man of great vertues.

Lamprid.

Perennius the greatest subduer vnder Commodus.

Perennius delivered to the Brit. Souldiers to be put to death.

Lamprid. Helvius Pertinax sent Lieut. nant into Britaine.

Out of a coine of the Emperours infliting him Brit. in the 8. yeere of his Tribunchip and 4. of his Consulship.

Helvius Pertinax made suit to be discharged of his office.

Histor. magna. lib. 3. cap. 7. Clodius Albinus sent Lieut. nant into Britaine.

vpsitall Commanders, and the Captaines insulting o- uer the Souldiers, (of all sides) the Aides so disquieted, that had the Britaines followed the aduantage, the whole Prouince at that time had been in hazard to be lost: vpon which distractions no lesse then fiftene hundred Souldiers at once went out of the Land to Rome to complaine their wrongs vnto Commodus: where charging Perennius to bee the stirrer of these troubles, with an intent thereby to raise himselfe or his sonne to the Emperiall Maieity (a string that cannot be touched without found in a Soueraignes care) they were so farre heard and beleueed that Perennius was to them deliuered to be put to death, which accordingly they accomplished with all extremity.

(7) Then was sent for Lieutenant into Britaine Helvius Pertinax, a man of low birth, but high Fortunes, being risen from the state of a common Souldier, to the dignity of a Consul, and had been Commander before that time ouer many Prouinces. Him had Perennius discharged from Britaine, and with disgrace sent and confined into Liguria where hee was borne, whose credit Commodus again with such fauours repaired, that he gaue him the Sirname Britannicus, which glorious title also himselfe had taken about the yeere 184. At his first entrance and arriage, he assayed by rough hand to suppress the rebellions of the Army, and aduentured his person so farre in some tumults that he was stricken downe and left for dead: but afterwards proceeding with better aduice he composed those troubles with most seuerer punishments of the principall offenders: whereby notwithstanding he presently grew odious to all, and thereupon so far feared his own safety, that he made suit to the Emperour to be discharged of his Lieutenantship.

(8) Vnto him succceeded Clodius Albinus in the Government of Britaine, a man of great birth, forward enough, and fortunate, for which the Emperour Commo-

dus either vpon fauor or feare, did honour him with the title of Caesar, though Albinus seemed vnwilling to accept of the same, and afterwards discovered his disposition more openly in approving the Ancient and free state of the Romans. For vpon a false report of the death of Commodus, he made an Oration to the Legions in Britanny in fauour of the Senate, whole kind of Government he much commended and preferred before the rule of the Emperours: Of which his affection when Commodus vnderstood, he sent Iulius Seuerus in all hast, to take charge of the Armie: and Albinus retired himselfe from all publike affaires, vntill the death of Commodus, which not long after followed, and was wrought vpon this occasion: He hauing assigned many to die, and to that end had inrolled their names in a scroll, it chanced Martia his Concubine to light on the same, wherein the saw her selfe allotted for one: And reuealing this his purpose to others, that stood in the same list, and in the like danger; they together thought best to secure their owne liues by his death: and with poison, stabs and strangling made him away, when he had liued one and thirty yeeres, foure moneths, and viciously reigned thirteene yeeres eight moneths and fifteen daies, the yeere of Christs nativity one hundred ninety and three: the night before the Kalends of Ianuarie.

(9) Of stature he was indifferently tall, of a fine constitution of Body, very faire of complexion, with cleere eyes and golden locks, neither in person nor in Princely parts resembling his Father: How ioiull the death of this Tyrant was both to People and Senate, their execrations pronounced against him; and their assemblies in the Temples to giue thanks for their deliuerance, do manifest, as is at large reported by Lampridius, who wrote his life, and titled by al, Hostis humani Generis, The enemy of Mankind: The very name of the diuell.

Clodius Albinus more off. Aug. Senators their Emperours.

Iulius Seuerus Deputy.

Commodus purpose discovered by his Concubine.

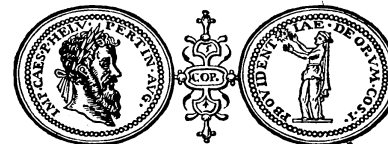
Eutrop. Lamprid. Maximus.

Commodus his portraiture.

Lampridius, Maximus.

PVBLIVS HELVIVS PERTINAX.

CHAPTER. XXI.



An. Do. 194.



PON the person of this Helvius Pertinax, (of whom we are now to speake) Fortune (as it seemeth) meant to make the full experience of her power, and from a very slender foundation to raise the building of her owne Pride: His birth was but poore, and parents as meane, whose Father from a seruile condition got to be free, and traded in Mercury wares for his liuing: himselfe educated according to his birth rose by degrees to mount the Chaire of all worldly glory, and to be the Monarch of the whole world.

(2) At first a Schoole-master, and taught the Grammar; next a Civil-Lawyer, and pleaded causes in Courts; and lastly, a Martial-man, and serued in Campe: where Fortune attended him with such fauourable successe, that within fise daies, out of the rank of a common Souldier he was preferred to bee Captaine of a Cohort, in the Syrian warres against the Parthians, which ended, he was imploied into Britannie, Aflisia, and Germany, and also had charge in chiefe of a Fleece vpon the Flemmish Seas: he serued likewise in Dacia, with such honourable proofe of his valour, as that wife Emperour Marcus Aurelius held him in high esteeme, and afterward made him Senator of Rome. Then was hee assigned Gouvernour of all Syria and Asia, the greatest place of Credit and reputation that might be; and from thence sent againe into

Dion. Cass. lib. 7.

Commodus altered the Months.

Ensch. lib. 5. cap. 19.

Alex. and Monuments.

Cassiodor.

Commodus his qualities.

into Britaine, chosen out as the principall man, of note for to stay the Commotions there raised against *Commodus*, where in the Field he was left for dead : but thence also returning after hee had gouerned foure feuerall *Consular Provinces*, was created *Proconsull* of *Africa*, and immediately after *Præfett* of *Rome*. Neither yet made he his stand there, (though the greatest of any subiectiue degree) till hee had mounted the *Throne* of *Maiefty*, and had obtained the command ouer *All* : which fell to his lot by the death of *Commodus*; and by the meanes of *Martia*, *Ælius Lætus*, and other Conspirers of his end.

(3) For the Murder being done in the dead of the night, *Lætus* in great haste repaired to *Pertinax* his lodging; at whose sight the Old man in bed, expected nothing but Death, as supposing him sent from *Commodus* to no other end. But *Lætus* saluted him by the vnexpected name of *Emperour*, carrying him with acclamations vnto the *Army*, and in the morning to the *Senate*, where, of them all with great ioy, he was confirmed *Augustus*.

(4) His first businesse was to bridle the Licentious liues of the *Prætorian Cohorts*; & iniuries done by them vnto the *Romane Citizens*, which gained him such hatred, that it was cause of his death : For these men growne disordered and lawlesse in the raigne of *Commodus*, held themselves wronged, to be now locked vnder the constraint of *Læwes* ciuill Gouernement : and these only enuied the peace & prosperity of *Pertinax*, whereas all the *Provinces* abroad at the very hearing of his Election, and fame of his *Imperiall* vertues, laid aside their weapons, and desired to embrace peace with a *Prince* so nobly qualified.

(5) The first that conspired against his life, was one *Falco*; whom notwithstanding hee freely forgave, yet punished certaine *Souldiers* thereto necessary : whereupon, the rest assembling themselves in tumultuous and furious manner, with their drawn swords inuaded his *Palace*. Hee seeing their purposes fought no escapes, but defending the *Palace*, met them in the bale Court : At whose presence and Maiesty they were much amazed, and a while made a stand : vnto whom with great grauity, and without shew of any feare, he thus spake vnto them.

(6) *Souldiers* and *Companions*, if you come to kill me, (as I thinke you doe) you shall therein perforce an act neither valorous, nor otherwise very commendable for you, no, nor any way grieuous vnto my selfe, for euery mans life hath his limit, and to mine, by *Natures* course, the last period cannot be farre: Or thinke you that I feare death, who now am so ripened for it, and haue already gotten the very height of all renouue vnto my Name? Surely

“ you are deceived : but at this I grieue, that my life and short time of Gouernment, which I had deuoted to the good of all, should seeme so disgustfull vnto any, as to deserue a violent and hastned death, especially by you, who are by office, the *Guarders* of my Person : you (I say) whose charge and Oath is, to secure your *Soueraigne* from perill, and now seek to sheath your Swords in his breast, shall either leaue a Testimony of my bad life deseruing it, or brand your places with such stains of Treason, as Time shall neuer weare away. And what I pray is mine offence for maintaining your *Læwes*? why, it was the charge your felices imposed vpon me. Are *Læwes* so strait? surely, not to the virtuous, who are euen a *Law* vnto themselves : are they needlesse? why then were they made? and being made, why should they not be executed? If the death of *Commodus* grieue you, was I the cause? If he were made away by *Treason*, your felices are conscious of my innocency. And this I assure you, in the word of a *Prince*, that his death shall deprive you of nothing, which you require, if you require nothing but that which is honest and iust. My life, whilst I was a *Subiect*, was spent with you in *Warre*, now (being your *Soueraigne*) is consumed with cares for your Peace : which if you free me of, by taking it away, my troubles shall thereby end, but your conscience shall begin to grone vnder the guilt of blood : and perchance bee touched with *too late Repentance*.”

(7) His words were spoken with such a mouing grauity, and vnmooued resolution, that the formost in the attempt gaue back, and were ashamed of their audacious enterprise, but the rest furiously driuing forward, one *Trullus* with a *Lance* ran him into the *Breast*, whereupon *Pertinax* couering his Head with his robe, quietly yielded his body to the traitorous strokes of them all, and so died that poore, old, and innocent *Emperour*. The yeeres of his life, saith *Iulius Capitolinus*, were sixty, seuen moneths, and twenty five daies: But *Dio*, *Spartianus* and *Herodian* accounteth them to extend to sixty eight : *Eusebius* to aboute seuenity. The like disagreement there is for the short time of his Gouernment : for *Eusebius* saith that he reigned not fully six Moneths : *Eutropius* saith but three : *Iulius Capitolinus* and *Aurelius Victor*, eighty five daies : *Dio*, *Herodian*, and *Spartianus*, two Moneths and twenty eight daies : how long so euer, thus hee liued, and thus he died, the fift *Calends* of *April*.

(8) He was of an honorable and Maiefticall presence, strong of body, large and full breasted, long bearded, curle-headed, smooth of Speech, and indifferently eloquent.

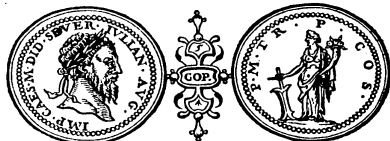
Pertinax killed by his Souldiers

Pertinax his raigme.

Euseb. li. 5. c. 29. Eutrop. l. 8.

DIDIVS IULIANVS.

CHAPTER XXII.



An.Do.194.



HE state of man continually attended with vn certaine chance, apparently doth shew, the weak condition that nature enioiceth, and with what vn surenesse the fear of maiesty is posselt, as is scene by the precedent *Emperour*, who sitting at peace in his Pa-

lace at *Rome*, renowned, beloued, and guarded with the strengths of *Europe*, *Asia*, *Africa*, *Aegypt*, and *Greece*, was notwithstanding surprisid and slaine at noone day, by a *Band* of *Souldiers*, not much exceeding the number of three hundred, and all escaping unpunished, the deed was so suddaine and mens minds so distracted, that it could not be fully beleued, though witnessed by sight.

(2) The *Senators* mistrusting each others, abandoned the *Citie*, and the *Citizens* in secret secured them-

Active Spartianus Proclamation for the sale of the Empire, Didius Iulianus buyeth the Empire of the Roman Souldiers.

Didius Iulianus his impliments in State before he was Emperour.

Syria chuseth their Generall. Germany chuseth theirs.

themselves, all in an vpror, but none for reuenge of the treason : The *murderers*, in as great feare as any, fortified their *Campe*, and with weapons in hand stood vpon their guard : But seeing all in a maze, and nothing against them attempted, a further boldnesse (the like before neuer heard of) ensued: for by a *Common Crier* they made *Proclamation* for the sale of the *Empire*, to any man that would giue them most: which offer was readily accepted by *Didius Iulianus* (a man of much more wealth then honesty of life, and a Lawyer, saith *Eusebius*) who with larger promises than euer were performed, obtained the *Imperiall* Diadem.

(3) His birth was in *Millen*, the sonne of *Petrinus* *Seuerus*, his mother *Clara Emilia*, and himselfe brought vp in seruice vnder *Domitia Lucilla*, the mother of *Marcus Aurelius*, by whose fauours, he was first made *Questor*, next *Edile*, & then *Prætor* in *Rome*. In *Germany* as a *Captaine* hee seru'd vnder *Aurelius*, then was he appointed *Gouernour* of *Dalmatia*, *Bithinia*, and of the *Lower Germany*, and was *Consul* with *Pertinax*, and afterwards *Proconsul* in *Africa*. These were his risings and meanes to that *Maiesty*, which not long he kept : for hated in *Rome* and not approoued abroad, *Syria* chose for *Emperour* their owne *Generall*, *Pescennius Niger*; *Germany*, *Septimius Seuerus*. By whose consene *Clodius Albinus* leader of the *Britaine* *Armie* was first elected *Cæsar*, and then his fellow in the *Empire*, whereby the *Eagle*, the fairest of *Birds*

became monstrous, and in one *Body* bore three *Heads*.

(4) For *Albinus* at that time hauing gotten againe the government of *Britaine*, where erecting his owne *Statues* and stamping his picture in his *Coynes*, gaue great suspection that he intended to be a *Competitor*, and with his *Army* a force meant to haue gained the *Emperiall* seat it selfe, by aduantage of *Septimius* forces, absent in suppressing of *Pescennius*, which to diuert inforced *Seuerus* vntill better opportunity, to declare *Albinus* his companion, for he much more feared him then either of the former : Because *Didius* in *Rome*, and *Pescennius* in *Antioch* consumed their times in banquetting, and vnmartiall disports, whilst *Albinus* managed his office most souldierlike, and was highly esteemed and honored of them.

(5) *Seuerus* hauing towards *Rome*, was met in *Italy* by *Ambassadors* from *Didius*, with faire offers of peace, and possession of halfe the *Empire*: but refusing compulsion and making still forward, the *Senate* that so lately declared him a traitor, now proclaimed him an *Emperour*: And the *Souldiers* vnatisfied of the couenanted promises, and in hope to purchase fauour with *Seuerus*, slew their *Chapman* *Didius* in his *Palace*, the *Calends* of *Iulie*, being but five daies after he had done himselfe as much for *Pertinax*, when he had reigned, as *Eutropius* saith, seuen months : *Spartianus* saith but two, and *Dio* fixty six daies : the yeere of his age fifty seuen, and of our *Sauours* appearing in our flesh, one hundred ninety and foure.

Albinus Gouernour of Britaine; a Competitor for the Empire.

Seuerus wastell warre for the Empire. Relucteth composition. He is proclaimed Emperour.

Iulianus slaine. His raigme continuance. Eutropius, Spartianus, Dio.

Clodius Albinus.



SEPTIMIUS SEVERVS

CHAPTER. XXIII.



Sept. Seuerus.

An.Do.194.



SEuerus hauing by this bloody accident of the giddie multitude gained with more facility then he expected, the fatal seat of gouernment, it was his next in place to suppress *Pescennius* by force, and *Albinus* by fallhood : whose Actions & liues since they hapned with this *Emperour*, and ended with his sword, I will record together, beginning with *Caius Pescennius* first, since first he fell vnder the fortune of this man.

This olde man in the yeere of *Christ* one hundred ninety foure, was elected *Emperour* by Acclamation of the *Syrian Armie*, of which (though begun but by a handful in respect of all the other *Emperiall* forces) hee had good hope, since to the honor of that *Godde* he dedicated the first marke of his Soueraigntie, the minting of his mony.

A person he was of seemly stature, louchly feature and faire skinn, except his Neck, which differing so farre from the rest gaue him the surname of *Niger*: his complexion was ruddy, his Body fat, his voice fo piercing, that it would be heard a mile off : and his haire for more ornament long hee wore in reflected curls vpon his shoulders. A commendable souldier and well bearing himselfe in the military offices hee vnderwent. In his *Lieutenancy* abroad he was seuer, and at home he so well acted his part when hee was *Consul*, as in his Clemency and Iustice hee seemed emulous of *Pertinax*. Thus all his life he enioied the goodnesse of his merit and fortune, and had not his ambition begun, where his yeeres were ending, had so parted : For no sooner had hee put on the Robe *Emperiall*, but *Seuerus* defeated his *Armie* at *Cizicum*, pursued him to *Antioch*, and tooke him at *Euphrates*, sending to *Bizantium* his head a *Trophie* of the Conquest, and to his wife, children, and followers (vnto whom at first this *Victor* granted banishment) in the end denied life.

(1) Now as soone as *Seuerus* made his approach neer *Rome*, he gaue command that the *Prætorian Cohorts* should attend him disarmed, which done, he vehemently checked them for their proditorious treachery against *Pertinax*, and pronouncing sentence, depriued them both of name, honor, and armes of *Souldiers*, and banished them from *Rome*, and the circuit thereof for one hundred miles distance : which act of his

Zz. 2 wonne

wonne him such reputation, that in Rome the whole Story of *Pertinax* his ruine, and *Seuerus* his aspiring to his Throne, was at large portraited in an excellent peece of worke, of folide molten brasse, as *Herodian* relateth, though he ascribeth the occasion of it, to a dreame of *Seuerus*.

(2) Those two obiects *Didius* and *Niger*, who gaue some hinderance to *Seuerus* his beginning, being thus defeated of their high hopes; the third, which was *Albinus*, seemed now a more dangerous cloud, which would altogether ouer-cast his brightnesse & glory, if it were not dispersed or blown back in time: and therefore to make faire weather with him, hee created him *Cæsar* and his Successor in the Empire, but afterwards his good fortunes thus swelling in the East, and himselfe still courted by Ambassadors from all parts, with their tender of subiection, he began to grow proud, and to disdain any Copartner in State: and thereupon first secretly fought the destruction of his *Cæsar*; which Raigne, he then proclaimed him Traitor and Enemy to Rome.

Albinus made
Successor in the
Empire.
His death
placified.

Proclaimed
Traitor.
He wagell went
against Seuerus.

(3) *Clodius Albinus* brought into these vnexpected dangers, prepared his strengths, and with the choice of all Britaine entred France, and nere vnto *Lions* tooke the field against the Emperour, but with no better successe, then *Pescennius* had done in Asia the lesse, in the same place (as *Herodian*, *Eutropius* and *Spartianus* asseme) where *Darius* was first ouerthrowne by *Alexander*. The Armies ioining, a bloody Battaille was fought, which through the great prowess of the Britains went at first for fore against *Seuerus*, that being beaten off his Horse, despairing of *Victorie*, and almost of Life, cast off his Imperiall Robe, and flying, ignobly hid himselfe. Let us one of *Seuerus* his Captaines, kept aloofe all this while, of purpose as was thought, to bring the Emperour to ruine, and now vpon report that hee was slaine, came on most furiously with his forces, in hope of winning both the day, and the Empire to himselfe: whereupon the Emperour drawne againe into the field, the day was his by the meanes, but not the meaning of *Letus*: whom on attainer of his Treason he afterward put to the sword. That day a great part of the flower of Britaine was slaine, together with their valiant Leader *Albinus*, a Captaine of exemplary Seuerity and Marciall discipline, a great admirer of *Hannibal* and *Marius*; for the *Scipio*'s he thought them rather fortunate then valiant, and in the time of his seruice in this Island, there was no toile which hee commanded his souldiers, but himselfe would beare therein a part, euen in carrying of burdens on his Backe: and yet so farr from vaunting of his valour, as that when an Historian would haue recorded his noble Acts, he willed him to write of theirs who were already dead, whom he need not to flatter, holding it a foppery to write of those, of whose fauour or wrath the Indiers stood in hope or feare: Being such a one, no maruaile if *Seuerus* so feared him, as he did, which he shewed euen after hee was slaine, by putting incredible numbers of great Personages both in the City and Provinces to death, with this one Pretence, for all that they wished well to *Albinus*.

Albinus vanquished
by Seuerus.

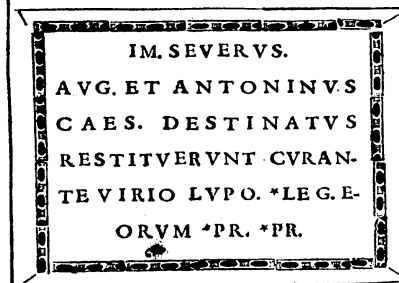
After this ouerthrow *Seuerus* forthwith sent *Heracianus* hither, to keepe the rest of the Britains in quiet, and to be Lieutenant in *Albinus* his roome, as *Spartianus* write ch: Of whose affaires therein little remembrance is left, onely it seemeth by a Coine of *Seuerus* minted in his second Consulship, which fell in the yeere of our Sautiour one hundred ninety eight, and about the period of this his last Competitor, that the Britains gaue not at first their seruice and seruitude to this man, vntill he had made the purchase of it by his sword; the brand of which he hath left to posterity in figuring the Goddesse *Victorie* seated vpon spoiles, and writing in a field, *Victoria Britan*.

Spartianus.

Virus Lupus
made President
of Britaine.

Vnto this Lieutenant *Virus Lupus* succeeded President of Britaine, as *Vipian* the Lawyer termes him, and was about the yeere of Christ one hundred ninety seuen, as appeareth by this Inscription erected at

Olinaca amongst the *Brigantes*, in memory of the reedifying of that place by this Emperour and his eldest Sonne, then first designed *Cæsar*, by which the time is discovered, and in this stone inscribed.



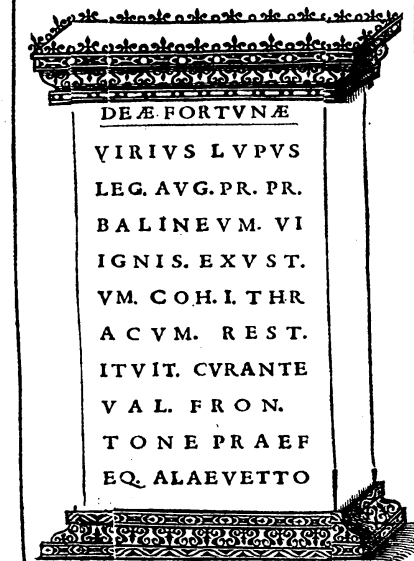
Heke in Toph.
Dure.

Legatio.

Pro Pretore.

*Ravet vnder
Stammore in Rich-
mondshire.

(4) This man strengthened the Prouince especially in the North, with many strong Castles, repairing many places ruined either by fire or fury of the bordering wades: Of which **Laus Ra*, where the first Cohort of the *T. brasians* lay, was one, as appeareth by this Altar there erected to the Goddesse *Fortune*, and since removed to *Conington* the house of *Sir Robert Cotton* in *Huntingdonshire*.



He warred against the *Maate* and North Britains with such bad successe, that he was forced to redeeme his peace with money, and was so much weakened by losse of his men, that he sent to Rome for present supply, with relation of his great danger, and the Enemies strength: which newes touched *Seuerus* to the quick; and notwithstanding his yeeres (sixty at the least) and gout wherewith hee was continually grieved, yet would he vndergoe that iourney in person himselfe, as well to satiate his owne vaine glorious humours, as to traine his Sonne *Basianus* from his licentious life, wherein hee wallowed idly in Rome, who together with his brother *Geta*, accompanied their Father into Britaine.

Basianus why
brought into
Britaine.

Emilius Papinianus
a famous
Lawyer.

(5) The Britains then hearing of the Emperors approach, sent him their Embassage for intreaty of peace

peace, whereby the Island might haue been settled and secured without blood, but the old man (saith *Sabellius*) had so vnchangeable a desire to beare the glorious Sirname of *Britannicus*, that he preferred warre, and accepted not their proffered subiection.

(6) *Seuerus* thus entred, *Geta* was appointed to remaine in the South of the Prouince, and to gouerne those parts that stood in quiet, assisted by *Emilius Papinianus* the famous Lawyer, whose *Tribunall* seat was held in *Yorkeshire* himselfe and *Basianus* marching further into the North against the *Maate* and *Caledonians* their neighbours, both which bare themselves boldly vpon the aduantage of their Countries, their waters brackish, and vnholosome drinke for their Enemies, the aire sharpe and contagious to their constitutions, and the soile it selfe so pestred with Loughs, Bogs, Meares, and Mountaines, that the Romans were forced to make way by continuall Labour, in cutting downe Woods, in building of Bridges, and in draining of Meares, so that by distemperature of diet, continuall labour, contagiousnesse of Aire, and afflictions by sicknesse, fifty thousand of them perished, and that without Battaille, saith *Dio*: many Souldiers also, whose spirits were spent, and through feeblenesse could not keepe ranke in their March, were for meere pittie slaine by their fellows, left they should fall into the hands of their Enemies.

Fifty thousand
of Seuerus army
dead through
weake some labor
and sicknesse.

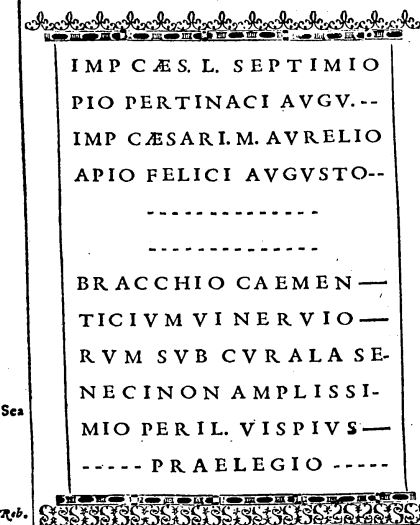
Sabellius.

Herodian.

Caledonians
delire peace.

(7) These miseries, notwithstanding old *Seuerus* indured and fought many Battailles, but (as *Sabellius* confesseth) euer with more difficulties to the Romans then to the Britains, and yet in some small skirmishes he went away *Victor*, and continued his courses with such resolution, that lastly the *Caledonians* thought good to intreat their peace, which vpon these conditions was granted: first, that they should forthwith lay aside all hostile Armes, without any further resistance: next, that they should deliuer into the Romans Possession, those Countries that were next abutting on their Prouince: and lastly, that thenceforth they should liue in quiet, attempting nothing against the publicke Peace.

(8) The State thus settled, *Seuerus* bethought himselfe of some further meanes to secure the Prouince, by building many In-land strengths anew, and repairing those with Stone and Cement which formerly were but of Turfe and earth, as appeareth by this Inscription found in the Ruines of one of his workes nere vnto the Riuer *Vra*, in the County of *Richmond* erected.



A wall from Sea
to Sea.

Herodian.
Spartian.
Virus Lupus de Toph.
Ang. lib. 2.
H. B. B. B. B.

And neglecting the uttermost and vast Northerne parts of this Island, drew a Wall or Fortification, which might serue as a Rampire and diuision betwixt the savage and more ciuill people, stretching it selfe thorow the whole Island, euen from Sea to Sea; that is, from the Bay of *Tan* (otherwise *Solweyfrith*) in Scotland, to the doore of *Tine* or *Tinnmouth*, containing in length One hundred thirty and two Miles, as *Sextus Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and others account them, and by some more. This Wall he built of Turfes and Timber strongly fenced with Bulwarkes and Turrets, nere vnto (if not vpon) the foundation of *Adrians Wall*, the tract wherof thorow the Countries of *Westmorland* and *Northumberland*, is more pleasing to be scene, then easie in word to be exprest. For which his Aits thus heere attchieued about the yeere of grace two hundred and eleuen, he assumed to himselfe his much desired Sirname *Britannicus Maximus*, causing in his owne and his sonnes Coines that inscription to be stamped.

Seuerus turne
med Britannicus
Maximus.

(9) And according to posteritie the glory of his first atchieuement heere, vpon the reuerie of those his monies, whereon he sometimes formed a Trophy erected vpon spoiles with two Captives, vnder setting the word *VICT. BRIT.* sometimes a winged *Victorie*: graving a Shield, hung on that tree which is the meede of Conquerours, *VICTORIAE BRITANNICAE*: and sometimes in such a forme and phraze as is exprest in the entrance of this life. And now retired to *York*, he left his eldest sonne to finish this worke of warre by him begun, as being rather alliaied then altogether ended.

Basianus disloy-
altie.

(10) *Basianus* thus set in the one part of the Island, as *Geta* was in the other, fought rather to gaine the affections of his Army, by a loose libertie to doe what they list, then to maintain the trust reposed on him, by the restraint of Marciall Discipline, and exaction of Military duties: hoping by such his plausibilitie and indulgence, to purchase to himselfe their best concurrence for the obtaining of the Empire, which hee so thirsted after, as that hee often tampered with them to raise him, by the fall of his father.

Caledonians
rebell.

(11) The *Caledonians* vnderstanding the dissolutenesse of his Campes, and the want of a better Captaine, suddenly assailed the Romans, putting many to the sword, and taking great booties, (which they dispersed amongst their neighbours) without any regard of the obligation of their former Covenants: wherat the restle old man was so much diquieted, and so farre enraged to reuenge, that hee gaue an expresse charge to make a generall Massacre, without exception of any; vling in his speech to his Souldiers, these verses borrowed out of *Homer*:

A generall Mass-
acre of them
by Seuerus.

*Nemo manus fugiat vestras, cademq; cruentam:
Non setus, grandis Mater quem gestat in aluo,
Horrendam effugiat cadem.*

Let none escape your bloody rage, with terror let all die:
Spare not the mother, nor the child that in her womb doth lie.

(12) This (which seemeth to haue bene the worke of *Seuerus* second yeere in Britannie, Anno two hundred and twelue for so it is exprest vpon the monies of himselfe and sonnes) may (and with a fit and easie inference from the same authoritie) seeme to haue bene heere the fortune and effect of two encounters and Conquests that same yeere: for whether we obserue the two seuerall coines of victorie then minted, on one of which is the Statue of that armed and winged Goddesse, at whose feet are two Captives prostrate bound; or the other bearing on it a double figure of that Lady, graving the sculpture of the former, *VICT. BRIT.* vpon a Shield, it can conclude no lesse in probability.

(13) *Seuerus* remaining in *York*, where the Sixth Legion called *Victrix* kept, which place afterwards grew to be one of the chieftest for account among the *Brigantes*, as commonly the Stations of the Romans Colonies were the feed-plots of all our Cities, and principal Townes) grew feeble and sicke, being weakened with age, and wearied with trauell, his maladic more increa-

The feed-plots
of our Cities
and Townes.

Bassianus disloial

Seuerus his
speech to his
Counsell and
Captaines.

Spartianus.

increasing by the disturbances of the *Enemie*, and the daily disloialtie of *Bassianus* his sonne, in somuch that despairing of life, hee called his *Counsell* and *Captaines* before him, and vnderlaied with pillows, he thus addressed his speech.

(14) Eightene yeeres almost haue I wielded the affaires of the *Empire*, and borne on my shoulders the burden of her encombred estate, both at home and abroad; at my first entrance, troubled euery where, now at length quiet, euen here in *Britaine*, the most vniquiet and molestious Prouince of all: The profit of which triuels I must now leaue for others to enioy, and wish ease in peace to keepe that which I with care and warre haue gotten. If therefore amity and mutuall concord, be embraced (the only finewes of a *Common-wealth*) the glory of the *Empire* shall yet shine more bright, fith by concord we see that small things grow to greatnesse, whereas contrariwise, discord is the ruine of all. I die and must leaue the successe of all to my Successors and Sonnes by *Nature*, though the *Elder vnswall*: I meane *Bassianus* new made *Antoninus* and your *Emperour*, who often ere this hath fought to gaine that title by his sword and my death, but knoweth not the dangers that attend a *Diadem*, neither remembreth that high places are continually garded with Enuie and Feares. But so blind is Ambition, as it seeth not that a Soueraignes greatnesse is such vnto others, but least in himselfe, and that the things possessed are not the very things they seemed: It is not these *Titles* therefore can make man happy, the line of his life being drawne forth with so many vnccertainties, and the height of his power laied vpon so weake foundations. My selfe at this instant may serue for example, of whom this may be said, *I was all things, yet nothing*, seeing I must pay my debt to *Nature*, and leaue my exploits in *East* and *West* to be registred (either at your disposall) for matters of moment, and good of the *Empire*, or blotted to the reproch of my gouernement, with the shadowing pencile of Obluion. That therefore my care for the welfare of this State may suruiue my selfe, and bring forth the happie fruits thereof when I am withered, this shall be my last and onely request, that you will eueraffist my sonnes both with your counsell and aide, whereby they may rule according to *Lawe*, and you obay according to *Right*, that so in you both, the good of the *Empire* be about all things respected. With which words hee ended both his

speech and his life.

(15) This *Emperour* by Historians is rancked with the best, both for his wartes, wherein hee was verie fortunate, and for his wisdom in gouerning the *Empire*: and yet is he taxed very sharply both by *Sabellius* for sundry vices, and by *Eusebius* for stirring vp the fift *Persecution* of the *Christians* in the tenth yeere of his Raigne. In which *Irenius* the learned writer, among many others, suffred Martyrdome: howbeit, towards his end, he became more milde to them, as faith *Saint Ierome*: as also that he was a diligent reader of the excellent workes of *Tertullian*, whom usually he termed his *Master*.

(16) This *Emperour* was by birth an *African*, to which Country his affection & graces were so much, that the illustrious Citie of those parts, recorded vpon their coyns his many fauours by this Inscription, *INDVLGENTIA AVG. IN CARTH.* and inshrined him amongst the Gods of that Nation. He was the sonne of *Geta*, his mother *Pia Fulvia*: himselfe rough, cruell, couetous, and ambitious, and his nature, relishing too much of the Punick craft and simulation: otherwise a most expert Soldiour, and a worthy Prince, more battles hee fought, and more victories obtained, then any other that euer had ruled before him the *Romane Empire*. In a word, of vertues and vices so equally composed, that lastly this grew into a customd speech: *It had beene good that this Emperour had neuer bene borne, or beeing Emperour, that hee had neuer died.*

(17) Of stature he was tall, and of a comely personage, his countenance seuer and representing Maiesty, his beard white and long, and the haire of his head he wore vsually curled. He was very learned in the *Mathematicks*, a good Philosopher, an eloquent Orator, and of a deep sounding voice. Hee reigned eightene yeeres (faith *Eusebius*) by *Dion Cassius*, *Herodian*, and *Eutropius*, seuenteen yeeres, eight months, and odde daies. He died in *York*, the fourth day of April, in the yeere of Christ two hundred and twelue, not so much of sickness, as of discontent and greefe, or (if our *British* writers may be credited) of a deadly wound given by *Fulgence*, Captaine of the *Picts*, who as the *Monke of Chester* faith, was brother to *Martia*, the first wife of *Seuerus* and mother of *Bassianus*. His second wife was *Iulia Domna* the mother of *Geta*, (though some thinke that she was mother to both) a woman of a surpassing beauty, and an earnest instigator of the two Bretherens reconciliation, had she not been blemished with other vices, as after we shal here.



MARCVS



{ M. AVRE. BAS. CARA. ANTO. BRIT. }
{ P. SEPT. ANTONI. GETA BRIT. } Brethren.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Bassianus
Caracalla.Septimus
Geta.

An. Do. 212.



Bassianus Caracalla, and his Brother *Septimus Geta*, together were declared *Emperours* by old *Seuerus* in his lifetime, and both of them by their father surname *Antoninus*, a name very gracious in the esteeme of the *Romans*, the elder so stiled about the yeere of Saluation two hundred and fise, and the younger foure yeeres after, (as it appeareth by the minage of their moneys,) were approued and applauded by people and *Senate*, and of all men saluted and acknowledged for *Emperours*. *Bassianus* the Elder, stiling himself *Britannicus Maximus*, as it should seem, was admitted his Fathers fellow *Emperour* at *York* at his residing there, to quiet the Northern *Britains*; wherein also hee gaue him the name *Antoninus*, for so implieth that famous Law, bearing iointlie the names of *Seuerus* and *Antoninus*, enacted by them at *York*, touching the interest and right that matters haue to the goods and possessions of their seruants. His mother, the first wife of *Seuerus*, was *Martia* a *British* Lady (say our *British* Historians, though *Sabellius* doth iudge her to be an *African*) and himselfe better beloued of the *Britains* for her sake, then for his owne.

Geta was the sonne of the *Empresse Iulia*, a second wife, a woman of passing beautie and surpassing lust, who being perswaded (by some Oracle or dreame) that her husband successefull should be an *Antoninus*, lest her Sonne should lose his hope of the *Empire*, she importuned *Seuerus* to bestow the name of *Antoninus* also on *Geta*, who with it gaue him likewise the title of *Cesar*, about the yeere two hundred and two.

And to vnite the affections of his two sons, as well as to eternise their memories, he minted their features vpon one Medall, inscribing the one side *ANTONINVS PIVS AVG. PON. TR. P. IIII.* the other, *P. SEPT. GETA. CAES. PON. TR. P. IIII.* hauing the yeere before matched the together vpon the reuerse of his owne money, and incirculing their heads with this word, *AETERNITAS IMPERI.* as if the separation of their affections were the dissolution of his and the worlds *Empire*.

(2) Vpon *Seuerus* his death, *Antoninus Caracalla*, hastning for *Rome*, proffered good conditions of peace to the *Britains*, who long tired with warres accepted thereof, and hostages were given for conseruing the same. Whereupon the *Empresse Iulia* accompanied with both the *Cesars*, departed hence, carrying with them the funeral ashes of the deceased *Emperour* in a golde *Urna* to *Rome*, where they solemnly consecrated him a *God*: the ceremony wherof (because it concerneth so great an *Emperour* and *Monarch* of this kingdome) is not vnworthy the inferring.

In the Porch of his *Palace* was a bedstedd all of *Iuory*, dressed with richest bedding and furniture of gold, wherein was laied his image portrayed to the life, but yet in manner of a sicke man. On the left side fate all the Senators and Princes in blacke mourning weeds; on the right, all the great Ladies, cladde in white (which then was the mourning colour of that Sexe.) The Physicians diligently comming to visit him, and feeling his pulse, as if he were aliue, doe signifie that his disease did still increase vpon him. This they all did seuen daies together: at last, as if then hee were dead, all the prime of the Nobility carrie him in his *Iuorie Bed* to the *Forum*, where all the *Patrician youth*, & Noble *Virgins*, incompassed him with noft

Herodian.
Sabellius.Forum was the
chiefe place of
publicke mee-
tings and plead-
ings.

dolefull Hymnes and ruefull ditties. Thence againe he was removed to *Mars his field*, where was erected a four-square frame of Timber, of a huge height and compass, the stories still mounting to the toppe with sundry ascents, and richly beautified with strange varieties of gold and purple ornaments, and images of great Art and price: On the second of which ascents, was placed the *Emperours* said Bed and Statue, with infinite store of sweetest odours, brought thither from all parts of the Citie: which done, the young Nobles brauely mounted on Horsebacke, rid round about in a kinde of dance or measure, and another fort likewise (who represented great Princes) in their Coaches, whereupon his successor in the Empire, first setting fire to the frame, forthwith all the people did the like on all sides: and when the whole began to be on flame, an Eagle secretly enclosed within, was let fly out of the toppe, which soaring a great height, and out of sight, the people followed it with shouts and praises, supposing that therewith the *Emperours* soule was carried vp to heauen. And thus *Seuerus*, which was before a man of Gods making, was now become a God of mans making: and the more to preferue the memory of his fathers glory, *Caracalla* erected a magnificent Edifice, which he inscribed *Seuerus his Porch*, wherein with most exquisite Art, and admired workmanship, were portrayed all his Fathers warres and triumphs, achieued here in *Britaine* or elsewhere.

Sabellius.

(3) But presently after, these two vngodly sonnes of this new supposed God, so much emulated each others glory, that the deadly sparkes of enuy, blowne a long time with the bellows of their ambitious desires, brake out into the flames of murder and blood, being brethren by one Father, but not by the same mother (as it is said) & in this only like, that they were both starke naught, though both in contrarie kinds of *Pices*. And albeit the *Empresse Julia* had sought by all meanes to make peace betwixt them, both formerly, here in *Britaine*, and now, after their returne to *Rome*: yet the desire of a sole sovereignty, had bene a long time so rooted in *Basianus* his heart (for which he had twice attempted his Fathers life, and so much hated his death, that hee slew his *Physicians*, because they had dispatched him no sooner) could not indure an equall (much lesse a conforter) in authority, and therefore in the Court and in the armes of the *Empresse*, he slew her sonne *Geta*, in a time least suspected, when he had sate with him in state and disdaine, the terme of one yeare and twenty two daies.

Geta slaine in his motheres armes.

Herodian.

(4) And to cloake this fratricide with shew of constraint, first to the *Souldiers*, and then in the *Senate*, he accuseth his Brother to haue sought his death, and that in defence of his owne life, he was forced to slay the other, and flying to the *Pretorian* Cohorts for the safetie of his life, as though further conspiracies had been intended against him in the City, & at his returne commanded *Papinianus* the famous *Ciuitian*, to excuse the murder in his *Pleas* at the Barre: which when he refused, hee caused him to bee slaine, as also all those, that had bene acquainted with *Geta*; whereby so many of the Nobilitie perished, that he was thereby accounted another *Nero* in *Rome*: and by his fauorites the name of *Geta* was rased out of all monuments & imperiall inscriptions, as we haue seene some of the defaced vpon some Altar stones found here in *Brit.*

Dio Spartianus.

Papinianus slaine for refusing to defend a murder.

(5) Of nature he was subtle, and could well dissemble with them whom hee feared, and make shew of loue where hee deadly hated; alwaies fitting himselfe to the humours of flatteries: Among the *Germans*, counterfeiting their gate and garments; In *Greece*, belike *Alexander*, bearing his necke somewhat awry; In *Troy*, would resemble *Achilles*; alwaies to *Ca-*

melion-like, as the *Romans* (his followers) were therewith ashamed. In a word, *Caracalla* (saith *Dio*) neuer thought of doing good, because (as himselfe confessed) he neuer knew any goodnes.

Dio.

(6) And to fill vp the measure of all iniquitie, as one regardless of humanity or shame, he married *Iulia* his mother in law, late wife to his owne Father (a sinne (saith *S. Paul*) not to be named among the *Gentiles*) and by *Sept. Aur. Entrop.* and *Spar.* reported vp on this occasion. It fortuned that *Iulia* in presence of *Caracalla*, either by chance, or of purpose rather, let fall the vail which she wore, disclosing thereby her naked breasts and beauty, which was great; whereat the *Emperour* casting his lasciuious eie and bewraying his affection, presently said, *Were it not unlawfull, I should not be unwilling*: to whom she replied (without respect of modesty) *that all things were lawfull to him that made lawes for others, but was subject himselfe to none*: forgetting at once both the murder committed vpon *Geta* her sonne, and the scandals that accompanied fo she a sinne, the pleasure wherof they did not long enioy, both their deaths (by Gods vengeance) soone after ensuing.

1. Cor. 5. 1.

Sextus Aurelius, Entropius, Spartianus, Sabellius.

Julia her wicked speech.

(7) For *Caracalla* remaining in *Mesopotamia*, and carrying (as it seemeth) a guilty conscience, and suspicion of his life, sent to *Maternus*, whom hee had left Gouvernour of *Rome*, to assemble all the *Astrologers* & *Mathematicians* (vnto which learned imposters he alwaies gaue especiall credit) and of them to enquire how long he should liue, and by what death he should die. *Maternus* hauing so done, wrote for answer, that *Macrinus* his *Prefect* of the *Pratorium* (then with him in his expeditio) went about to murder him. Which is thought rather in enuy of *Macrinus* to haue bene faued, then by any *Astrologicall* directions so giuen forth. This letter and others comming to *Caracalla* his hand, at such time as hee was busied about his disport, he deliuered them to *Macrinus* to reade, and giue him the report at his returne. In perusal wherof finding himselfe to be accused of Treason, and fearing lest by the sequell hee might bee brought into greater danger, he incensed one *Martial* a Centurion (whose brother the *Emperour* had lately slaine) to murder him; which was soone performed, and occasion in the fields offered for *Caracalla* stepping aside from his traine to ease nature, *Martial*, as though he had bene called, ran hastily in without hindrance or suspect, and with his dagger stabbed him to death, but being too late perceived, was yet so hastily pursued, that he was hewed to peeces before his tongue could reueale the principall Traitour. *Julia* his incestuous wife hearing of his death, with poison slew her selfe at *Antioch*, leauing her shame to suruiue her life.

Antoninus Festus, Euth. Eusebius.

Sabellius.

Antoninus Festus, Euth. Eusebius.

(8) *Antoninus* *Caracalla*, saith *Eusebius*, reigned *Emperour* seuen yeares and sixe moneths, but *Herodian*, *Spartianus*, and *Dio* allot him fixe yeeres and two moneths: he died the eighth of *Aprill*, and yeere of *Christ* two hundred eightene. The testimonies of these many writers notwithstanding, together with the place and circumstances of his death, and the person by whom it was committed, the *British* Historians do contradict, reporting him to bee slaine in *Britaine* in *Bartaille* against the *Picts*, by one *Caracaus* a man of a lowe and obscure birth. But by this it may seeme some wounds receiued by him in those *British* warres, gaue occasion to that error. He left a sonne not by his incestuous mother, nor by *Glantilla* his wife, who he exiled into *Sicily*; but by a mitris, whose name was *Iulia Simiamira* his cosen German, and indeed no better then a common strumpet: which corrupt rootes brought forth as bitter fruites, euen *Helioababalus*, of whom hereafter we shall haue occasion to write.

Antoninus Festus, Euth. Eusebius, Hist. lib. 6. 44. 20.

Old Manfr. cap. 136.

Eusebius calls her Saurian, and her name Iulia Simiamira, that the way his wife Sabellius.

OPILIUS

OPILIUS MACRINVS.

CHAPTER XXV.



Opilius Macrinus.

Diadumenus.

An. Do. 218.



N prosecuting our intended course for setting downe the history of the life of *Opilius Macrinus*, which as willingly as we can, we shall now I shall begin to write.

the troubles (much lesse to in the Empire, refused their offers, but many thanks as they had giuen. Whereupon they againe conspired for *Macrinus*, which as willingly as we can, we shall now I shall begin to write.

membrances concerning the till the reign of *Diocletian*, the *rim* may seeme imperfect. On the other side, considering the Succession of all our *British* Emperours (that Royall Title beinge those other *Emperours*) I suppose that somewhat also be said of their affaires in places farre remote from the continuall triuing for the *Imperiall* crown, made them to giue *Britaine* some peaceable breathing, and priue vs of the *Romans* Records of those times: want if I should suppose of our home-bred Writers, I might be thought, not so much to the ruines of our *Monuments*, as to heape more rubbish vpon them. And therefore (necessitie so requiring) I must craue patience, if I proceed to the reuealing of our Countries *Monarkes*, though I cannot to the fide of our Countries *Exploits* and *Affaires* in those daies.

An. Do. 218.

(2) *Opilius Macrinus* from obscure and base parentage, by fauours of the *Emperour*, without any notable desert in himselfe, first aspired to the Office of a *Prefect*, and at last by the election of the *Souldiers*, to the Dignitie *Imperiall*. So farr from suspicion of *Caracallas* death, by the outward appearance of a seeming sorrow, that hee was held of all most free from the Treason, and the second person worthy of the voice. For first, the Title was conferred vpon *Macrinus*, a man of good fortune, much experience, an excellent *Captaine*; whose life could not be drawne to aduventure in the life of the weighty and dangerous *Crown*. But exulting in himselfe by the priuilege of his age, hee was vnfit to

Diadumenus appointed for Cesar. Called Antoninus.

Antoninus sonne of Caracalla.

Antoninus called Diadumenus, that is, the little one.

ANTONINVS HELIOGABALVS.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Antoninus
Heliogabalus
Emp.

An.Do.219.



Oung **B**rianus, surnamed *Heliogabalus*, the sonne of *Caracalla* before mentioned, thus elected, and prospering at his entrance, gaue hopes to his raisers, of many princely parts, and signes of those things that in sequele by better prooffe appeared to be on-

lie signes indeed: for nature had plentifully adorned him with the complements of her gifts, had his mind beene answerably furnished with vertue. But as the one was ouer-prodigall and lauish in his outward forme, so was the other as sparing and defectiue in bestowing of her inward gifts: insomuch that both in minde and garment, he seemed to bee that which in truth he was not. This *Emperour*, as appeareth by the reuerse of his money, tooke it no meane addition of honour to his *Imperiall Dignitie*, to be stiled, *The Priest of the Sunne*; which in the *Assyrian Tongue* is called *El*, from whom he tooke the surname *Elagabal*.

Heliogabalus ex-
ceeded in inue-
nedness all o-
thers before him

(2) Assoone as hee had settled the *Empire* firme vpon himselfe by the death of *Macrinus*, he began to discouer his owne dispositions, and in wantonnesse, apparell, lightnesse, and diet, to exceed any that had gone before him in *Rome*; and so farre differed from the manners of men, that modestie will not suffer vs to record his greatest vices.

(3) His apparell was rich, and most extreme costlie, and yet would he neuer wear one garment twice: his *Shoes* embellished with *Pearles* and *Diamonds*; his *Seats* strowed with *Muske* and *Amber*; his *Bed* covered with *Gold* and *Purple*, and beset with most costly *Jewels*; his *Way* strowed with the *Powder of Gold* and *Siluer*; his *Vessels* (euen of basest vfe) all *Gold*; his *Lamps* burning with no other *Oile* then the *Balmes of India* and *Arabia*; his *Fish-Ponds* filled with no other water then of *distilled Roses*; his *Ships* (in his *Naumachies* or *Ship-fights*) *Noted* in a *River of Wine*; his *Bathes* most stately built, and againe after they were once vfed, presently plucked downe; his *Plate* of finest *Gold*, but neuer serued twice to his *Table*; his *Rings* and *Jewels* most rich, yet neuer worne twice; his *Concubines* many and chargeable, but not one laine with twice; his *Diet* so profuse, that at euery supper in his *Court*, was usually spent a *Thousand Pound Sterling*: inuiting the chiefe *Citizens* to a *Feast*, hee strowed all the *Roomes* with *Saffron*, as it were with *Rushes*, saying, *That such Cattle were worthy of such costly Litter*. Neere the *Sea*, with him no *Fish* was eaten: in the *Land*, no *Fleish*: whole *Meates* made of the *Tongues* of singing *Birds* and *Peacocks*, or of the *Brains* of most costly creatures, alwaies saying, *That meat was not sauorie, whose sauce was not costly*. And indeed so costly it was, that the redenewes of *Germany*, *France*, *Britaine*, *Spaine*, *Italie*, *Sicilia*, *Gracia*, *Asia*, *Syria*, *Egypte*, *Arabia*, and all

the *Ilands*, were not sufficient to defray the charges.

(4) In his *Progresses*, six hundred *Chariots* followed him, laden with *Strumpets*, *Boyes*, and *Bawdes*, for whom he built a *Stewes* in his *Court*, wherein himselfe in the attire of an *Idolot*, made to them solemne and set *Orations*, terming them therein his *Fellow-Souldiers*, and *Companions in Armes*, with *Instructions* for them how to practise with most varietie their filthy *Luxuries*. In regard of which kinde of actions, one doth make this doubt, whether were greater his boundlesse *Prodigality*, his stupendious *Lecherie*, or his foppish *Foolerie*: the last of which his *Imperiall Vertues*, he gaue prooffe of, when he gathered in the *City* ten thousand weight of *Spiders*, professing that thereby he vnderstood how great a *City Rome* was: at another time, ten thousand *Mice*, and a thousand *Wizels*, which hee brought forth in a publike shew to the people, for some wise *State-purpose*, like the former.

(5) In *Rome* hee built a *Temple* consecrated to the *Sunne*, (like to that in *Phenicia*, whereof himselfe was *Priest*) commanding the *Christians* therein to worship: as also a *Chatter-house* for women to meet and determine of their *Attires*; and brought into the *Senate-house* his mother *Semiamira*, allowing her a *Voice* among the *Senators*. In modestie I forbear to write the particulars of his unmanly libidinous filthinesse, adding only that which a iudicious *Author* speaks of him: *Kings* (saith he) as they have greater power to sinne then other men, so haue they lesser safety in sinning then anyman; for being let aboute others in the eie of the *World*, they are as *Markes* that are aimed at, and lie open to the shute of *Reuenge*. And so was the state of this *Superlative Monster*, whose owne *Conscience* still stung him, euen in the midst of his sweetest sinnes, and therefore euer expecting some violent end, hee prepared *ilk* *Halters* richly wrought to hang himselfe, if need were; and *Golden Knives* to stab himselfe, or cut his throat; and built a goodly *Tower* of exceeding height, adorned with *Gemmes* and *Gold* of inualluable cost, that thence he might cast himselfe headlong, hauing these words oft in his mouth, *That howeuer he died, his death should be pretious in the eyes of all men*. But he failed of his hope, though not of his desert; for against him the *Pratorian Souldiers* suddenlie arose, no wrong offered them, more then vnto others, but out of a *Iustice in God*, who repaith sinne with sinne, and fufillth not such outrageous wicked ones to escape vnuenged.

(6) These breaking into his *Palace*, found him not in estate answerable to his calling, but hidde (for feare) in a homely place fureable with his dirty conditions: from whence with *Acclamations* throw the streets of *Rome*, more like a *Dogge* then a *Man*, they dragged him with his mother, saying, *The Bitch and her whelpes must goe together*: and after their fure spent, threw their bodies into the *Common Sinke of the City*, and thence into *Tyber*, sinking them downe with great

Aetius Lampri-
dian.A Prius.
Sabellian.

great stones, left the carcases cast vp with the waues, should either find buriall, or infect the aire. The *Senate* approving all that was done, decreed that his name should be obliterated out of all monuments in *Rome*, and neuer any *Antoninus* (a name before very gracious) should rule againe their *Empire*: so odious was the remembrance of this *Image of Ignomy*.

(7) He was aged but foureteene yeeres when hee became *Emperour*; by *Herodians* computation, hee reigned sixe yeeres, and died at twenty: By *Aurelius Victor* hee died at seuentene, & reigned not fully three yeeres: *Eusebius* saith, that hee reigned fully foure: *Omniphrius* would haue him to liue eighteen yeeres, & to dy the 8 day of *March*, *Anno* two hundred twenty three.

Euseb. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 30.

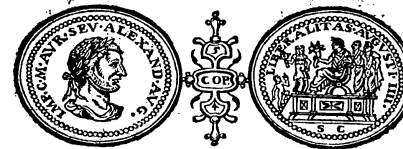
Alexander
Seuerus Emp.

An.Do.223.

Lamprius saith,
he was borne on
the day that A-
lexander the
great died, and
had therefore his
name.Sabellian.
Lamprius.Herodian.
Sabellian.* Lamprius the
most relator of
his Emperours
saith, (for Herod-
ian speaks on
lycene) saith, he
called this Chri-
stian people robe
written all about
his Pallace, and
sometimes com-
manded by
voice of a pub-
licke Crier.
Lamprius.
Sabellian.

ALEXANDER SEVERVS.

CHAPTER XXVII.



BEfore the death of *Heliogabalus*, his Cousin German *Alexandrus*, by the working of his mother *Mammae*, was made his *Cesar*, whose vertues daily increasing, with his age, gaue hopes to the better sort of some happier times by his meanes: but so farre incensed *Heliogabalus* (who hated nothing more then vertue), and so dimmed his fame, that he often assailed to take away his life by treachery: But suruiuing him, whom no man wished to liue, he was with publike blessings, and vnspcakable ioy elected *Emperour*; * his name they changed from *Alexandrus* to *Alexander*, and his surname giuen of old *Seuerus*.

(2) He was the sonne of one *Varus*, a *Syrian* borne, and of *Mammae*, sister to *Simiamira*, though there are who say that both the sisters attending on their Aunt *Julia* the *Empresse*, were gotten with child by young *Caracalla*, and so hee father of *Alexandrus*: howeouer, he was brought vp in learning from his childhood, hauing a naturall propension to all humane vertues, and diuine pieties: He was very skillfull in the *Mathematicks*, *Geometrie*, *Musike*, *Carniug*, and *Painting*, & composed some *Bookes* also of *Poetrie*, so great a louer of the liberrall Arts, that hee allowed the professors thereof annuall stipends for their further encouragement: and that which most is, hee much fauoured the *Christians*, from whom hee tooke to himselfe examples of life, and vrged their Precepts vnto others, and this one especially * NOT TO DO TO OTHERS WHAT WEE WOULD NOT HAVE DONE TO VS. Their *Christ* hee honoured (though as a *Heathen* man) and would haue had him consecrated among the *Romane Gods*: vnto whom hee also was minded to haue built a *Temple*, had not his *Idol-Priests* hindered the same, but a place of their holy assemblies hee allowed them by his *Imperiall warrant*: for when certaine *Vintners* or *Viticulturalles* laid claime to the place whereunto the *Christians* resorted to pray, he thus decided it, *That it was much fitter that God therein should be worshipped, then belly-gods should be pampered to surfet there*. (A good document of a *Heathen* for some *Christians*, who turne

places consecrate to Gods diuine seruice into Sheep-Coates, or to the like prophane vses) This good inclination of *Alexander* the sonne, was vndoubtedly stirred vp by the indignations of *Mammae* his mother, who, as *Eusebius* witnesseth, had sent for *Origen* (the *Christian Doctour*) from *Alexandria* to *Antioch*: by whom she was so wel instructed, that *Ierome* giues her the honourable Title of a *most holy Woman*.

(3) Himselfe, though yong, ruled the *Empire* with great *Wisdome* and *Iustice*: admitting onely such for his Counsellors, as were men vnecorrupt, sage and learned, skillfull in the Ciuill Law, and experienced in Antiquities of elder times, and preferring none to any office or charge by suite, but only by the commendation of each mans worth and fittnes for the place: In regard whereof, hee caused *Taurinus* (one of his Courtiers who tooke money of diuers, with promise to procure the *Emperours* fauour in their suites) to be put to death by *smoake*, the Crier proclaiming, *That hee had sold smoake, and therefore with smoake he should die*. And likewise to cut off, in Law-ers their continuall selling of *Iustice* (the bane of all Common wealths) for a fee, hee granted a publike & set reward to such as should plead *gratis*. By which courses, his ciuill affaires were nobly managed, and his warres likewise proued as prosperous: for hee triumphed with great glory ouer the *Parthians*: The *Germanes* also, who in furious manner had passed the *Riuers Danubius*, and the *Rhine*, in many skirmishes hee put backe, and forced them to their former obedience.

Bountifull and liberal he was both to the people & soldiers, as by the reuerse of his Coine aboue prefixed is seene, wherein is expressed the fourth *Donatium* and *Congiarium*, bestowed by the bounty of this *Emperour* vpon the Souldiers and common people, of which *Lamprius* maketh mention in his life.

(4) But as *Enny* euer attends persons of Estate, and a desire of change, breeds a dislike of the present, so the *Roman Legions* growne farre out of order by the prodigious Gouvernement of the last *Emperour*, proued now vnaturall to their dread Soueraigne: whose warres drawing him into *Germanie*, and thence hither into *Britaine*, hee found some of his Souldiers here so tumultuous, that hee thought fit to vfe exemplary severity towards them, whereupon they, being

Alexander Seue-
rus inclined to
Christianity by
his mother
Mammae
Euseb. Ecclef. Hist.
lib. 6. cap. 30.
Jerome.

Sabellian.

Sabellian and o-
thers.

Seuerus and his mother murdered.

secretly backt, (as is supposed) by *Maximinus* (a potent man in the Armie, raised onely by the Emperours fauour) they traiterously assailed him, and together with his mother *Mamma*, murdered him in a village then called *Sicilla*, though others say he was slain in *Germany*, in the Citie *Mogunze*, and some in *France*,

no other cause mouing them, but onely his vertue, the eight day of March, when hee had reigned (by *Lampridius*) thirteene yeeeres and nine daies, aged by *Herodian*, and *Tulius Capitolinus*, twenty nine yeeeres, three moneths and seuen daies, the yeere of our Sauiour, two hundred thirtie fixe.

Seuerus the time of his reign.



CAIVS. IVLIVS. VERVS. MAXI. EMP.

CHAPTER XXVIII.



CAIVS. IVLIVS. VERVS. MAXI. CAES.



Maximinus Emp.

Maximinus Caesar.



Maximinus, a man barbarous by birth and disposition, (himselfe a *Thracian*, his father named *Nicea*, borne in *Gottland*, very obscure, his mother *Ababa* of little better rancke) spent his youth in keeping of Cattell, the poverty of his parents admitting no better

(3) The ignoble *Ypsart* thus borne from the dunghill, vpon the wings of *Fortune*, vnto the feat of Maieftie, thought the increase of his pride was an increase of State; and knowing hee had nothing for which he might deserue to be loved, he studied in the whole managing of his estate, how by all meanes hee might be feared. Hee therefore displaced *Senatours*, *Captaines*, *Souldiers*, and whom nor? with murders, banishments, and confiscations of their goods: all such especially he did cut off, whom hee supposed to haue knowledge of his base beginnings. The *Christians* likewise vnder him were martyred, (whereof *Origen* wrote a Booke, not now extant) and he is by *Writers* accounted the sixth Persecutor of Gods Saints: so that, whereas his flatterers at first called him *Milo*, *Anteus*, and *Hercules*, for his strength; now they all teamed him, *Busiris*, *Phalaris*, and *Cyclops*, for his farrage crueltie.

(4) But his life being odious to God and Man, was often attempted to be taken away; first, by *Maximus*, a man of a Consular dignitie; then by *Quartinius* (whom *Capitolinus* calleth *Ticus*) set on by the old Souldiers of *Septimus Seuerus*, that had bene disgraced by *Maximinus*; and lastly by the Army in *Africa*, who elected *Gordianus* (their *Proconsul*, a very worthy and learned man of fourescore yeeeres old) Emperour, and his sonne (of the same name and Princely qualities) his *Caesar*: the Senate likewise confirming all that they had done. He tooke to himselfe the surname *Africanus* either in respect of his *Proconsulship* which he exercised in that Province, or else as descended from *Scipio* his family who bore that surname: His sonne *Gordianus* likewise was stiled *Augustus*, as appeareth by his Coines, whereon hee writeth himselfe *A V G*. and vpon the Reverse, *Liberalitas A V G*. I. two Emperours sitting.

Maximinus then in *Hungarie*, and hearing thereof, rather like a mad man raged at his misfortunes, then either by courage or wile forecast endeouored to redeem them.

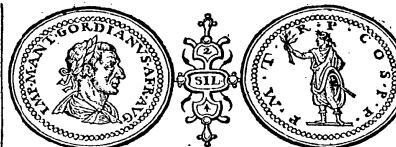
(5) In

Maximinus of a naughty disposition.

Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 17. Maximinus persecuted the Christians. His death attempted.

Herodian.

Gordianus elected Emperour, and his sonne elected his *Caesar*.



An. Do. 238.

(5) In the meane while, aged *Gordianus* with the Enligens and glory of an Emperour, entred *Carthage*, with blessings and acclamations of ioy: whereat his old enimie *Capellianus*, Governour of *Numidia* and *Mauritania* (Provinces in *Africke*) much enuid; and gathering forces in *Maximinus* his name, made head against him, and shortly gaue him Battle, wherein *Gordianus* the younger was slain before the walles of the Citie. The father seeing his *Caesars* disastre, and himselfe an Emperour onely nominall, and his new risen Sunne to haue passed the circle of his height, and now to approach to the setting and fall, withed againe his priuate estate; and in despaire, griefe, and disdain of his enemies successe, with the *Girdle* which he wore, strangled himselfe to death, when hee had bene stiled Emperour only twenty six daies: whereat *Maximinus* was not a little ioyfull, and the Senate no lesse perplexed, seeing themselves depriued of their hopes, and now laid open to the *Tyrants* will, who like a Lion came raging on, threatening reuenge in all their blouds.

Gordianus the younger slain.

Gordianus the father strangled.

(6) The State thus standing, all the Peeres and Princes thereof assembled themselves together at *Rome*: and in the Temple of *Jupiter*, after long debating of their present dangers, concluded, that *Maximus Pupienus* and *Clodius Balbinus* together should bee Emperours; men of great account and fauour with the people. These taking Oath and Imperiall Robes, leuied forces to maintain their cause: and *Balbinus* taking charge of the Citie, *Pupienus* marched to meet *Maximinus*, who in great pride had passed the *Alpes*, entred *Italia*, and now laid siege against *Aquileia*, in which this was very memorable, that *The Citizens* vnto off the haire of their heads, to make bow-strings for resistance of so hatefull a *Tyrant*: where after long assault preuailing little, his discontented Souldiers fell to mutinie: and entering his Paulion, at noone day without resistance slew both him and his sonne, bearing the same name whom hee had created his *Caesar*, and whose monies, as he minted them, we haue inserted at the entrance of his Empire. Their heads for a *Trophy* they sent before them to *Rome*, where with such acceptations they were receiued, as that the Senate acknowledged themselves to be rid of a Monster.

Maximinus and his sonne slain.

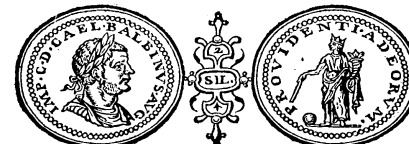
(7) Hee was, as is said, exceedingly tall, his body great, and joints proportionable, faire of face, full eyes, and of such strength as is vncredible: and according to his limmes, so was his diet; for hee daily deuoured forty pound waight of flesh, and thereto dranke six Gallons of wine. He died aged fixty yeeeres and odde, when he had reigned three yeeeres, in the yeere of our Lord two hundred thirty and eight.

Maximinus his intemperance in diet. *Jul. Capitol. Euseb. Eccl. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 27.*



SPUPIENVS MAXIMVS } Emperours.
CLODIVS BALBINVS }

CHAPTER XXIX.



Pupienus and *Maximinus* Emp.

Clodius Balbinus Emp.



Pupienus *Maximus* and *Clodius Balbinus* thus elected together for Emperours, the one in action, and the other resident, a great sedition chanced betwixt the Senate and Souldiers, which grew to a bloudie issue among the Citizens; and *Rome* it selfe was set on

thoritic little preuailing: which stricke such feare into their hearts, that they accounted these times most vnfortunate, and themselves and present estate to be most desperate. But the death of *Maximinus* (and his head happily brought them at the instant) gaue present life to their dying hearts. And *Pupienus* comming to *Aquileia* as much quieted the Armie, sent backe the *Lieutenants* to their places of charge, and with great pompe and praife returned to his Fellow Emperour.

(2) The parentage of *Balbinus* is reported to bee both

An. Do. 238.

fire in sundrie places; the Emperours presence and au-

An. Do. 236.

Juli. Capitol. Maximinus of a huge stature.

Capitolinus calles it *Despectus*, being a broad plate of gold, set with twelve Jewels, an ornament in vse amongst the *Romane* Ladies.

Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 6. cap. 6.

Maximinus his meane of rising to preierment.

Herodian and *Arrianus* vnto the death of *Maximinus*, yet among.

both noble and ancient, made Citizens of Rome by great Pompey, and himselfe borne at Cales in Spaine. Pupienus Auncelors were much latter, yet had hee borne many Offices of Magistracie, and euer discharged them with wisdom and valour: both of them highly accounted of in Rome.

(3) Peace thus established beyond all expectation, with shoutes and applauses the Emperours enter the Senate-house, where (according to the custome and their deserts) they were tiled, *The Fathers of the Senat*, with thanks as to the onely preferuers of their liues and estates: and some extolling the Senate highly for their prouident foresight, in electing such sapient and worthy Emperours, contrarie to the rash and vndiscreet practise of such as chose their Gouernours to fit their owne fancies, rather then the charge to which they aduance them; and whose bad liues brought commonly their vintimely, but deserved deaths. The Pretorian Souldiers tooke themselves to bee taxed with those aspersions, and the rather, because the German Strangers were brought in to be of the Guard, as if themselves were not to bee trusted: so turning their spleene against the present Emperours, fought to set vp a new, which shortly after they found opportunitie to effect.

(4) For these Emperours, though aged and wise, were not so linked together in affection, as they were neere ioined in authoritie: and therefore the winde of emulation had the easier passage betwixt the chinkes of their owne conceits; the one prizing his wisdom and government to be more iudicious; the

other, his birth and Nobilitie to be more honorable: and each of them hauing his owne Guard, stood vpon his owne Guard, though one Palace contained them both: and both their endeouours euer well conforing for the businesse of the Empire.

(5) At this time the Prouinces of Parthia and Germanie grew vnquiet, and by ciuill discords, endangered their subiections: to repress which, the Emperours agreed to goe in person, the one into the East, the other into Germanie. Now whilst these great preparations were in making, the Capitoline Games were celebrated in Rome, whereunto all (almost) resorted, but especially the new-come Guards of the Emperours. The Pretorians finding the aduantageous time, which they had long waited for, suddenly in armour assailed the Court; which Pupienus perceiving, sent in all haste for Balbinus, and both their Guards for defense. But his Fellow-Emperour, vpon a vaine suspicion detracted time himselfe, and hindered the forwardnesse of the Guards, so that these Traitors had easie access into both the Emperours Chambers, where in their rage they dispoiled them of their Imperiall Robes, and haled these poore aged and innocent Emperours, like two Thecues thorow the midst of the Citie: Lastly, they slew them, and left their bodies to despoightfull ignominie.

(6) These Emperours reigned together one yeere, and somewhat more, and died the yeere of Christ two hundred thirty nine: in which yeere happened so great an Eclipse of the Sun, that the noone-day thereby became as darke as the mid-night.

Int. Capitol.

The Emperours
enuey one ano-
ther.

M. ANTONINVS GORDIANVS.

CHAPTER XXX.

M. Antoninus
Gordianus
Emp.

An. Do. 239.



Gordianus (for Antoninus he might not be called, a law formerly acted inhibiting the same) was the sonne of a daughter to old Gordianus (that had made away himselfe in Carthage, as is declared) at the age of eleven yeeres was created

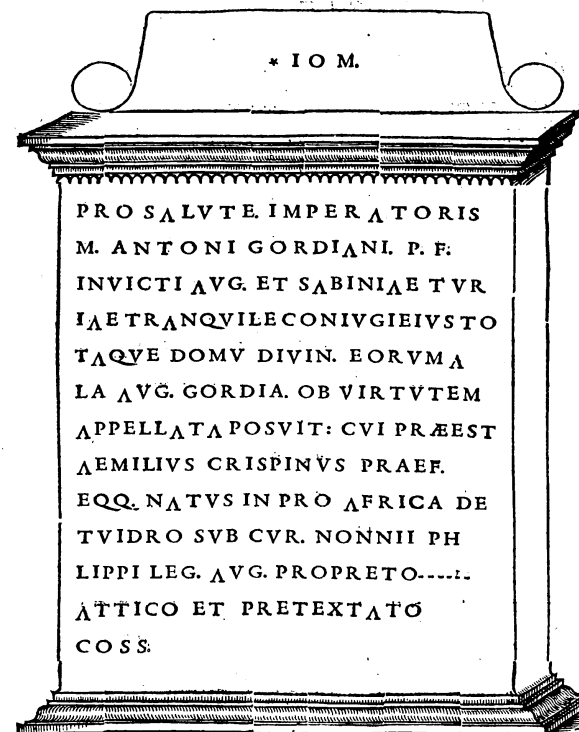
Cesar by the Senate, with Pupienus and Balbinus; and at their deaths by the Pretorian Souldiers, elected Emperour, not yet fully fourteen yeeres of age. Greatly was he strengthened by the Alliance and Counsell of one Mithrius, his Prefect and Instructor, whom for his great learning he so honoured and loued, that he tooke his daughter for his wife; and by whose onely direction, he profpiously administrated his State affaires.

(2) Touching the affaires of our Prouinces pro-

ceedings, or what Lieutenants were employed in Britaine since Virius Lupus there placed by Senerus (since whose death our storie hath spent twenty seuen yeeres) we finde not recorded. Yet now in the raigne of young Gordianus, some glimmering light for her Gouernour appeareth by an Altar-Stone found in Cumberland at a place then called * *Castra Exploratorum*, with an inscription for the happy health of the Emperour Gordian the third, his wife Furia Sabina Tranquilla, and their whole Familie: which votiu Altar was erected by the Troupe of Horsemen surnamed *Augusta Gordiana*, when *Emilius Crispinus* a natiue of Africa gouerned the same vnder *Nomius Philippus* Lieutenant Generall of Britaine, in the yeere of Christ, two hundred forty three, as appeareth by the *Consuls* therein specified: whose forme and inscription wee haue followed by the Stone it selfe, now remaining at Connington among many others, in the custodie of Sir Robert Colton Knight.

* Old Carleil.

* I O M.



In his first yeere, the Parthians vnder the Leading of Sapor their King, had passed into the confines of the Romane Prouinces, as farre as Antioch in Syria, which Citie they had taken, with spoile of the Countries adjoining: against whom, the yong Emperour in warlike maner addressed himselfe, and in person prepared to vndergoe the warres.

(3) In Rome the Temple of *Ianus* that long had stood shut, he caused to be opened, a sure token that warres were in hand: and departing the City, passed the Straits of Hellespont, and tooke his way thorow Mysia, to stay the *Goths* that were come downe to inhabit Thracia. Thence marching to Antioch, recovered the Citie, forcing Sapor to forsake the Prouince, and to content himselfe with his owne demaines.

(4) But long this *Sunne* went not without a Cloud, nor his fauourable fortunes without a checke; for Mithrius, his Nestor, paying *Natures* debt before it was due (being poisoned by Philip, as *Eutropius* affirmeth) was wanting in counsell, & mislead for trust: to supply which, Philip (an Arabian, and of ignoble parentage) was made his Prefect; wife (I must needs say) had hee become moderate; and valiant in Armes, had hee beene true. But the glory of a Diademe beheld with the false light of ambition, so dimmed the eie of his dutifull affection, and blinded the senses of his aspiring mind, that he, who from nothing was risen to be something, thought that all nothing worth, whilst it was shadowed with the name of a subiect. First therefore he sought to winne credit with the Souldiers, to whom he was facile; to regard the poore, to whom hee was liberall; and in all things to outstrip his Soueraigne, to whom he was treacherous. Yong Gordianus vnable to endure his Prefectors designs, or his owne disgraces, and perceiving the marke whereat he aimed, complained his wrongs in open as-

semblies, and to the Souldiers after this tenor.

(5) I got not this state from my Parents by birth, nor yet by any deserts (I must confesse) in my selfe, being the least of many that did deserue it better: but it was you, my fellow Souldiers (vpon what fate I know not) that haue made me what I am. If then I haue defrauded your hopes, by carrying my selfe vnder your expectations, I wish to bee set in the place where I first was; or rather (if I so deserue) my life, and state, may at one instant be ended by your vnering hands: For Noble mindes cannot brooke to be curbed with the bitte of base indignities, nor suffer their vassals to bee Corriuals of their Maestie. It is a ialous obiect (I must needs confesse) and many times casts great suspicion where is small occasion, but I, for my part, haue alwaies thought of that humour, that men causlessly ialous, doe most iustly deserue what they vniustlie feare; and both your selues will bee my witnesses, how farre I am from the touch of that staine, and also the daillie occurrences of my Cesar, (if so low I may terme him) doth make more then manifest. I am but yong, yet elder by fixe yeeres then I was, my body tender, yet exposed to the chaunce of warre; my counsell raw, yet bettered by your wisdomes; and my conquests in my selfe nothing, but yet in your valours both glorious & famous. What then are mine errors, that I may amend them? or your discontents that I may redresse? for by the powers of heauen I protest, it is your loues which I most esteeme, and the good of the Empire, for which I onely wish to liue; the first is in your powers to bestow at your pleasure, but the other in me (if it be possible) shall liue euen after death.

(6) These complaints notwithstanding, Philip so politickly, nay, rather traitterously brought his owne

Gordianus his
speech to the
Souldiers.

B b b i

pro-

Emperour
Gordianus open-
ed the Temple
of Ianus.Homer, *Iliades* 4.
Mithrius poison-
ed by Philip.Philip his trea-
chery.

protects to pass, as that the young innocent *Emperour* was displaced, and abandoned of all: in which distresse he first sued to be made his *Cæsar*, and that denied, to be his *Pretorian Prefect*: but neither would bee had, yet at length the charge of an ordinary *Captaine*, was with some difficulty granted him. But *Philip* bethinking himselfe of the greatnes of *Gordianus* his blood, his loue and esteeme both in *Rome* and the *Provinces*, and his owne vertues equalising any, hee commanded him to be slaine in the twenty two yeere of his age, and the first of his raigne. The Senate hearing thereof, elected *M. Marcus*, and after him again, *L. Aurel. Seuerus*, *Osulianus*. But *Philip* through the giddie multitude, prevailed against both. This *Emperour* though young, so well demeaned himselfe, that the Senate by authoritie added to his titles *T V T O R R E I P V B L I C A E*, and *P A R E N S P R I N C I P V M P O P V L I R O M A N I*, and after his death euen by his owne murderers, his Monument of faire Stone was raised in the confines of *Perusia*, and vpon his sepulchre this inscription set

DIVO GORDIANO VICTORI PERSARVM VICTORI GOTTHORVM VICTORI SARMATARVM DEPVLSORI ROMANARVM SEDITIONVM VICTORI GERMANORVM SED NON VICTORI PHILIPPORVM.

To the Sacred Gordianus vanquisher of the Persians, Gothes, and Sarmates, extinguisher of the Romane Civil discords, and subduer of the Germans, but not of the Philippians.

(7) He was of condition most noble and lowely, of behauiour gentle, very studious and giuen much to learning; having in his *Librarie* no lesse then three-score and two thousand *Bookes*, as is reported. The truth is, that wicked people were not worthy long to enioy so vertuous, so clement, so pcerles an *Emperour*. He died in the month of March, in the yeere of our Redeemer two hundred forty five.

Gordianus his vertues.



M. IULIVS PHILIPPVS EMP.

CHAPTER XXXI.



M. IULIVS PHILIPPVS CAES.



Julius Philip. Cæs.

Julius Philip. Emp.

An. Do. 245.



Hat man is there, who considering those forepast murders, of so many, and so mightie Monarchs, would not, by the spectacle of others calamities, be induced to preferre the securitie of a moderate estate, before the desire of *Soueraignty*; whose glorious content is onely in appearance, but the cares and hazards are both real and perpetuall. But of so attractive vertue is the *Load-stone of Maiesty*, through the imagined felicity thereof, that most mens desires are drawne to that one point of the *Compass*, and if a little faire winde of fortune shall blow on them; they will launch forth with their full sailes into that *Mare incognitum*, a Sea of *unknowne calamities*. And amongst others, such were the blinde desires, and such the vnhappy euent of this *Iulius Philippus* the *Arabick Barbarian*. Of parentage obscure and ignoble, as *Victor* and others affirme, who pluckt off the imperiall

robes of his *Liege-Lord*, to inuest himselfe.

(2) Being now accepted as *Emperour* by the Souldiers in *Parthia*, he wrote to the Senate of the death of *Gordianus*, as though it naturally had happened, and with faire pretensions of his good purposes, but more through the feare of his *Parthian* Souldiers, obtained their consents; whereupon shuffling vp a most dishonourable peace in those parts, and declaring his sonne *Philip* for his *Cæsar*, (whose Coines with his, we haue set in the beginning of this Chap.) hee made all speede towards *Rome*: where, the yeere ensuing, his shewes and games were exceedingly magnificent, for the Celebration of the Birth-day, (as we may terme it) of *Rome*, that beeing, the thousand yeere from her foundation.

(3) It pleased God at length to touch this *Emperours* heart, both with such a sense of his owne forepast sinnes, and also with the light of heauenly truth, that he hath the honour of being the first *Emperour* baptised into the faith of *Christ*, together with his sonne *Philip*, and his wife *Seuera*: though the publicke

An. Do. 245. Victor. Emperour.

Aurelius Philo.

Sabellius. Orosius. Eusebius.

like authorizing of the same *Profession* was refused for the blessed times of our *British Constantine*. The meanes of his conuerfion from *Idolatry*, were *Fabianus* and *Origen*, who by letters exhorted him therunto: and for the same *Profession*, were both himselfe and sonne murdered by *Decius* his Captaine, though others report, that *Decius* did rather hate *Christianitie* for their sakes, then them for their *Professions* sake. And howeouer *Pomponius Latens* acculeth him to bee a dissembling Prince, yet *Eusebius* declareth the effects of his *Profession* farre otherwise: for *Philip* (saith hee) seeking to communicate with the *Saints*, could not bee admitted, till such time as he had made open confession of his Faith; at which time he ioined himselfe with those, who for their sinnes were brought to examination, and was placed in the roome of the *Penitents*, because that in many things he had bene faulty: which willingly he obeyed, and declared by his workes his sincere and religious minde towards God. Which may the rather appeare by *Sabellius* and *Bergomensis*, who shew, that the hatred of *Decius* against *Philip* and his sonne was conceiued, for that they had committed the custodie of their *Treasures* vnto *Fabianus* the *Christian Bishop* of *Rome*, who baptized them, as some write; though others say, *Pancius* the *Martyr* did it.

(4) The *Gothes* againe descending from *Scythia*, infected *Misia* and *Thracia* with a mighty *Armie*, seeking their habitations in those Countries as formerly they had done: against whose irruptions, the *Emperour* sent one *Marinus* a most valiant *Captaine*, who no sooner came into those parts, but drew the *Souldiers* into a *Rebellion*, and proclaimed himselfe *Empe-*

rouer, taking (as he said) his example from *Philip*, that had in like sort raised his title by his *Seueraignes* fall: But the *Souldiers* that had newly erected him, as suddenly againe threw him downe, and in their mutable affections slew him.

(5) Into whose *Charge* was sent *Decius*, a man of great experience, who also no sooner was in the *Armie*, but they forced the *Imperiall Ensignes* vpon him, and (as some report) against his will: hee therefore sent secretly to *Philip*, declaring this attempt of the *Souldiers*, and how hee meant to make escape from them with persisting in his dutifull allegiance. But the *Emperour* fearing this to be but policie in *Decius*, lest by delay he might giue him more strength, omitted no time to vphold his owne, and with a mightie *Armie* undertooke these affaires himselfe, not trusting any more to the disposall of his *Captaines*. And immediately departing *Rome*, with a sterne resolution, and ouer-hard hand, held the reine of that begun *Expedition*, whereby he presently lost the loue of the *Armie*, and *Decius* was accounted the more worthy of rule, whom in *Verona* they forthwith proclaimed *Emperour*, and cut off *Philip* head thorow the teech, before they had departed *Italie*. At neuers whereof, the *Pretorians* slew *Philip* his *Cæsar* and sonne, a man of so obseruable composednesse, as that he had bene neuer seene to laugh in all his life. And thus the two *Philips* ended their raignes.

(6) *Iulius Philippus* (saith *Eusebius*) reigned seuen yeeres: but *Entropius* and *Victor* giue him onely five; whose death happened in the yeere of *Christ Iesus*, two hundred and fiftie.

Alexand. Hist.

Decius enforced to be Emperour.

Philip and his Cæsar slaine: Emper. Capitol.

Euseb. Eccles. Hist. lib. 6. cap. 38.



GN. MESSIVS QVINCTVS. TRAIAN, DECIVS.

CHAPTER XXXII.



Tra. Decius Emp.

An. Do. 250.



Decius elected *Emperour* by the *Persian Legions*, proclaimed in *Verona* by the *Romane Souldiers*, and in *Rome* confirmed by the *Voice of the Senate*, was of them all with wonted flatteries stiled *Augustus*.

(2) His Birth was noble, of the City *Cabali* in

the *Lower Pannonia*, now knowne by the name of *Hungarie*: himselfe well experienced, wise, and valiant, and wielded the *Empire* as a worthy Prince, had he not blemished his raigne with a stain of *Tyrannie*, and persecuted *Gods Saints* with such a Heathenish rage, that he is rightly noted by learned *Writers*, to be the seuenth Horne of the *Persecuting-Imperial-Beast*, whose sauage cruelties towards the innocent *Christians*, is most lamentable to be heard, but more to their smart that suffered and felt it.

Decius Hist. Cæs.

Decius a great scourge of the Christians.

Apocal. 13. 2. Ant. Orosius.

Ambr. l. 6. de
Virgin.

Euseb. Eccl. h. 10.
lib. 6. cap. 41.
Vincent. Nicoph.
lib. 5. cap. 27.

Vinc. lib. 1. c. 52.
Sabellicus.

Euseb. Eccl. h. 10.
lib. 6. cap. 38.

Philo. 9.

(3) The Grid-iron he made the *Altar*, whereupon blessed Laurence offered his body in sacrifice; the *Stewes* the *Temple*, wherein *Theodora* the vnspotted *Virgin* worshipped her *Christ*; the comfortlesse *Deserts*, the refuge of aged *Charemon*, Bishop of *Nilus*; and the *Cane*, the *Sanctuarie* of the *seuen Souldiers*, fabuled by *Nicephorus* for *seuen Sleepers*: and so barbarous was he that way, that he put to *Martyrdome* many children, as *Vincetius*, citing *Hugo*, affirmeth. *Fabianus* and *Cornelius*, both reuerend Bishops of *Rome*, hee slew; *Alexander*, Bishop of *Ierusalem*, imprisoned to death; and *Great Origen*, after he had scourged him at an *Iron-stake*, his feet hee lockt in the *Stocks* foure paces asunder, where he so continued certaine daies, inuenting such tortures and strange temptations against the guiltlesse *Christians*, as are most admirable to heare. But long hee raged not, ere *God* in his iustice tooke reuenge, and brake him to peeces as a *Potters Vessell*.

(4) For the *Gothes* that had inuaded *Myfia* and *Thracia*, continuing their *Irruptions* into the bordering *Prouinces*, drew him into an *Expedition* for those

parts, where being betrayed by *Trebonianus Gallus* his owne *Captaine*, he saw his two sonnes, *Decius* and *Hosilianus*, (whom he had admitted in fellowship of Empire with him, and whose monies wee haue with his expresse) slaine before his face; and himselfe to intombe his body, as a last refuge, in a deepe whirle-pool; wherein it was so swallowed vp, as it could neuer be after scene; hauing no other honour of *Buriall*, nor place of remembrance where his bones should rest. And according to his *Death*, so was his *Descent*: for neither hath he *Father*, *Mother*, nor *Wife* mentioned (for ought I know) by any *Writer*, (for of *Salustia Barbina Orbiana*, it is doubtfull whether to him or his sonne *Hosilian* she were wedded) nor his *Acts* so exactly registred, as were those of the preceding *Emperours*, his sinnes so deseruing it, and *God* in his reuenge so punishing it.

(5) *Aurelius Victor* and *Entropius* say, that hee reigned two yeeres and odde moneths: but *Eusebius* affirmeth his raigne, not fully two yeeres: most hold him to haue died at the age of fifty, and in the yeere of *Christ*, two hundred fifty two.

Pomponius Latin.
Jornandus.

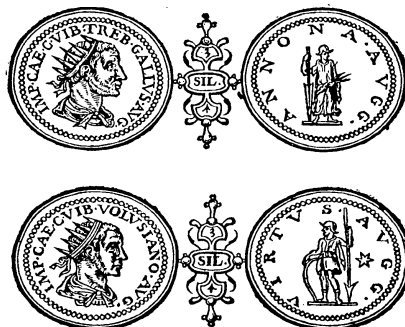
Decius and his
Cesar their
deaths.
Gallus.

Decius his raigne
Euseb. Eccl. h. 10.
lib. 7. cap. 1.



C. VIBIVS TREBONIANVS GALLVS,
CAIVS VIBIVS VOLVSIVS, Emperours.

CHAPTER XXXIII.



Tre. Gallus
Emp.

Vibius Volus.
Emp.

An. Do. 252.



His ouerthrow of the *Romans*, and death of *Decius*, in outward semblance was so greuously taken by *Trebonianus Gallus*, that no man was so forward for reuenge as hee, and therefore the last in suspicion of *Treason*. The *Armie* hee strengthened, and daily encouraged, pretending great seruite against those barbarous *Scythians*, but all to gaine credit and liking of the *Souldiers*, whereby hee soone atchieued his desire, and with their applauses was proclaimed *Emperour*.

Gallus elected
Emperour.
His parentage.

(2) By *Birth*, he was descended of an honourable Familie in *Rome*: but true honour cannot harbour where dwelleth treachery and falshood, as it was with him, when appointed by *Decius* to bee *Gouernour* of

Myfia, and to keepe the passages from the inuading *Gothes*, the desire of *Rule* so corrupted his minde, that he plotted with them against the *Armie*, and betrayed the trust and life of his *Soueraigne*.

(3) Neither is he stained with the blot of *Treasons* only, but also with a careless and cruell government; for with the *Gothes* hee made a dishonourable peace, whereby the *Romans* (who were *Lords* of the *World*) became *Tributarie* by a yeerely pay to those vnciuill *Scythians*, who neuertheless in short time brake their *Treue* with him, sacking and spoiling the *Prouinces* of *Thracia*, *Myfia*, *Thessalia*, and *Macedonia*: the *Persians* then also by their example entering *Mesopotamia* and *Syria*, made spoile euen thorow *Armenia*.

(4) *Gallus* little regarding these troubles abroad, consumed his time idly in *Rome*, rather as a *Bondman* to his owne voluptuous desires, then as a *Conquering Monarch*; taking for his companion and *Fellow-Emperour*, his sonne *Volusianus*, as appeareth by inscription

Pomp. Latin.
Blondus.
Sabellicus.

Gallus persecuted
the *Christi-
ans*.
Euseb. Eccl. h. 10.
lib. 7. cap. 1.
Vincetius Pelli-
cence thorow all
the world.
Paul. Orosius.

Æmilian. Maurus
his victorie.

tion of *Coine* placed before, a very child, whose yeeres did quit him of any *Capitall Crime*. But himselfe not perceiuing the infortunate successe of *Decius* for persecuting the innocent *Christians*, stumbled (as *Eusebius* saith) at the same stone, and banished them whose *Praiers* preferred his prosperous estate: at which time followed so vniversal a *Pestilence*, that no *Prouince* in the world was free from the same: and his wicked Life and most vnfortunate Raigne hastened now vnto their period.

(5) For the *Gothes* continuing their furies begunne, his General *Æmilian. Maurus* ouerthrew them

with a wonderfull slaughter; whereby hee grew so famous, and *Gallus* so contemptible, that the *Souldiers* (euer affecting change) proclaimed him *Emperour*, the newes whereof soone roused *Gallus* from the Bed of his lasciuious pleasures; and with his sonne entred the quarrell against *Æmilianus*, whose fortune was to slay them both in fight; the yeere of *Christis* Incarnation, two hundred fifty three, after hee had reigned not fully two yeeres, and liued (as *Victor* testifieth) forty and seuen: whereupon the *Armies* ioining their forces together, conferred the *Imperiall Title* and *Ensignes* vpon the *Conquerour*.

Gallus and his
sonne slaine.
Euseb.
Euseb. Eccl. h. 10.
lib. 7. cap. 9.



C. IVLIVS AEMILIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXIV.



Æmilianus
Maurus Emp.

An. Do. 253.



Æmilianus succeeding *Gallus* by the only election of the *Myfian Armie*, was by birth an *African* in the *Prouince Mauritania*, of Parentage base and obscure; who being risen by the *Warres* from meane places of seruice, and no better then a *Common*

Souldier, aspired to the charge and credit of a *Captaine Generall*.

(2) His *Election* at first was contradicted by the *Italian Bands*, in fauour of *Valerianus* their owne *Leader*, whom they fought to raise *Emperour*, the Senate also inclining thereto, the fame of the man among them was so renowned. The most voices therefore heard on his side. Some haue rather accounted *Æmilianus* an *Vsurper*, then ranked him in the catalogue of lawful *Emperours*.

(3) But seeing *Entropius* doth allow him the place, we are not to dispute his title or claime: only his short

time of government admitteth no matters of large discourse, being cut off in the budde, before the graft had time to spring. For his *Armie* disliking what themselves had done, and hearing of the worth and election of *Valerianus*, laid down their weapons born in his defense, and tumultuously murdered him in the heat of their blouds, after hee had reigned in name, without action, the space almost of foure moneths.

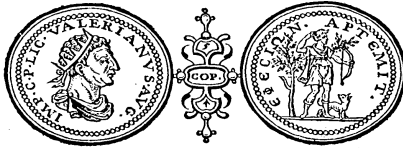
(4) So vnconstant is the state of *worldly felicitie*, and may bee compared to a masslesse *shippe*, which without *Tackle* is left to the mercie of the raging *Seas*, that is one while caried with the faire winde of hope towards the *hauen* of wilhed desires, but straightwaies ouerwhelmed with the waues of despair: and most especially him that is borne vpon the opinions of the giddy multitude, now carried aloft vpon the flouds of their fawning fauours, and anon left in the sands of their retiring ebbs, with a sudden shipwracke of all their fore-gone fortunes. And these adventures too soone *Æmilianus* felt, who the same yeere that hee thus put forth to Sea, lost all his aduecture, and therewith his life, Anno 253.

Æmilian. Maurus
his end, and con-
tinuance of his
raigne.



P. LICINIVS VALERIANVS.

CHAPTER XXV.

Anno Dom.
254.

Herodot. in Clito.

Dan. 4. 27.

Valerianus
his descent.

Treb. Pollio.

Valerianus a pro-
tector of the
Christians.Paul. Orosius
a Necromancer
seduced Valerian.

Apocal. c. 13.

Dionysius in Epist.
ad Nicomachum
apud Eusebium.Valerianus taken
prisoner by Sapor

L F euer the saying of the wife *Athenian Solon* (spoken to *Craesus* the rich king of *Lydia*) was true, That no man can be happy before the day of his death: then most truly may it be verified of this *Valerianus* the next succeeding *Emperor*: whose yeeres were multiplied with increase of honour, vntill they came to secenty and seuen, but then were clouded with such ignominious miseries, as the like had neuer hapned to any *Romaine* *Emperor* before him, and (I may well say) to no other *Monarch* in the world before liuing: Such is the Ordinance of our great God, sometimes from the *Dunghil* to raise men of low degree, and to place them with *Princes* in the *Chaire of Majesty*; then againe to bring down the *Mighty* from their *Seate of Glory*, & to leaue them chained with the poorest *Captiues*, & basest *Vassals*. For such was the *State* of that *Great & Proud King of Babel*, who from the height of *Majesty* fell into the conditions of an vnreasonable Beast. And so was it with *Valerianus*, though not vterly abandoned fro the *Societe* of men, as *Babels King* was: yet was he carried *Captive* vnto a Nation whose *Society* was scarce humane, and where his viage was more then barbarous.

(2) This man was both nobly defended, and of so great esteeme among the *Romans*, that being but a private, and then also absent, they chose him for their *Censor*, an Office of high dignitie, conferred euer vpon the Best, as *Trebellius Pollio*, who wrote the *History* of his Life, hath declared. *Eusebius* reporteth his beginning to haue bene gracious and milde towards the *Christians*, about any of his Ancestors whatsoever; yea euen those who were themselves openly accounted *Christians*: in somuch, that his *Clemencie* was their *Protection*, and his *Court* the *Sanctuarie* of their *felicities*. But *Satan* (whose hatred sleepeth not) stirred vp an *Egyptian* Sorcerer against them, who so enchanted the *Emperors* heart, that with great crueltie he began the *Eighth Persecution*, & so raged, that some haue appropriated the sayings of the *Apocalyps* in the thirteenth chapter vnto him, as to whom power was given for two and sortie monethes ouer the *Saintes* of God, and a month to utter great blasphemies: Of which opinion is the ancient *Dionysius Alexandrinus*. Many indeed were the *Martyrs* that he caused with horrible tortures to die, and more had done, if the iust reuenging hand of God had not cut him off.

(3) For *Sapores* the slaue King of *Persia*, making great spoile in *Syria*, *Cilicia*, and *Cappadocia*, drew *Valerian* from *Rome* into *Mesopotamia*, to withstand his rage, where striking Battell with him was left (either by *Treason* or *Chance*) without sufficient Guard to secure his Person, and was there taken *Prisoner* by the

Persians, hauing then reigned seuen yeeres (whereof two were spent in spilling of the blood of *Saints*) and thence forward, the rest of his life was enthralled to a most miserable and mercilesse seruitude: For the *Tyrannizing Persian* putt vp with this fortunate gale, to an excesiue swelling of pride; whensoever he was disposed to take *Horse*, made *Valerianus* his *Foot-stoole*, causing this *Greatest Monarch* of the *World* to whom all *Nations* did homage, to bow downe his necke and backe for himselfe thereon to tread, and mount into his *Saddle*: In which vnufferable slaucerie, his old body indured without release, to the end of his most wretched life, which by some Authours account was full seuen yeeres more; the very time of the *Babylonian Kings* abasement.

(4) But herein the misery of *Valerianus* is much greater then *Nabuchadnezzars* was, in that God both restored him to his former glory, and induced him with heavenly grace to confesse his finnes; whereas *Valerianus* perished in the desperate calamitie whereinto he was fallen; as *Eusebius* sheweth in these words: And thou *Valerian*, forasmuch as thou hast exercised the same cruelty in murdering the subiects of God, therefore hast proued vnto vs the righteous iudgement of God, in that thy selfe wast bound in Chaines, and carried away for a *Captive* Slave with thy *Glorious Purple* and thy *Imperiall Attire*, & at length also commanded by *Sapors King* of the *Persians*, to be laine, & powdered with salt, hast set vp vnto all men a perpetual Monument of thine own wretchednesse.

(5) How vnspokeable the cruelties were which this wretched *Emperor* endured by that *Tyrant*, may hence appeare, in that not only those which were Allies to the *Romaine Empire*, but also the *Barbarous Kings*, and friends of *Sapores* were moued with commiseration, and distaste, as *Trebell. Pollio* proueth by their own letters sent for his release, the copies whereof he there produceth. Other *Princes* also of the *East*, as of the *Backians*, *Albanians*, *Aberians*, and *Scythians*, inhabiting *Mount Taurus*, had such sense of these inominious vlags, that they disdained to receiue the letters from *Sapor* of his *Victorious* successe, and sent their *Ambassadors* to *Rome*, proffering their assistance for the redemption of their *Emperor*; yet all auailed not, and *Sapor* held fill his *Prisoner*, abating nothing either of his owne pride, or his *Captiues* miserie, but in the end (so hellish a fiend is reuenge) commanded his *Eyes* to be pulled out, and so for age and griefe he died, as *Eusebius* saith: being, as *Agathus* (a writer of credit) reporteth, slaine aloue by direction of this vn humane King. Thus did God punish one *Tyrant* by another, and thus himselfe felt those torments vnspied, which hee had without pittie inflicted on others. The race of whose *Raigne* is accounted to bee seuen yeeres before his *Captiuitie*, wherein he liued almost so long as *Gallienus* his sonne sat *Emperor*, and died in the yeere two hundred sixty one.

P. LICINIVS

Treb. Pollio.

Pompon. Latun.

Aurelius Victor.

Eusebius in firm.
ad Constantium
Sanctorum.Valerianus with
his finnes ele.
described
as follows.Aurelius in
Iliad.Gallienus in
Rome.Odenatus in
the East.Odenatus over-
cometh the
Persians.Gallienus seeth
Odenatus his
death.Valerianus had
his Eyes pulled
out.

Slaine aloue.

P. LICINIVS GALIENVS.

CHAPTER XXXVI.



An. Do. 261.



Valerian now Captiue in *Persia* (while *Odenatus* grasping the advantage, tooke vpon him the *Empire* of the *East*; & the now guidelesse *Armie* of *Rome*, occupied onely in spoile and mutinie, their leaders in faction, and the whole

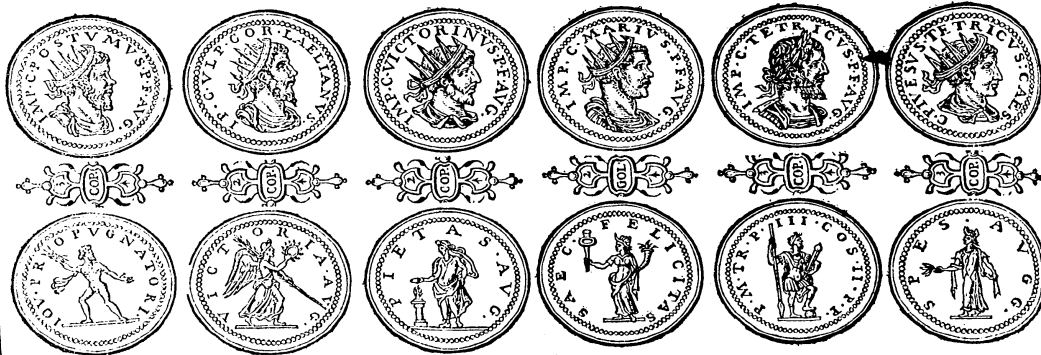
State affrighted in affrighted terror and amazement) *Balsila* (a gallant gentleman) first of the *Romans* moued with the instant miserie of the *Common-wealth*, resolved by electing anew an *Emperor*, to prevent the apparant ruine of his owne Country: yet neuer in this his worthe resolution, once dreamed of *Gallienus*, (though before chosen *Augustus* in the full fortune of his father) but the affection of the *Armie* forcibly seled the *Garland* vpon *Macrian* and his two sonnes, as the most worthe; who with his eldest not long after subdued by *Aureolus* vsurping *Illyria* (against *Gallienus* then receiued *Soueraigne* by the *Roman Senate*) and his youngest betrayed to murder by plot of *Odenatus*, left the distracted *Empire* to those three, of which the last did disdain much the indignitie offered to the *State* of *Rome*, by that base captiuitie of *Valerian*, whose calamity nothing touched the sense of his vn naturall sonne, entered a warre against the *Persians*, and tooke from them their Cities *Nisabiz* and *Carrae*. But such was the moderation of this man, that although hee had power of an independent Soueraignty, yet he held still a good correspondencie and intelligence in all his actions of Government, with *Gallienus*, to whom he sent (as monument of *Victorie* and *Reuenge*) such of the *Persian Nobilitie* as became his *Prisoners*: and thus *Odenatus* did conquer, and *Gallienus* triumph. But such was the basenesse of the other, that when he could not by any Princely vertue in himselfe, eclipse the true merit of *Odenatus*, he endeouored to deface by treachery what he could not suppress by valour. But in this failing, hee made him then (through feare) copartner of his *Empire*, killing him *Augustus*, and stamping his face and the *Persian* *Triumph* vpon the publike *Coin* of the *State*, by approbation of the *Senate*, leauing him alone to defend those *Frontiers* of the *Empire*, whilst himselfe, neither regarding his old fathers miseries, (most miserable that he had so vn naturall a sonne) the dishonour of the *Romane State*, nor the reuolts of the *Provinces*, whereof newes was daily brought him, spent his vnprincely thoughts vpon fruitlesse deuices, as in referring sundry *Fruits* and *Flowers*, that they might grow greene and flourish all seasons of the yeere; and (which was worse) vpon women and wanton dallian-

ces. Yet had hee a Ladie of excellent beauty and allurements, *Cornelia Salonina Pipara*, to his wife, the daughter of the King of the *Marcomanni*, whose feature wee finde often minted vpon her Monies. His sonne by her *Saloninus* hee adopted *Cesar*, of whom there is no more remembered in *Storie*, then that hee was borne noble, trained vp princely, and perished through the errors of his father, and not his owne. And to his brother *Licinus Valerianus* (to whom the father had giuen the title of *Cesar*) he added the honour of *Augustus*. And therefore we haue not held it improper, to adioine to his their monies in the front of his life.

(2) The calamities of this *Emperors* time were so many, as almost exceed credit: and *Signes* shewed both in the *Heauens* and the *Earth*, manifested his wrath, that late vpon the *Throne of Isler*, from whose presence issued *Thunderings*, *Lightnings*, and *Voices*. For (by Writers of best credit) the *sunne* was clouded as vnder sackcloth, and not seene for many daies together. *Earth-quakes* great, and fearfully refounding, ouerthrew Cities and other edifices, shaking the ground so terribly, that vast *Caues*, and hideous gaping bowels of the earth were thereby laid open, and whereout (no lesse strangely) flowed great streames of salt waters. The *Earth* roared, and seemed to thunder, when there was no voice heard in the aire. The *Sea* ouer-swelled her banks, and brake into many *Continents*, drowning *Countries*, *Cities*, and *People*: and (besides all these) so violent a *Pestilence* raged, that in *Rome* no lesse then 5. thousand persons died in a day.

(3) These miseries somewhat moued this *Heathenish Emperor* to remorse: and thinking thereby to pacifie the wrath of the *Diuine Powers*, hee staied the *Persecutions* of the *Christians*, sending out his *Edicts* in fauour of them. For not only the *Heauens*, *Earth*, and *Seas* declared the anger of their God, out of whose mouth went a two-edged sword, but the *Provinces* also seemed to be removed out of their places. The *Souldiers* of all parts electing their owne *Generals*, advanced no lesse then *Thirty* at once, who assumed the title of *Emperours*, but are recorded to *Posterities* by the name of *vsurping Tyrants*. And as they were all deadly opposites each to other, so were they iointly almost all bent against *Gallienus*; whereby the *Romane Empire* was more oppressed with her owne forces, then euer it had been by forraigne *Powers*. And since sixe of them assumed the *Purple Robe* in this Western Angle of the *Empire*, it will not be impertinent to the course of *Storie*, with a light touch to remember them, and to expresse their *Monies*, as we haue done the rest of those that held the reins of government in these parts of the *Romane World*.

Apoc. 4. 2.
Treb. Pollio.
Strange fights in
the Heauens.Great and might-
ty Earth-quakes.Gallienus staied
the persecutions
of the Christians.
Euseb. Eccl. Hist.
lib. 7. cap. 17.
Apoc. 1. 16.Thirty Emperors
at once.



M. *Cassius Labienus Posthumus* after the death of *Saloninus* (who was committed to his education by *Gallienus*) assumed the Empire, by aide and encouragement of those of *Gallia*, over whom he had born the office of lieutenancy by favour of *Valerian* the Emperour. And these again, as all Populars greedie of Innovation from him and *Iunius Cassius Posthumus* his sonne, tooke both honour and life, after ten yeares gouernment. This opportunity either made by *L. Elianus*, or fitly taken, mounted him vp with ale into that Imperiall throne, in which he sat not with like fortune of continuance, though of conclusion. To this man succeeded together, *M. Aurelius Victorinus*, and *Lucius* his son; both in a Tumult neere *Colap* by their souldiors murdered. And had not the inordinate lust of the elder, blemished his other vertues, he had toall the most excellent Emperors bin nothing inferior, in the best of their other vertues.

(7) The restless humor now of the giddy Commons, next setleth it selfe vpon *Aurelius Marius*, a foueraigne future in his meane condition to their base affections (for he was no better then a Black-smith) yet to him a man of their own meanes & making, they were no lesse vnconstant and cruel, then to the rest: after three daies, setting an end of his gouernment, with a sword of his own forging. And therefore *Pinxus Tetricus*, the father and sonne, though ascending the throne of Maiestie, with the greatest applause of that people, and filling it vp with much merit and happy success of their own, when they considered the insufferable insolencies and desperate practises of that prophane tanke, chose rather to adorne *Aurilians* Triumph, in a voluntarie captiuitie, then to iue and rule

at the deuotion of a lawlesse multitude. And these times seemed no lesse fatally bent to bloud, disorder, and tyranny in other parts as well as these: For the *Pannians* raised *Ingenius*: The *Mysians*, *A. Regillianus*: The *Egyptians*, *Emilianus*: In *Africa* *Celsus* was proclaimed: In *Ilyricum*, *Aureolus*: and in the *East*, *Odenatus* (a man the more famous for *Zenobia*, his glorious and magnanimous Wife; Whose valour was so feared of *Gallienus*, that to make him his, hee admitted him his Fellow-Emperor, with the Stile of *Augustus* as we haue remembered before.) The *Germans* inuade *Italy*: The *Goths* waite *Greece*, *Pontus* and *Asia*; The *Samaritians* (eizec *Austriche* and *Hungary*): The *Persians* robbe *Syria*: The *Saxons* breake into *Gallia*: The *Franks* into *Spaine*: In a word, all are in vproares, the second seale opened, and the Red-horse prepared for Battaille, whose Rider had receiued a great and sharpe Sword, with Commission giuen him to take Peace from the Earth: and these times of troubles are so famous in Storie, and the reuelations of *Acts* so agreeable to the words of the *Prophecie*, that they may seeme iustly a most exact accomplishment of that sacred vision.

(5) Finally, when *Gallienus* had reigned from his first Associating with his Father the terme of fifteene yeeres, *Martian*, *Heraclianus*, and *Cerionus*, three of his principall Captaines, (compounding together that one of them should bee Emperour) plotted his death, whiles hee besieged the Citie *Milan*, where they traiterously murdered him, the yeere of our Lord two hundred sixty nine, after that hee had suffered the Empire to be rent in peeces, and vsurped by many *Foraine* and barbarous Nations.

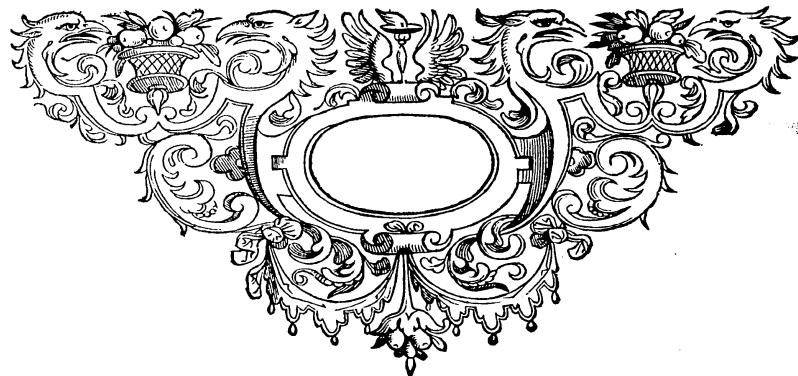
Pomp. Letur.

* Paulus Oref.
* Cassidor.
* Iordanis.
* Eusebius.

Apoc. 6.4.

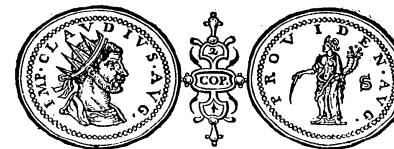
Gallienus times
prophesied of
the Euangelist
S. Iohn.

Gallienus his
death and con-
tinuance of his
raigne.



M. AVRELIVS FLAVIVS CLAVDIVS.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Fla. Claudius
Emp.

An. Do. 269.



drop the *Waller*, those mounted *Towers* which so long had braued the *Skie*, had bene laid leuell with the *Ground*, and made the ruines of All-consuming Time.

(2) For whereas by the strange confusions vnder the late Emperour, the *Eagles* body was burdened with the waight of those thirty heads at once: of which number though many of them by their owne mutuall rauening were consumed before the death of *Gallienus*, yet the mightiest, as *Aurelius* Gouvernour of *Dalmatia*, *Tetricus* and *Victorinus*, who held *Britaine* and *Gallia*; and *Zenobia* (the *Heroicke* *Queen* and wife of *Odenatus*) all the *East*, to omit the *Murderers* of *Gallienus*, that darst not make their claime, (their deed so ill diggested) all these were still remaining and strong, at such time as *Flavius Claudius* by the *Souldiers* was elected before the *Walles* of *Milan*, and confirmed with much ioy by the *Senate* in *Rome*.

(3) This *Flavius* was descended of noble *Parentage*, out of *Dalmatia*, by some; or as others say, of *Dardania*, and sprung from the *Troian* *Blond*. But *Aurelius Victor* will haue him the sonne of *Gordianus* the Emperour before spoken of. Howsoever, a most worthy man he was, an excellent Captaine, of singular continence, a iust Iudge, a louer of strangers, severe to the wicked, but most benigne to the vertuous: so that we may well say, *In Rome was a new world*; or at least, *In the World was a new Rome*.

(4) His first Expedition was against *Aurelius*, that held *Milan*, whom he there slew, and iointed his Souldiers to his owne strength. But preferring the generall good before his particular quiet, he addressed his warres for the *East*, against the *Goths*, who (as *Tornandes* their Story-writer reporteth) had infested those parts of the Empire (for fifteene yeeres continuance) with continuall irruptions, and had now lately entred friendship with many other like barbarous Nations, inuading *Thracia*, and the Countries before them, euen vnto *Macedonia*: and thence taking their way thorow *Hungarie*, came downe the *Riuer Danubie*, with two thousand Saile of Ships, fraught with *Munition* and *Men*. To meet these, *Claudius* prepared: but before his Encounter, he wrote thus to the *Senate*:

(5) "Renowned Fathers and Reuerend Lords, vnderstand ye for certaine, that three hundred and twentie thousand men of warre are entred our Confinnes, whose waight doth seeme to burden the Earth it

selfe, and whose warre-like preparations make these parts of the Empire to tremble and quake; with whom I am now to strike Battle: wherein if the Conquest be mine, the ioy will be yours. But if I fall, yet I pray remember that I fight after *Gallienus* hath reigned, and rent the strength of the Romans in these remote Prouinces, and after the Rebellions of *Lollianus*, *Posthumus*, *Eugenius*, *Regillianus*, *Celsus*, and others, who haue so weakened the finewes of our Armes, and broken the Swords and Launces of our defence, that I may well say, wee want, if not strength, yet weapons wherewithall to fight. And to our shame be it spoken, *Zenobia* a Woman commands all our *Crosse-bowes*, and bends them against our vnarmed breists. How small focuer therefore our performance shall bee in this seruice, repute it (I pray) for great, and with our proceeding may be fort to the weale of the Empire.

(6) Which done, with no daunted spirit he entred Battle, and with more then wonted courage fought so valiantly, that he flew and tooke Prisoners, to the number of three hundred thousand fighting men, with two thousand Shippes laden with *Munition*, so that whole houses were filled to their toppes with *Targets*, *Shields*, *Swords*, and *Launces*, and other abillments for Warre, whereof he wrote againe to *Rome*: and following the Enemy with successe of Victorie, in *Thracia* neere *Bizantium*, in *Macedonia* neere *Thessalonica*, droue the *Goths* out of those parts which they had so long infested, and restored the wonted bounds of the Empire. Thence marching into *Germanie*, neere the Lake called *Garda*, gaue that reuolted Nation a great ouerthrow, where (as *Eutropius* and *Victor* doe report) hee vanquished two thousand of those stoupe Germans, and there established againe their subiection to the Romans power. And now minding to goe forward against *Tetricus* and the pusilliant *Zenobia*, a Feuey did first cut off his purpose, and shortly after his life: a thing very strange and rare in that age, as by the course of their raignes wee haue hitherto seene; not that so great a Monarch should die, (they being all of the same earthly mould that meanest men are) but that in those daies a Roman Emperour should die in his bed, as other men doe, of a natural death.

(7) Hee was of personage tall, his bodie well composed and strong, bright and cleere eyes, his face great and full; and of life most temperate and chaste. Hee reigned one yeere, tenne moneths, and fifteene daies, and died the fourth of *Februarie*, in the yeere of Christ, two hundred fuentie one. His Statue of Gold was set vp in the Capitall, and his Targer of the same metall hung vp in the Senate-house, himselfe (in honour of his admired worth) placed among the *Romane* Emperours that were deified for Gods: such an estimation and loue did his vertuous life procure vnto him euen after his death.

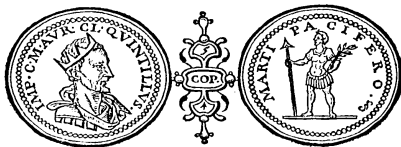
Aaa 2

M. AV-

Goths van-
quished.Flavius Claudius
died a natural
death.His personage
and qualities.

M. AVRELIVS QVINTILIVS.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

A. Quintilius
Emperor.

An. Do. 271.

Emperius.

Quintilius brother
to the last
Emperour.

Quintilius, the Brother of Claudius, and Vice-Roy in his absence for the Guard of Italy, was by the Armie whereof hee had command, proclaimed Emperour immediately vpon the Newes of Claudius his death: The Senate as iofully confirming his Election, as they were sorrowfull for their losse of his most worthy Brother. Brethren indeed they were by nature, and in conditions not much vnlike; so that what seemed to bee past in the one, was in the other supplied and still remaining: For this M. Aurelius Quintilius, was both wise for Civil Government, and experienced for Warres, wanting no complements of an absolute Prince.

(2) But long his glasse stood not without a turne, nor his Fortunes fauning without a frowne. For the

victorious Souldiours which in his expeditions had followed Claudius, and thought themselves worthy of the first voyce in Election, proclaimed Aurelianus for Emperour, a most valiant Captain; and of whose prowess there had been so sufficient experience, as that Quintilius knew hee could not stand against him.

And therefore mistrusting the strength of his Title, and affections of his Souldiours, reputed ignominious for a noble minde, to die with lesse honour then he attained vnto, and enioied by his life: and therefore resolving to die an Emperour, chose rather by a voluntary cutting of his own veines, to powre out his life with his bloud, then to hazard the chance of vncertaine warres, or to returne to his private estate.

And thus no longer reigning then seuenteen daies, (which short time could minister little matter of larger discourse) hee died with his brother the same moneth of February the twentieth day, and yere of Christ his incarnation, two hundred seuentie one.

Quintilius cut
his own veines,
and so bled to
death.He reigned but
seuenteen daies.L. DOMITIVS AVRELIVS VALER.
AVRELIANVS.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

L. Aurelianus
Emperor.

An. Do. 271.



him of the Senate in Rome continued still his riuall for Maiestie, and attained the top of that high set

Gole, whereof Quintilius failed, before his foot had well mounted the first step.

(2) This Valerius Aurelianus was of parentage neither honourable nor rich, and yet his fortunes carried him to the height of both. Some recount his birth was of Dacia; others of Mysia; both so doubtful that Flavius Vopiscus, (the copious Writer of his Life) leaves it vndecided, and to the censure of his Readers. His risings were by the Warres; wherunto from his child-hood hee had a naturall inclination: and for continuall carying of his weapons, was commonlie called Aurelianus the Sword-bearer.

Aurelianus his
decent.

Fla. Vop.

(3) His

Aurelianus com-
parable with
Cesar and Alex-
ander.Aurelianus inlar-
ged the walles of
Rome.Chap. 37.
Souldiers faith
the both tied
him, and put
him to flight
also.
Zenobia her
Letter to Aurelianus.* The great Citie
Pempia (with
which
Souldiers
Salomon; whence
their Nation
tooke the name,
bordered vpon
the Parthian
Kingdome in the
middle betwix
it and the Ro-
man Empire.

Ovid Metam. li. 6.

* Tomyris was a
valiant Scythian
Queene, who
the King Cyrus
and all his Hosts
and filling a ves-
sell with their
bloud, did cast in
Cyrus head, say-
ing, bloud hast
thou thirsted
now drinke ther-
of thy fill. To
this doth Zeno-
bia allude.

(3) His seruice was sufficiently knowne to the Generals of diuers Provinces, who had forty sundry times imploied him in the charge of a Lieutenant, and vnder Claudius in Persia he was the Coronell of the Horse. In the warres of Sarmatia he is reported to haue slaine forty Enemies with his owne hands in one day; and at other severall times, to the number of nine hundred men, as both Vopiscus and Theodorus haue affirmed. And generally so famous were his deeds, both before he was Caesar, and after, as that he is by some compared with Julius and Alexander.

(4) Vpon the ratifying of his election by the Senate at Rome, hee hastned not thither to be saluted and enstalled Emperour, but forthwith marched against the Suetians and Sarmates, who fore infested the Empire with warres: and having soone subdued them, and quieted those parts, in great haste hee came into Italia against the Germans, who with Fire and Sword had gone as farre as Milan: and them likewise with great valour hee forced thence. Then entering Rome with great pompe, caused the Walles to bee repaired and enlarged, which was not lawfull but onely for Victorious Emperours. But long hee staid not, ere he returned into Syria, against the stout Queene Zenobia, whose braue resolutions, and warlike power for fight, her Letter in answer vnto him (when being sorely tired, hee profered her wealth, life, and liberty to yeeld) doth manifestly declare: the tenour thereof being as followeth.

(5) "Zenobia, the most mighty Eastern Queene, to Aurelianus, Romes Angulus, sendeth greeting.
Neuer Capitaine to this day, in vying Penne in stead of Speare, or filed Words for weapons points, hath more sufficiently discharged the parts of Warre, then thou to me in Writ hast done: wherein I well perceiue thy drift, and blame thee not, that seest me but a Woman: which Sex you men make subiects only by your smoothing tongues. But know, Augustus, thou dealest not with a Roman Dame, nor with her who vpon base conditions will subscribe her honour; but with Zenobia, the * Palmyrean Queene, in whose womanly brest the manly heart of great Odenatus doth still liue and lie. These courting termes doe ill become a Campe, and worser him who would be stiled a Mars. But yet thy Gal-den Showre hath rained befide our Lappe; nor wee a Venus to meete thee for thy sport, but with our Laurence in hand to trie our lawfull right, and with our Swords to answer thy demands in bloud. I am a Woman; so was * Tomyris; thou knowest the rest: in Armes against Augustus; so was Cleopatra, who rather chose to sting her selfe to death, then liue a subiect (though a Prince) vnder great Octavian. Art thou his better? thou art deceived: or I ther worse? nothing lesse: who from her person doe deriue my Pedigree, and from her courage will maintaine my cause. I am a Queene, and raigned beloued, was Romes Emperesse, obeyed and honoured; and the wife of Odenatus, whom all you Romans greatly feared. Are my powers weake? The Persians (whose strength you well haue tried) will supplie. Are my Souldiers few? The Saracens haue more that will assit: and the Armenians are wholly at my command. If then Thebes and Robbers in Syria were sufficient to ouerthrow thine Armie, what hope is left thee to escape our hands, when all these our strengths shall be thus conioined in one? Therefore the same offers that

"to me thou hast sent, the same to thee I heere re-
turne, and will performe, if thou in time embrace
this truce.

(6) This haughtie answer of that vndaunted Queene, put more fire to the furie of Aurelianus, who tooke the Letter in such scorn, that hee threatened death to the Inditer, (whom he supposed to be Longinus the Philosopher, who was alwaies with her, and her Instructor) which afterwards hee did accomplish: for destroying her severall Aids before they could meete together, and besieging Palmyra her strong Citie, hee brought the same to such distresse, that in the end hee tooke her Captiue; and glad of such a prey, carried her himselfe to Rome, where following his Chariot of Triumph, attired in Tiffues and richest Robes of price, shee was lead his Prisoner in Chaines of Gold: vpon whose presence the Spectators with admirations so much gazed, that somewhat it dimmed the Maiestie of Aurelianus: for hee is said to be exceedingly faire, though not very white, but somewhat browne: her eyes blacke and bright, her teeth shining like pearles, her bodie tall, and of most stately proportion, her countenance modest, milde, and pleasing, her voice sweet, her conuersation honest, her minde chaste, and body continent, wife, temperate, and learned in the Greeke, Latine, and Egyptian tongues. Yea the achievement of this Conquest was held so notable, that hee reputed himselfe the Restorer of the East, as it appeareth by the reuerse of his money here prefixed in the entrance of his raigne.

(7) These Acts of Aurelianus made him so famous abroad, and feared at home, that Tetricus which had held out against Galienus, came in vnder his protection, holding it more safe to bee a Subiect in quiet, then a Commander against an Opposite of so invincible a minde: by whom thereupon hee was made Gouvernour of Campania, and of other Provinces in Italie.

(8) Hitherto this Emperours successes were very prosperous (we may well suppose) for his indulgence to the Christians, whose assemblies he permitted, and whose Bishops he so fauoured, that at their request hee banished Paulus Samosatenus the Heretike out of their Conncells, and published an Edict in the behalfe of their Synods. But afterward Satan minding to sift the Wheat, that the Chaffe might be his, stirred vp this Emperour to raise the Ninth Persecution, and to send forth his Edicts for the destruction of Gods Saints: which whilest he was in perusing, and about to set his hand and scale, a Thunderbolt from Heauen strake into his presence, and so neere vnto his person, that all accounted him to be therewith slaine, God warning him by this his Messenger to be wife, lest hee perished in his own waies; as shortly after hee did, being slaine by his Seruants, through the Treason of Mnesiphens his Secretarie, the nine and twentieth day of Februarie following, neere vnto the Citie Bizantium, when hee had late Emperour foure yeeres, eleuen moneths, and seuen daies, the yeere of our happinesse, two hundred twenty six.

(9) He was of stature tall, of body well shaped, a pleasing countenance, and of a seemly presence, a great feeder, and very seuer, whereby he was as much feared as beloued, and therefore reported to be a good Physitian, but that hee ministered too bitter Potions; and was Canonized after his death among the holy Emperours: in the second yere of whose raigne, the Great Constantine of Helena in Britaine was borne.

Zenobia very
quiditaZenobia her
beautie.

Flau. Vopisc.

Engh. Etel. Hist.
Chap. 39.
Zenobia at
first a Romanne,
now a persecutor
of the Christians.
Aurelianus sent
with a Thunder-
bolt from Heauen
Plal. 2. 10.

Aurelianus slaine.

Eutropius,
Aurelianus,His feature of
body and minde.

Eutolce.

M. CLAV.

M. CLAVDIVS TACITVS.

CHAPTER XL.

Claudius Tacitus Emp.



An. Do. 276.

Aurelianus being dead no man sought to be Emperour.

Senate and Souldiers brain courtiers who shall choose the Emperour.

Enthusiasm of the People.

Claudius Tacitus elected Emperour.



The former seditions ended by *Aurelianus*, and the state of the Empire remaining now in quiet, no man appeared to sue, much less tumultuouslie to strive for that Royal Diadem; but all the great Commanders (as though they made courtesie in giving way each vnto others) stood at the foot of Maieftie; no man attempting higher to mount. The *souldiers* sent to the *Senate*, to designe the man whom they best liked; the *Senate* requested the souldiers to elect him whom they held worthiest, in which respectiue complements, and most kinde correspondencie of all parts, eight moneths passed with a peaceable *Interregnum*, as writers report.

(2) It seemeth, the fresh sense and fearefull experiences of the former heady proceedings, made men more wise, then to seeke their owne deaths, and especially the *Generals* to be better aduised, then to runne desperately vpon their owne destructions. A change incredible, that *Tiberius* ere whiles would needs be fitted Emperours, among the tumultuous *Souldiers* (though they were sure to buy the use of that name with their dearest blood) and not one now in peace could bee found, either halty to seeke it, or verie willing to accept it.

(3) At last both *Senate* and *Souldiers*, having in their eye *M. Claudius Tacitus*, a man very Noble and of *Consular* degree, of great age, singular learning, & long experience in Magistracie; him by a ioint and conspiring suffrage, they all elected to their Empire: but he having before hand some inkling of this their purpose, got him out of the way, living very secretly two moneths at his Rurall Mannor, flying (saith *Popiscus*) that high dignity which he fore-saw would proue his overthrow. And when they did by Embassages often sollicite him to accept of their Election; sending him the Ensignes and Stile of *Augustus*; hee againe returned them, though with hartie thanks, yet absolute deniall, alledging by reason of his age and infirmities, that hee was euery way vnable to discharge their so great expectations.

(4) But after much inter-courfe, and many intertreaties passed, at length (the necessitie of the State so requiring) he accepted their offer, though not with

much contentment to himself, who knew the waight of so great titles would proue heavy & alwaies dangerous for him to beare; but with vnspokeable ioy, was recciued by the whole State, which promised all blessed hopes to the state vnder so worthy, so wise, so vertuous, learned, and so iust an Emperour.

(5) For as before his aduancement, he was of Exemplary composednes and vertuous disposition, so in this high Estate, his life was temperate, and without al pride, & so desirous to be a Preceder of moderation, & singularity vnto others, as that he would not permit his Emperesse to weare any *Tewels* of high price, nor to vse other customable superfluitie, or excessie in his owne house. For learning and learned men, whom he euer embraced in his priuate Estate, he now by all meanes endeouored to honour and aduance, and publickly professed that what Imperiall vertues hee had, hee was to ascribe them to his study of good letters: For which cause, hee was wont to call *Cornelius Tacitus* (that worthiest Historian of the Romans State) his Father, and commanded his workes to be carefully preferred in euery Library throughout the Empire; and ten times euery yeare to be transcribed on publique cost. All which notwithstanding, many of that worthy *Authors* Bookes haue since miscaried.

(6) But his vertues were too great for the world long to enioy: and such his Raigne was but short, it is bootlesse to lengthen it with long discourses: For his Peace continued without any memory of Warres; and his short time (wherein hee did nothing without consent of the Senate) was spent rather reforming other mens vices, and abuses of the Lawes and State, then in displaying his owne vertues; which doubtlesse (if their faire streame had not bene vntimely stoppt) would haue proued incomparable to any his fore-goers, and vmatchable by any his followers. What death hee died is left vncertaine; *Entropius* thinketh him slaine, by his rebellious *souldiers* in Asia, vpon his voiage against the *Persians*; but *Victor* reporteth that hee died a naturall death, and that of a burning-feuer, in the citie of *Tharsus*: And *Flautus Popiscus*, (who wrote his life) saith his death came vpon a lurcharge of griefe, by reason of factions; whereby (the infirmities of his age thereto helping) his vnderstanding was crazed, and his heart broken, whereof hee died, when he had reigned six moneths, and twenty daies, the yeare of Christ Iesus, one hundred seuentie six.

Claudius Tacitus his vertues.

Claudius Tacitus his care to preserve the workes of Cornelius Tacitus.

Entrop. lib. 9.

Aurel. Vict.

Popiscus.

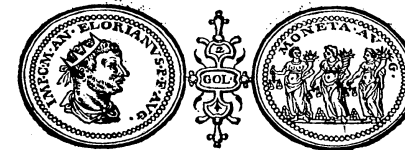
Claudius Tacitus his Raigne.

FLORI.

M. ANNIVS FLORIANVS.

CHAPTER XLI.

M. An. Florianus Emp.



An. Do. 277.

Florianus made himselfe Emperour.



Sooner was the death of *Tacitus* divulged, but his brother *Florianus* (much vnlike him in that point) tooke vpon him the Name and *Authoritie Imperiall*, without expecting any election either of *Senate* or *Souldiers*, and therefore not likely long to stand sure.

And although in all other princely parts hee was not much vnlike his brother, yet hauing so great an Opposite as *Probus* was, on whom the *Easterne Armie* had conferred the same Title, the blossomes of his conceited hope withered euen in the budde, and

perished before they had any time of growth.

(2) For no sooner came to his eares the newes of *Probus* his election, but he found that heady and precipitate attempts were pleasing in their Beginnings, but full of difficulties in their Proceedings, and most disastrous in their Successes: and therefore despairing both of *Men* and *Meanes* to raise the Building, whose foundation he had so hastily (but too weakly) laid, hee caused his owne veins to be cut, as *Quintillus* before him in like case had done, whereby hee boldly bled to death, after hee had enioyed a Titular Soueraigntie only eight daies, saith *Entropius*: but *Popiscus* saith, not altogether two moneths, and thinkes him killed by the *Souldiers*, in the Citie *Tharsus* likewise, in the yeere of Christ two hundred seuentie and seuen.

Florianus his death.

Chap. 38.

Entrop. lib. 9. Popiscus. Florianus his assigne.

M. AVREL. VALER. PROBUS.

CHAPTER XLII.

Val. Probus Emp.



An. Do. 277.



HE *Easterne Armie* most potent and famous at the death of *Tacitus*, from them was expected the new Emperours election, which accordinglie they did, but with much more wisdom and deliberate circumspection, then the *Souldiers* of those times were accustomed to doe. For euery Captainie of the *Armie* singled out his owne Companies, and in feuerall Assemblies exhorted, that all affections laid aside, they would applie their mindes to thinke of the worthiest man, on whom they might conferre their voi-

ces and fauours. At which time, the opinion of *Probus* his worth had so generally possessed the hearts of all men, that the shout and crie of all was vniforme, Let vs haue *Probus* for our Emperour. This being signified to *Rome*, the *Senate* with applause and thanks approoued and confirmed his Election, with additions to his Title, *Augustus*, *The Father of his Countrey*, and the highest Bishop. For in those times, euen amongst *Heathens*, the sacred Title of a Bishop was accounted an additament of honour euen to an Emperour.

(2) He was borne in *Hungarie* in the Citie *Sirmia*, of honourable Parentage, especially by his mothers side. His fathers name was *Maximus*, a man famous in *Militarie Service*, who died *Tribune* at the warres in *Egypt*: and himselfe very young, but very valorous,

Probus called the father of his Countrey, and the highest Bishop.

His descent.

Ccc i by

Sabellicus.

Probus comparable with Hannibal and Cesar.

Probus slayeth 400000 Germans.

Honor. Mutius.

Saturninus chosen Emperour.

His speech to his Electors.

by the Emperor *Valerianus* (who so loved him for his virtues, that he vied to say of him, *that of all men he best deserved the name Probus*, that is *virtuous*) was made a *Tribune* also. In which Office, with great praise he served vnder *Gallienus*, *Aurelianus*, & *Claudius* the Emperours; vnder whom besides other exploits he fought severall single-combats to the great honour of himselfe and *Country*, and received as marks of victories, many Civill Crownes, Collars, Bracelets, Launces, Banners, and other Ensignes of Martiall device and Priviledge. Preferred to be *Generall* in *Africa*, he subdued the *Marmarides*: In *Egypt* the *Palmyrenes*; vnder *Aurelianus* the *Sarmates* and *Germans*; vnder *Claudius* the *Goths*; and in all places so famous for his Acts, that hee was compared with *Hannibal* and *Cesar*.

(3) His first service after hee became Emperour was in *Gallia*, against the *Germans*, that had made themselves *Lords* thereof, where in one Battell, continuing two daies, he slew *some hundred thousand* of them, and recovered severall Cities from the *Enemy*, as himselfe signified by his own Letters to the *Senate*. After this warring in *Sclavonia*, he quieted the *Provinces* of *Macedonia*, *Russia*, and *Polonia*: And entering *Thracia*, did no lesse in *Greece*, *Syria*, *Arabia*, *Palestina*, and *Iudea*; whence passing into *Persia*, hee had honourable compositions of *Narsus* their mighty King. Whereupon issued so vniuersall Peace, that there were no warres heard of in all the *Provinces* of the *Empire*; inasmuch that it was a common *Proverbe*, *The very mice durst not gnaw for feare of Probus*. But long this lasted not, ere hee was disturbed: for the *Egyptians* erected one *Saturninus*, a *Captaine* both wife and valiant, for Emperour, and that so fore against his will, as he was like to be slaine by them for gaine-saying their desires; and by a speech deliuered to his Erectors, he made known to them his aduersities from so dangerous an ambition; to this effect.

"(4) *Fellowes and Friends*, by my whole endeavours I haue alwaies fought to prevent that, which now I see I cannot thinne, I meane the *Throne of Maiesie*; which howeouer to others, it may seeme full of glory and securitie, yet to my self, I fore-see it will proue, both base and dangerous. Base, for that I am no more the master of mine owne affections; which hitherto in my private estate were bestowed freely, & where I thought best, but must henceforth be caied at other mens dispose, and cast vpon those that deserve them least. That little time that I was wont to take, in retyring my selfe to my selfe, must now be straitened to serue others; and my thoughts wholly spent to prevent those weapons, which are borne (in shew) for my defence, but are (in truth) the keyes of mine Imprisonments. I cannot go without a *Guard*: I cannot sleepe, without a watch; I cannot cate without a Taster; these are but bondage to a free condition, and neuer neede in a private fortune. That it is dangerous, it is no lesse apparent: for besides the *sharp-pointed & weighty sword*, hanging onely by a *twisted-therd* ouer our heads, *Probus* is not a *Gallienus* to compound for the *Diamond*, but to touch his *scepter*, is to awake a sleeping Lion: What should moue you then, to stir vp his wrath, to seeke my death, and your owne destruction? For assure your selues when I die, I shal not die alone: So all our fame purchased in so many yeeres' imployments, shal be lost by this one daies worke: and my Conquests in *Africa*, of the *Mores*, and in *Spain*, branded lastly with the eternall feares and infamie of Rebellion.

(5) These speeches (as *Flavius Vopiscus* the *Writer* thereof receiued from the report of his *Grand-father*, who was there present and heard them) could nothing at all diuert the resolution of the *Souldiers*, but that they persisted and maintained their Election against *Probus*: who vpon notice thereof halting toward them with a mighty power, offered them pardon, as one vnwilling to shed *Ciuill-bloud*, or to lose so worthy a man as *Saturninus* was: but vpon refusal of

his proffered Clemencie, hee gaue him a most sharpe battell, wherein most of the *Recoulters* were ouerthrowne, and *Saturninus* in the assault of a *Castle* besieged, was slaine, to the great griefe of *Probus*, who fought to haue saved his life.

(6) But with his death ended not all *Ciuill Broiles*: for *Bonifus* & *Proculus* two monsters of that age (though of different kinds of vices) opposing themselves against him, and assuming the Title and Robes Imperiall, vsurped the *Provinces* of *Britaine*, *Spain* and some part of *Gallia*, knowing that in these places *Probus* was not much beloved. *Bonifus* was borne in *Britaine*, but brought vp in *Spain*, without note of action, but onely in his cups, for hee was esteemed the greatest drinker of all men liuing: inasmuch as *Aurel.* said of him, he was born, *not to ouerret, sed ut biberet; not to draw breath, but to draw in liquor*: & yet (as it seemeth) hee was in good account vnder the said *Aurelianus*, hauing a charge of *Ships* vpon the *Germane Seas*, which either by *treacherie* or *negligence* were burned by the *Enemy*, in the mouth of *Rhine*, and (as *Probus* tooke it) not without the priuie of *Bonifus*: who therefore not daring to stand to the triall, made all his powers against the Emperour, but was in Battell ouercome, and despairing euer againe to make head, put his owne in a halter, whereupon it was said, that a Battell was hanged, and not a Man.

(7) *Proculus* was a *Lygurian* borne, as vsuatiated a vassall to *Venus*, as the other to *Bacchus*; and therewithall so impiouslie impudent, that as hee had a heart to commit any filthinesse, so a forehead to boast of it openly, as appeareth by his owne Letters, wherein hee vaunteth, how many scores of faire *Virgins* hee depeiuied of that faire name in one fortnight; but this Graund-General of *Venus* Camp was suddenly forsaken by his *Souldiers*, and came to his deserved end.

(8) Some stirs there were at that present in *Britaine*, by the incitements of their *Gouernor*, whose name though *Histories* doe not specifye, yet he may seeme to bee that *Cl. Corn. Lullianus*, whose ancient *Coyne* are found in this *Iland*, and not else-where: and his meane to the place, was *Victorinus* a *Moore*, in great fauour with *Probus*: who taking himselfe not cleare from suspicion got leaue of his Emperour to repaire vnto *Britaine*, where giuing it out that he was come thither for safetie of his Life, was courteously receiued by the *Generall*. Whom secretly in the Night, hee murdered, and then speedily returned to *Rome*; hauing by this Expedition, both appeased the tumults in the *Province*, and approoued his fidelitie to *Probus*. About this time (as is recorded) certaine *Vandals* and *Burgundians* that had invaded *Gallia*, were sent into *Britaine* by the Emperour to inhabite, who though they had troubled the *Romans* peace in *Gallia*, yet did them good service in *Britaine* to stay their subiection; and the *Britaines* themselves for some good seruices were now sufficed by these Emperours, to plant *Vines*, and make *Wines*, with other matters allwell for pleasure as profit.

(9) At length the *Empire* in these west parts standing vniuersally quiet, *Probus* determined a iourney into the *East*, to end at once all forraie wars; saying, he would shortly bring it to passe, that the *state* should need no more *Souldiers*: (which speech they tooke very indignely) & hauing passed *Thyricum* in *Sclavonia*, was by some of his own Army for curbing, as they conceiued, with an ouer-hard hand their dissolute & idle manners conspired against & treacherously murdered, in November the second, and yeere of *Christ*, two hundred eighty two, hauing reigned five yeeres and foure moneths: others say, six yeeres: where notwithstanding they erected for him a most honourable Sepulchre, wherein was engrauen this Epitaph: *Here lieth the Emperor Probus, iustly for his goodnes called Probus, of all the Barbarous Nations and Tyrants a Conqueror*.

Saturninus his death.

Vopiscus.

Bonifus and Proculus rebell against Probus.

Sabellicus.

Bonifus death.

Sabellicus.

Sabellicus.

Victorinus a Moore his Surname.

Hist. Mag. Brit. lib. 3. cap. 30. Vandals and Burgundians sent to inhabite in Britaine.

Vopiscus Sabellicus. Wine made in England.

Probus his death.

Vopiscus. Eusebius. Eusebius Ecclesiast. lib. 7. cap. 29.

M. AVRE.

M. AVRELIVS CARVS. WITH CARINVS AND NVMERIA-NVS HIS SONNES.

CHAPTER XLIII.



M. Aurel. Carus Emp.



Bonifus death.

Sabellicus.

Sabellicus.

Anno 282.



ROBVS thus slaine in the midst of his Army, without any apparant cause ministred, the *Souldiers* were stricken into a great feare and mistrusted each other to be guilty of the *Treason*, no man therefore diligent to finde out the beginner, nor hallic to punish the bloody executors; but holding the right of Election to remain in themselves, they presently chose *Carus* for their Emperour, who had been the *Pratorian Praefect* valiant, sufficient, of worth and esteeme; whereunto the *Senate* likewise consented.

(2) From whence or what parents we should deriue his birth, is vncertaine, and of diuers writers diuerly reported. For *Flavius Cassellianus*, who wrote the storie of his time, as *Vopiscus* doth report, saith, that he was borne in *Sclavonia*, or as we call it *Macedonia*. *Onesimus* an ancient writer affirmeth his birth was in *Rome*, and that his father was a *Sclavonian* indeed, but held for a citizen, as he citeth by letters from *Vopiscus*: *Aurelius Victor*, *Eusebius*, and *Paulus Orosius* will haue him a French man, and borne at *Narborne*: but whence soeuer, his princely parts deserved these his princely preferments, and no waies for the short time of his raigne, carried he himselfe vnder expectation. Two sonnes hee had of vnequall conditions, *Carinus* and *Numerianus*, these both he made his *Cesars*, with the Name and Power of *Augusti*.

(3) His first proceedings was to finde out the murderers of *Probus*, whom hee severely punished, which tooke away all suspicion of treason in himselfe. Then marching against the *Sarmates*, whose furie had pierced so far into *Pannonia*, that they threatened *Italy* itselfe, hee ouerthrew with the slaughter of sixteen thousand, and tooke twenty thousand of them prisoners. And leauing *Carinus* (his elder sonne) to gouerne *Britaine*, *Gallia*, *Thyricum*, and *Spain*, himselfe with the younger, *Numerianus*, prepared for the *East* against the *Persians*, in which expedition hee tooke in his way *Mesopotamia*, *Seleucia*, and certaine cities whom the enemy had entred: and being surprized with sickness, and

not able to trauel, pitched his Pavilion vpon the shore of *Tigris*, where in the midst of his armie (about the yeere of our saluation 283.) garded from all supposed dangers and assaults of man, felt the vnexpected stroke of death euen from the hand of God himselfe: for in his bed by a thunderbolt falling from heauen, he was slaine, with many others then present with him in his tent, and the same consumed altogether with lightning fire.

(4) The terrour thereof so daunted the courage of his whole army, that no further they proceeded in their enterprise: and his death was so grievous vnto *Numerianus* now elected Emperour, that with continual weeping (a fault in few Sonnes who are raised by their fathers fall) his eies were so weakened, that he could not indure any light. Vpon which accident, *Arrius Aper*, (his wiues father) tooke occasion to conspire his death, hoping thereby to attaine the Empire himselfe. For hauing at all times free access to his presence, at length in his closet hee secretly murdered him; pretending to the armie, that his infirmities only kept him from fight; and so leauing his body to putrefie and corrupt, in short space by the very fauor thereof the treason was decifed, and the Traitor slaine by the hands of *Dioclesian*, who was both his Iudge and executioner.

(5) His Empire thus ended before it was well begunne, the Armie proclaimed *Dioclesian*, a *Principall* man in the *Campe* for Emperour: who to vphold his election, made all his power for *Gallia*, against his Concurrant *Carinus*, a man of profuse sensuality, who there had caused himselfe to bee proclaimed, and in his fathers absence had so ruled there and in *Britaine*, that *Porphyrio* liuing at the same time, gaue out this testimony, that *Britaine* was a fertile Prouince of tyrants. Betwixt these two *Captaines*, many skirmishes were fought with variable successe, till lastly in a set battell, *Carinus* was slaine by a *Tribune*, whose Wife he had defiled; whereby the Imperiall Title was ioyntly conferred vpon *Dioclesian*.

(6) The time that these three, the father and two sonnes reigned, is reported to be two yeeres and somewhat more; and this last to die the yeere of *Christ* s nativitie, two hundred eighty foure.

C. AVRE.

Carinus, Numerianus, Cesars.

Carinus slaine by a thunderbolt.

Hierome.



C. AVRELIVS VALER. DIOCLESIANVS IOVIVS AND M. AVRELIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

CHAPTER XLIII.



Val. Diocles.
Emp.

Val. Maxi-
mian, Cesar
and Emp.



The Empire thus deuolued to Dioclesian, with approbation of the Senate, hee euery way studied to bee accounted worthy of the same, as knowing well his birth was no way answerable to his present lot: and therefore chose for his Cesar, Maximianus, a man of better descent, very honourable, wise, and valiant, as was manifested in his first seruice against the Gaules, whom with an infinite number of peasants in that prouince, troubling the peace of the Romans, hee with much slaughter ouercame. For which exploit so fortunately accomplished, the Emperor made him his Consort in the Gouvernement.

Paulus Orosius.
Eutropius.

(2) Dioclesians parentage is vncertainly reported by Writers, some making him the sonne of a Notary, and others of a meere Bondman; but all agreeing that his Country was Dalmatia, and his offspring very base. This man being but a Common Souldier, consulted with a Witch for his future successe; who told him (if you please to beleuee the reporters) that he should become an Emperour after he had killed a Bore: to which he gaue credit, and euer after was a great enemy to that beast, and in time grew vnder Probus to so great account for dexterity in expediting his affaires, that he was made Steward of his house, and now lastly elected to the Empire.

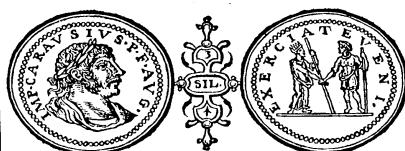
Flavius
Pepisius.

(3) The very first thing that he attempted, was the punishment of his predecessors death: for which Arrius Aper being convicted before his tribunall seat, himselfe rising suddenly from the Throne, ran him thorow with his sword, in outward shew for zeale of Iustice, as not able to endure so foule a fact: but in truth to fulfill the Prediction of his hostesse, the Druid, for that Aper signified a Bore. After which act, he held his Empire fully established.

Eutrop.
Signorinus.
Orosius.

(4) To let passe many imployments and troubles of the State, these two Emperours chose to themselves two Cæsars, whereby the One-bodied Eagle became againe four-headed, and each almost of an equall au-

thority. Dioclesian chose Galerius Maximinus, and Maximianus, surnamed Hercules, chose Constantius Chlorus a Roman Senator, enforcing them to put away their former Wiues, & to take their Daughters, for an assurance of loue by the bonds of that Alliance; of whom the former was imployed for defence of Illyricum, and the other afterwards into Britaine against the Rebellions there raised by Carausius, whose coine is here set.



Pomp. Leuis.
An. Do. 286.
An. Do. 291.

Carausius a Brit-
taine raised
rebellion in An.
Do. 286.

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 6.

(5) This Carausius by birth a Menapien, but of low Parentage, as Beda and Eutropius saith; who being appointed Admirall by the Romans to guard the British Seas, from the Pyrates of the Saxons and Lower Germans, who with continuall robberies wasted the coasts, abused his authority both in suffering those Pirates to passe vnder Compositions, and in taking many shippes and much substance from the true Subiects to his owne vse: whereby in short time hee became very rich, and (like a cat set to keepe mice from the larder) did more mischief then the Robbers themselves. Sabellicus reports, one very politike custome whereby he enriched himselfe; and that was by suffering the Pirates to take as much spoiles as possibly they could before hee would surprize them; whereby they were his instruments to rob others, and nothing to better themselves.

(6) Maximianus then warring in Gallia, and fearing the greatness of his wealth and power, sent secretly to slay him by treacherie; and in the meane while surprisid many of his principall men at Gessoriacum.

(7) Carausius now rich & compassed with friends, seeing his destruction thus intended and sought, thought

*Now called by
legis in Picardy.

thought that death was but death as well to Prince as to Peasant: and therefore with a bold resolution, and aid of the Picts or Northern Brittaines, (who had been alwaies enemies to the Roman Subiession) put on the Purple Robe, and vsurped the Authoritie and Title of Emperour, which hee most valiantly maintained in sundry Battles, and so kept it for the terme of seuen yeeres.

Carausius defend-
eth his vsurpa-
tion seuen yeeres.
Maximianus a-
gainst Carausius.

(8) Against him Maximianus set forward with a puissant Armie, and marched to the British Ocean: but there vnderstanding the power of his Enemy, and finding himselfe in want of men for Sea-seruice, hee pitched downe his Tents: and knowing Carausius a man meet to command the Ilanders, and able to defend them against the other Warlike Nations, sent him offers of peace: the making of which is remembred vnto vs by the Coine of Carausius before expressed, whereon are stamped the Portraictures of two Emperours joining hands. So himselfe returning against the Batarians, left Carausius for Britaine, who gouerned the Prouince with an vpright and vnstained reputation, and with exceeding peaceableness, notwithstanding the incursions of the Barbarous. Hee rectified the wall (as Ninnius the disciple of Elnodungus writeth) between the moneths of Cluda and Carunus, fortifying the same with seuen Castles, and built a round house of polished stone vpon the bank of the Riuier Carun, which (some thinke) tooke name of him, erecting therewith a Triumphant Arch in remembrance of Victorie. Howbeit, Buchanan thinks the same to bee the Temple of Terminus, and not the foundation of Carausius.

Ninnius.

Aeneasius
filius.

But the date of his noble Government was brought now to a period, by the Treason of Allectus his Familiar friend, one whom he had imployed in managing of the State, who thirsting after the Supreme Authoritie, betrayed his trust, and treacherously murdered him by a wife, putting on himselfe the Purple Robe, stamping this his Image vpon the publique Coine as an absolute Soueraigne, and assuming the Title Imperiall, about the yeere of Christ 294.



(9) Constantius who had leuiued an Armie, and was come with great speed vnto Bulloigne in France, (a Towne that Carausius had sometime fortified and kept) hearing now of his death, determined the recovery of Britaine; and after great preparations, at length passing the Seas in a darke fogge or mist, landed his men without impeachment: which done, hee fired his owne Ships, thereby to frustrate all hopes of escape. Allectus, who had laien to intercept his coming, forooke also the Seas, and meeting at vnawares with Allectus, great Senechal of the Prætorium, as a desperate man, halsted vpon his owne death: for encountering with him, hee neither ordered his Battle, nor marshalled his men, but fought at randome very vnfortunately: for hauing put off his Purple Garment, he was among many other slaine, when hee had held his estate the terme of three yeeres.

Allectus slaine.

The Frankens and others of the Barbarous Souldiers escaping the Battle, sought to sacke London, and so to be gone: but as good happe was, the Souldiers of Constantius, which by reason of a miste and fogge were seuered from the rest, at vnawares came to London, where they rescued their Allies, and making great slaughter of the Enemy, flew Gallus their Leader, casting his body into a Brooke that then ran thorow the Citie, which thence after was called by the Brittaines Nant-gall, and by the English, Gallus his Brooke,

where now a faire Street is built, called (vpon that occasion) to this day Walbrooke.

(10) The deaths of these two vsurpers, with the recouerie of the Brittaines vnto their wonted obedience, was accounted so great a benefit to the Romans, that it is most gloriously commended, and Rhetorically set downe in a Panegyricke Oration ascribed to Ammianus, in the praise of Dioclesian, Maximianus, and Constantius: where (after hee had extolled the fertilitie of the British Soile, and the Riches that the Empire reaped thence) he set forth the strength of the Enemy, growne to so dangerous a head: and concluded with this Acclamation; O what a manifold Victory was this, worthie vndoubtedly of innumerable Triumphs, by which Victorie Britaine is restored to the Empire, their Confederates brought to obedience, and the Seas secured to a perpetuall quietnesse! Glory you therefore (invincible Emperour) for that you have as it were gotten another World, and in restoring to the Romans the glory of the Conquest by Sea, have added to the Roman Empire an Element greater then all the compass of the Earth, that is, the mightie maine Ocean itselfe: and afterwards now by your Victories (Invincible Constantius Cesar) whatsoever did lie vacant about Amiens, Beauois, Trois, and Langres, beginneth to flourish with Inhabitants of sundry Nations. Tea and moreover, that your most obedient City Autum, for whose sake I haue a peculiar cause to reioice, by means of this Triumphant Victorie in Britaine, hath received many and sundry sorts of Artizans, of whom those Prouinces were full. And now by their workmanship the same Citie riseth up, by repairing of Ancient Houses, and restoring of Publike Buildings and Temples: so that now it accounteth that the old name of brotherly Incorporation to Rome is againe restored, when seee hath you est-foones for her Founder.

Ammianus Pa-
neygy. Orat.

The Emperours
extolled for re-
couering Britain.

Ammianus Pa-
neygy. Orat.

Many Artificers
in Britaine.

(11) But leauing Constantius to be further spoken of in his due place, let vs pursue the Raignes of these two Tyrants, who new began the Persecutions of Gods Saints in all the parts of the Empire, wherein the rage of Satan so preuailed, that seuentee thousand men and women were crowned with martyrdom, within the space of one moneth, besides infinite numbers of such as were otherwise punished.

Giles.
Damasius.
Sabellicus.

As in other Countries, so here in Britaine the Christian Churches were demolished, their Bibles and other godly writings burned, and themselves tormented with a more cruell and longer continuance then formerly had bene vsed: for this endured the terme of ten whole yeeres together, leauing no time of intermission, nor place free from the staine of Martyrs blood.

Eusebius.
Beda.
Rad. de Diceto.

The Christians
torments for
ten yeeres to-
gether.

And amongst others, it made Britaine to be honored with the glory of many holy Martyrs, which constantly stood and died in the Confession of the Faith; whereof the first is reported to bee Albane of the City Verolanum, who was beheaded at Holmhurst (since called Derbyfold) where now the Towne of S. Albans (bearing his name) is built, and in whose honour, Offa the great King of Mercia founded a most magnificent Monasterie. Of this Albans the ancient Fortunatus Priscus in his booke of the Praise of Virginitie, maketh mention thus:

Albanum egregium secunda Britannia profert:
Britaine fertile of all good,
washt with glorious Albans blood.

(12) His Instructor Amphibolus afterwards apprehended, was brought to the same place, and whipped about a stake, whereat his intralles were tied: so winning his bowels out of his body, was lastly stoned to death. Sundry others also in other places laid downe their liues for their Professors sake, as Iulius and Aaron at Leicester, saith Beda, or rather at Caer-leon in Monmouth-shire, as our Grand-Antiquarie iudgeth: and in Leichfield so many, that the place became another Golgotha, A Field of dead Corps. For which cause the Citie doth beare an Ekechoon or Field charged with many Martyrs, for their Seale of Armes euen vnto this day.

Amphibole a Bri-
taine puto
death.

Iulius and Aaron
at Leicester.

At Leichfield great
multitudes in
Cambrid.

Ioh. 19. 17.
John Rossa trans-
lation in lib. 1.
prophet. Epist.

(13) This last rage is by Orosius and Beda accounted the Tenth Persecution from Nero; and by others, Ddd 1 the

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 6.

Apoc. 13.
Dan 7.

Ezek. 38.2.

The violent
deaths of many
Emperors.Psal. 45.5.
The first Scale.
Apoc. 6.
The second
Scale.

The third Scale.

The fourth
Scale.

The fifth Scale.

The sixth Scale.

the Tenth Horne of the Imperiall Beast, who had received his Power from the Dragon (the diuel) and Forme from those foure Beasts deciphered by the Prophet Daniel, whose mouth was as the Lyons mouth of Asinus, his feete like the Beares feete of Persia, his spots as the Leopards of Greece; and these ten hornes taken from the Monster of the Grecians parted kingdomes, the Seleucies and the Ptolemies, called in Ezekiel, Gog and Magog, and here alluded vnto by S. Iohn, that thus made battell against the Saints. But as those foure Beasts perished and were crushed by the fall of The stone cut without hands, Emmanuel borne in our flesh: so this Beast compounded of them foure, fell in the destructions of these most wicked Emperors, whereof all almost died vtinimely and vnusuali deaths, as the like is not read of elsewhere.

(14) For some slew themselves, as Nero and Otho did; some were smothered to death, as was Tiberius; some poisoned by their wines, as Claudius and Commodus; some tugged and torne in pieces by their own Subiects and Souldiers, as Vitellius, Heliogabalus, Papienus, and Balbinus; some stabbed by them whom they most trusted, as Caligula, Domitian, Didius, Gallienus, and many others; some tumultuously murdered, as Pertinax; Senecus, Maximinus, Amilius, and Probus were; some flaine in battell and defence of their titles, as Macrinus and Gallus; some hanged themselves, as Gordianus and Maximianus did; some drowned and swallowed vp, as Decius and Maxentius were; some flaine by a thunder-bolt from heauen, as Carus was; some died in most miserable captiuitie, as Valerianus did, whose skinn was fleeced off, he yet aliue; some cut their owne veines and bled to death, as Quintillus and Florianus did; some dying mad, as did this our Dioclesian; some few, and them somewhat fauoring Christians, died in their beds, a thing most strange to see in these times, wherein the Wrath of God thus fought against them in his Iustice, and the power of his Gospel preached by his Apostles and Disciples, that as a Conqueror crowned, and riding vpon a white horse, bare a Bow in his hand, and shot the sharpe Arrows of death into the hearts of these the Kings enemies, as in the opening of the First Scale is scene; and in the Second is described and made manifest by a Red Horse prepared for Battell, whose Rider bare a Bright sword, and had commission To take peace from the earth; which most effectually wee haue scene performed in most of these preceding Emperours. And as Famine in great Warres is not greatly strange; so Scarfite exceeding Plentie, was scene vnder the opening of the Third Scale; whence a Blacke horse sent from God, paled through the earth, whose Rider bare a Balance to weigh Corne, as it were Spice, for dearth; and in the raigne of this last Tyrant Dioclesian, they that had Eagles eyes might see the threefold iudgements of God in the opening of the Fourth Scale, when Sword, Famine, & Death went all together as a pale-horse, sent from the presence of the Lamb, whose Rider was Death and Hell, following as his Page. These were the times of calamities, where as the Soules of the righteous in the opening of the Fifth Scale, cried for vengeance for the blood of the Martyrs, whom these ten hornes had goved to death; and vnder the Sixth Scale, both then, and for cuer the wicked are said to call for the Mountaines to fall vpon them, and for the rocks to hide them from the presence of Him that sat vpon the Throne, and from

the wrath of the Lambe, before whom none could stand.

But why doe I (weake man) thus open the Curtaines of Gods most sacred Tabernacle, to behold the Mercy-seate of his diuine Mysteries in the accomplishments of these holy Oracles, when as they who haue worn the Ephod, and in whose hand Aarons Rod hath budded, with a religious reuerence haue feared to look into the same? Therefore with the charge of Iohnna I will not approach neere the Arke, and with Iobs heauers will Lay my hand on my mouth, and returne to the prosecution of my purpose.

(15) It was the nineteenth yeere of his raigne, in the month of March, when this Tyrant sent forth his wicked Edicts through all his Empire; That all churches should bee vtterly ouerthrowne; that the Scriptures should be burnt; that all Christians for honour should bee held infamous, and all Christian seruants should bee vncapeable of freedom; that all Pastors should be enforced to offer to Idols, &c.

(16) The fountaine & chiefe cause of these miseries lighting on the Church of Christ, did arise from the Christians themselves, as Eusebius in these words declareth: After that our conseruation through too much libertie and licentiousnesse was degenerated, and holy discipline corrupted, whiles every one of vs did enmie, bite, and backbite each other, waging intestine warres within our selues, and piercing one anothers hearts with the sharpe speeres of opprobrious words; so that bishops against bishops, and people against people were at bitter contention. Lastly, whiles nothing but hypocricie was in the face, deceit in the heart, and guile in the tongue, whereby mischiefe was euery full at the brimme, then began the heauy hand of God to visit vs, &c. Where he proceedeth and sheweth that the greuous finnes of the Christians, was the cause of drawing downe these iudgements on their heads.

(17) And so this wicked Tyrant accordingly was but as Gods Instrument and Iron-threshing-flaile, to bruise the precious wheat and feed of the Gospel, and to crush that outward glory of the Christian profession, which then was flourishing in most parts of the world.

(18) But long the Lord deferred not their releafe nor that Tyrants end. For after the First yeere of their persecutions, and twentieth of his Raigne, the thirteenth day of April, in the yeere of Christs Natuiuite three hundred and three, hee with his Fellow Emperor (both of them by the reuenging hand of God, stricken with a mad humor (saith Eusebius) renounced the Empire, and defending from the Tribunal put off their Purple and Imperiall robes, whereby they againe became Priuat men.

(19) Dioclesian retired into Dalmatia, where in the Citie Salonia, hee poisoned himselfe, as Aurelius Victor affirmeth: and Eusebius saith, that no small disaile ouertooke him, for that hee died mad. His consort Maximianus escaped not vnpunished, but died for attempting the Murder of Constantius, and as Eusebius auoucheth, hee hanged himselfe in the citie Masillis: such ignominious deaths followed these two persecuting Tyrants, whereof Dioclesian had formerly made himselfe a God, and by an Edict commanded his Foote to bee kissed: a practise pretly since imitated by his Successors, who haue reuiued the wounded Head of the Beast, and haue trod his steppes in wounding and persecuting the true members of Christ.

Exod. 19.
Numb. 17.Ioh. 3.4.
Iob 29.9.Euseb. eccles. hist.
lib. 8. cap. 1. & 2.Euseb. hist. eccles.
lib. 8. cap. 3.

Amos 1.3.

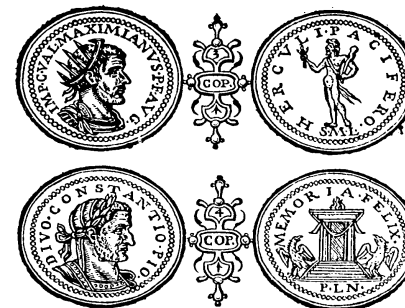
Euseb. eccles. hist.
lib. 8. cap. 11.Euseb. eccles. hist.
lib. 8. cap. 14.Fox All. pag. 315.
& 123.
Euseb. eccles. hist.
lib. 8. cap. 19.Dioclesians
practise.
The Popes
imitator of him,
and not of
Christ.

FLA.



FLAV. VALER. CONSTANTIVS CHLORVS, & C. GALERIVS VALERIVS MAXIMIANVS.

CHAPTER XLV.

Constantius,
Chlorus,
Emp.G. Val. Maxi-
mianus, Emp.

Dioclesian and Maximianus resigning vp their Souerainties (as is said) at the Citie Nicomedia in Bithynia, committed the charge thereof, and the defence of the Common-wealth vnto Galerius and Constantius, who had been their Cæsars: vpon which occasion, great

peace followed in the Church of Christ, and most especially vnto these Westerne Prouinces. For those Emperors confirmed by the Senate, presently diuided the Empire betwixt them, as two Seuerall Estates, and not subiect to one Government, as formerly had been exercised; which (as Eusebius hath noted) was the fatal end of the Imperiall Glory.

(2) Vnto Galerius fell the gouernment of Sclauonia, Macedonia, Thracia, Egypt, and the Prouinces in Asia, who tooke for ease of that burden these two, whose Coines we haue here exprest.



(2) C. Galerius, Valer. Maximianus, and Aurel. Valer. Seuerus his sisters sonnes, whom in the yeere of Christ

three hundred and six, hee elected Cæsars, and after Augustus which honours the last enioied not long, for he was slaine at Rome by the treachery of Maxentius, after one yeere. And the other, when he had foure yeeres gouerned as Cæsar, and threes Augustus in the East, died at Tbaris in Cilicia.

(3) And to the lot of Constantius, who much at one time with his Copartner, elected his sonne Constantine, (so famous in christian historie) Cæsar, fell Italy, France, Britannie, Spaine, Germany, and most of the Prouinces in Asie: (which seeming to him (who rather chose to gouerne well then much) too impatient, gaue vp to Galerius all that in Asie, as too remote from the Seat of his residence, and eie of his direction.

(4) This good Emperor was for his Palenese (surnamed Chlorus, by birth a Roman, his Father named Eutropius, his Mother Claudia, Nece to the Emperor Claudius. Himselfe had attained the dignitie of a Senator, and was both Wise, Valiant, Noble, and Vertuous, whose parts Eusebius doth thus commend.

Constantius was a man of singular clemencie towards men, and pietie towards God. He did not partake with him in cruelty, whose partaker he was in Soueraintie: neither staining his Raigne with the blood of the Saints, nor destroying our Churches and places of Praier, as Maximianus furiously did; but rather hee reuerenced and highly honoured those who truly honoured God. For which God so blessed him, that this goodly Father left a more goodly Sonne Constantine, the Heire of his well-gotten Empire.

(5) To which his vertues, other Authors adde, that he was of great affabilitie, louing, and gentle, little regarding his Private Profit, but altogether rainging to enrich his Subiects, and to that end would often say, That it was more behoouefull for the Weale publike, that the wealth of the Land should bee disperfed into the common hands, then to be locked vp in Princes coffers. In which kind, so auerfe he was from all superfluities, that hee may be adiuudged faulty the other way: for vpon Feastall daies, and in his Entertainments of Strangers, he was faine to borrow Plate of his friends (for such many times are richer then their Soueraignes) to furnish his Table and Cupboards.

(6) But about all other vertues, was his louing countenance

Constantine the
Great elected
Cæsar.Euseb. eccles. hist.
lib. 8. cap. 16.

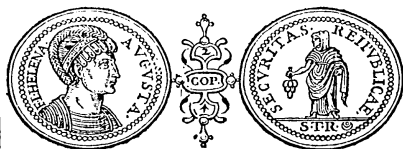
Pomp. Letius.

2. Kin. 10. 20.

Constantius poli-
citic to the who
were true Chri-
stians.Constantius his
wines.

countenance and protection to the late persecuted Christians, making his court their sanctuary, and his Chapel their oratory. And to winnow the chaffe from the wheat, he vied the like police as Iehu King of Israel sometime had done against the Priests of Baal. For he commanded all his Officers to offer sacrifice to the Idoll-Gods, pretending to dis-courte all such as refused: but contrariwise those that obeyed he put from him, with this reproofe, that *hee who is disloyall to his God, will neuer be true nor trustie to his Prince.*

(7) When he was first made Caesar, he was forced to forsake his first wife *Helena*, by whom hee had his vertuous sonne *Constantine*, and to take *Theodora* daughter in Law to *Maximianus*, for a further confirmation of friendship.



Eutropius.

Niceth. li. 7. c. 29.
Eutropius li. 1. c. 1.
De la bi. 2. Angl.
lib. 1. c. 8.
Holinsh. Chron.
lib. 4. c. 25.
Camb. Brit. c. 74.

Baronius.

(8) *Helena* by birth was a Britaine, the daughter of *Calpurnius* a British Prince, as faith *Eutropius*, though *Nicephorus* make her of *Bithynia*, and *Beda* tearmes her his Concubine, some an *Imme-holder*, and others for her person and parentage stand very doubtfull: to meet with whom, let vs heare the censure of *Times Chiefe Secretaries*, the learned *Cambden* in his *Britannia*: *Constantius* (saith hee) *what time hee serued in Britaine* under *Aurelian*, *tooke to wife Helena daughter of Coelius or Coelius a British Prince, on whom hee begat that noble Constantine the Great in Britaine*; for so (together with that great Historiographer *Baronius*) the common opinion of all other Writers with one consent beare witness, *unlesse it be one or two petty Greeke Authors of late time, and those dissenting one from the others, and a very learned man, grounding vpon a corrupt place of Iul. Firmicus. Howbeit, compelled he was by Maximianus to put her away, for to marry Theodora his daughter. This is that Helena which in Antioque Descriptions is called VENERABILIS and PISSIMA AVGVSTA, and for Christian Pietie, for cleansing Ierusalem of Idols, for building a goodly Church in the place where our Lord suffered, and for finding the sauing Crosse, is so highly commended of Ecclesiasticall Writers.*

And yet both *Jewes* and *Gentiles* termed her by way of ignominie and reproch, *Stabularia*, because shee (a most godly Princesse) sought out the *Cribbe* or *Manger* where Christ was borne: and in that place where stood that *Hofelie*, founded a Church; for which cause she was by the Enemies of *Christian Religion* called an *Hofelie*, and (because shee are commonly kind to their Guests) a *Concubine* also. For whose defense, let the *Euerall Oration of Ambrose*, made vpon the death of *Theodosius*, answer, wherein hee doth rather commend her humilitie, then affirme any such base Offices in contempt of her person.

They say that this Lady was at first an Imme-holder or

Hofelie, &c. Well (saith he) this good Hofelie Helena hastid to Ierusalem, and sought out the place of our Lords Passion, and made diligent search for the Lords Cribbe. This good Hofelie was not ignorant of that Guest which cured the way-saying mans hurts, that was wounded by Theeues. This good Hofelie chose to be reputed a Stable-sweeper, that she might thereby gaine Christ.

And verily she was the moouer and onely worker of her husbands conuersion, who casting off all superstitious worshipps, willingly acknowledged the onely all-ruling God, suffering the Christians that had bene hidde in Caves and Dennes, now to exercise their Devotions publicly, and both to reedifie the old ruinate Churches, and to erect new.

(9) Of the like Pietie wee read in a Queene of the like name, *Helena*, Queene of *Adiabena* (commended by *Iosephus*) that was a Conuert to the *Iewish Religion*, who coming to *Ierusalem* to visit the Temple in time of a greuous Famine, which happened in the daies of *Claudius*, sent to *Alexandria* for great quantity of *Corne*, and for *Dried Figges* from *Cyprus*, which hee very charitably bestowed vpon the poore. And about three fadoms or furlongs off from *Ierusalem*, built a Sepulcher with three *Pyramides*, wherein her selfe and her two sonnes (both Kings) were afterwards interred. But to proceed.

(10) *Constantius* being heere in *Britaine*, and lately returned from his Expedition made against the *Caledonians* and *Picts*, fell sicke in the City of *Torke*, where the Imperiall Throne of his residence was set. At which very time, *Constantine* his sonne escaping the hands of *Galerius*, (with whom hee had bene left hostage) hastid from *Rome*, hauing belaid all the way with Post-horses for the purpose, and left them houghed for feare of pursuit, came with all speed to *Torke*, and to his fathers presence; who so much ioied at his sight, that he sate himselfe vpright vpon his Bed, and in the presence of his Counsellors spake as followeth:

(11) "It now sufficeth, and death is not fearefull, seeing I shall leaue my vnaccomplished actions to be performed in thee my sonne, in whose person I doubt not but that my *Memoriall* shall be retained, as in a Monument of succeeding fame. What I had intended, but by this my fatal period left vndone, see thou performe: let those fruits bee ripened in thee the Branch, that I thy stocke from a vertuous intent haue had ingrafted alwaies in me: that is, gouerne thy Empire with an vpright Justice; protect the Innocent from the Tyrannie of Oppressours; and wipe away all teares from the eies of the Christians; for therein, aboue all other things, I haue accounted my selfe the most happy. To thee therefore I leaue my *Diademe*, and their Defense, taking my Faults with mee to my Grave, there to be buried in euermlasting obliuion: but leauing my Vertues (if euer I had any) to reuiue and liue in thee. With conclusion of which vertuous counsell, hee tooke his last farewell of his sonne, his friends, and his life, after hee had sate *Caesar* sixteen yeeres, and *Emperour* two, as *Eusebius* accounteth, and died the five and twentieth day of *Iuly*, the yeere of our Saviour three hundred and six, and of his owne age fifty six.

Ioseph. Antiq.
lib. 20. c. 6. 2.
Helena Queene
of Adiabena a
vertuous wo-
man also.

Constantine efci-
penth Galerius.

His preuenting
pursuit.
He commeth
saie to Torke
to his father.

Constantius his
speech to his
sonne.

Constantius his
raigne & death.
Pomp. Letin.
Socrates Ecci.
lib. 1. c. 23.



FLA. VALE-

FLA. VALERIVS CON-
STANTINVS MAXIMVS.C. A. VALERIVS LICI-
NIVS LICINIANVS.

CHAPTER XLVI.

Val. Constant.
Emp.

An. Do. 306.

Euseb. Ecci. Hist.
lib. 8. c. 14.



HE Father thus departing both gloriously and peaceably, in the presence of his Son and sage counsellors, the griefe in the losse of the Sire was no greater then was the ioy conceived that they had gained the sonne for his Successour, all men reioicing at the good fortune of that tourney, wherein hee came to close the eies of his dying father, and to comfort the sorrow of his mournfull Countreymen. For forthwith heere in *Britaine* by acclamation of the people, assistance of the Souldiers, and aduice of *Ereus* King of the *Albans* (who by the way had accompanied him hither in his flight from *Rome*) they proclaimed him at all hands *Emperour*, and Successour to all that part of the world which his father held.

This election was ioyfully ratified by the Senate, and of all other Prouinces so gladly accepted, that they accounted this land most happye of all other, whose chance was first to see him their *Caesar*, as in these words of the *Panegyrist* is seene: *O fortunate Britaine, and more happye then all other Lands, that hast the first sight of Constantine Caesar.*

(2) His birth (as is said) was in *Britaine*, and honourably defended, his father a *Roman Senatour*, *Caesar*, and *Emperour*; his mother a *Britaine*, (daughter to *Celcus*) a *Princesse* vertuous, wiſe, chaste, and religious: himselfe in true *Pietie* degenerating from neither. At his first entrance he pursued the reliques of the warre which his father had begonne against the *Caledonians*, and other *Picts*, subduing the *Britains* that were more remote, and *Inhabitants* of those *lands* that are witness (saith one) of the Sunnes set or going downe



(3) *Maxentius* the sonne of *Maximianus Herculinus*, who at the death of *Constantius* was proclaimed *Augustus* by the tumultuous *Prætorian Souldiers* at

Rome, and *Romulus* his sonne (whose face wee haue heere with his fathers from both their monies expressed) was created his *Caesar* (the way to that Seat of Maieſtie wherunto hee had too hastily and most vnduly climed) for now this *Vrsurper* by his *Necromancies*, *Adulteries*, *Persecutions*, and *Murders*, was growne so vntolerable and odious, that the Senate sent to *Constantine*, craving his aid and redresse, who sore lamenting the fores of the Empire, and the case of the Christians, first wrote: but that taking no effect, prepared his forces against *Maxentius*.

Maximianus the father, either in true zeale or fained pretence, (which by the sequell is more probable) tooke great offense at his sonne *Maxentius* vnſufferable outragiousnesse; and vnder colour of dislikes and redresse, repaired to his sonne in Law *Constantine*, whose daughter *Fausla* hee had married, and notwithstanding his faire pretences before the face of *Constantine*, yet secretly hee tampered with *Fausla* to make away her husband. But the good Lady well knowing that the bond of a childe is great, but greater the loue of a wife, reuealed his treacherie to *Constantine*, who caused him therupon to be put to death, a fit end for so bloody a Tyrant. And ripe was the like destiny for his no-way-degenerating sonne, against whom hee prepared his forces: and drawing *Licinianus* Gouernour of *Selaunia*, who was made *Caesar*, to his aide, by giuing him his sister *Constantia* to wife, (a man but of an ordinarie descent, though *Gallienus Maximinus* had made him in *Illyrica* his Copartner in the East) halted towards *Rome* with an Host of ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse; leuiued out of *Britaine*, *France*, and *Germanie*.

(4) But knowing well that successe in warre dependeth more in diuine assistance then humane strength, yet doubtfull what *God* hee should in this blessed enterprise inuocate for aid, (for as yet he was not fully settled in the Christian Faith, though the Gods of the *Gentiles* hee obserued altogether deceitfull) cast vp in this holy meditation his eies Eastward to heauen, and had by diuine ordinance presented to him in obiect the figure of a Crosse, wherein were Starres (as letters) so placed, that visible might be read this sentence in Greeke, *IN HOC VINCE*, as diuers Authors report.

Yet are there some fro the testimony of *Eusebius* himselfe, vnto whom this blessed man did declare his *Vision*, that affirme this forme being the first Greeke Characters of the name of Christ, (to which the reuerſe of *Decentius* hereafter expressed, as of many others, may adde much probability) rather then either of these, **+** **T** although *Tertullian* and *S. Ierome* affirme, that the latter was the very figure of the Crosse whereon our Saviour died: but this as a question beyond my iudgement or intention, I leaue to those learned Diuines and others, who haue laboured in that subiect with curious search.

Licin. Licinianus Emp.

Sabelianus.

Maximianus
put to death by
Constantine.

Niceth. li. 7. c. 29.
Eutropius lib. 1. c. 1.
Zosim. lib. 1. c. 5.
Socrat. lib. 1. c. 2.
V's purgen's Chron.
Ecci. Hist. lib. 11.

Eusebius.
The forme of
the Crosse.

Tetull. against
Marcion, li. 3.
Hieron. in Exegh.
cap. 9.
Reynolds confe-
rence with Har-
cap. 9.
Martian. of the
Crosse.
Harpsfil's Dia-
logue 4.
Lippin de Cruce.

R. of the Ch. B.
P. 9. v. 9.
Sub. C. 1. 1.

Constantine
P. 1. 1.

Pomp. Let. 1.
Maxentius
P. 1. 1.
Sabbellius.

An inscription
made in memory
of Maxentius
oucthor.

The memoriall
of the victorie
over the Frank-
s.
Cassid. Brit.

(5) This miraculous signe promising Victory, and that (saith Eusebius) not in an Inscription only, but by voice of Angels, was so comfortable to Constantine, that with great courage he went forward, bearing before him and his victorious Army, in place of the Imperiall Standard, the forme of this vision imbrodered with gold and stoncs of greatest price. And as one armed from heauen, proceeded against his hellish aduerfary.

Maxentius as much depending vpon his Sorcerers, was no lesse assured of the victory. In furtherance whereof, as a stratagem of warre, hee framed a deceitfull Bridge ouer the riuer Tyber, neere to Pons Miluius, to intrap Constantine: but ioyning battell, and ouerlaid with strokes, retired and fled, and (whether for halfe, or through forgetfulness) tooke ouer the same Bridge, which suddenly falling vnder him, hee was with many more drowned, and Constantine remained Victor. In memory whereof, hee caused a triumphall Arch to be erected in the midst of Rome, wherein in his Statue was imbossed, holding in his Right hand a Croffe, according to the fashion of that which hee had scene in the heauens: and vpon ancient inscription in memory of this Victory, this we finde engrauen: IN SINGULIS DIVINITATIS, MENTIS MAGNITUDINE CVM EXERCITV SVO, TAM DE TYRANNO QVAM DE OMNIBVS FATIONIBVS, VNO TEMPORIS IVSTIS REPVLTVS EST ARMIS. Thus: By insinuation of the diuine power, with great magnanimity and helpe of his arme in a lawfull warre, hee reuenged the cause of the common wealth, as well on the Tyrant himselfe, as on his whole faction all at once. With the like successe had hee fought against the Franks in Batavia, whose Victory was likewise stamped in gold, wherein is a Woman sitting vnder a Trophey, and leaning her head vpon a Croffe-bow, with this inscription, FRANCIA.

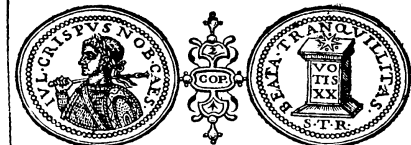
(6) But as his fame increased in the mindes of most, so was it as much maligne by Licinius his fellow Emperour and Brother in Law, who in his heart neuer fauoured the Christians, howeouer for a time outwardly hee suffered their Religion: but at last, seeking occasions against Constantine, hee raised a cruell Persecution in the East, where hee reigned with Martinianus, whom at Byzantium, and Julius Licinius Licinianus at Arlas, hee had before made Cæsars: permitting the to stamp the monies as marks of Soueraignty.



(7) By this affliction of Gods Church, he informed this Champion of God for their defence to prepare his forces, which with hee met Licinius in Hungarie, where hee gaue him a great overthrow. But hee cleaping to Byzantium in Asia, the lesse ioynd againe battell, and was there taken Prisoner: yet by the mediation of his wife Constantia, had his life spared, and was confined within the citie Nicomedia; where for his treasons afterwards, he and his sonne Licinianus, that somewhat suruived him, were put to death. And now the peace of Gods Saints manifested appeared, and the progresse of the Gospell manifested vntroubled.

(8) For now (saith our Cyclus) no sooner was the blasting tempest and storme of Persecution blowne ouer, but

the faithfull Christians, who in time of trouble and danger, had hidden themselves in woods and deserts, and in secret caues, being come abroad to open sight, reedified the Churches ruinated to the very ground. The Temples of holie Martyrs they founded, and erected (as it were) the Banners of victory in every place, celebrating festiuall holy daies, and with pure hearts and mouths performing the sacred ceremonies: for the which blessednesse, hee euer after had the Attributes ascribed vnto him of most blessed Emperour, most pious, happy Redeemer of Rones Citie, Founder of Peace, Restorer of Rome, and of the whole World, most great inuincible Augustus, Sacred, Diuine, and of sacred memory, &c. Howbeit, for admitting these praises, as it should seeme, hee is taxed by Eutropius and Victor of pride; as also cruelty for putting to death Crispus his sonne (by Minervina his concubine, whom hee had made Cæsar, and permitted to stamp the monies here vnder inserted) as likewise his wife Fausta, sister to Maxentius: but others affirme that the causes of their deaths were iust, though (as Paulus Orosius saith) the reason thereof was kept secret, and Zosimus doth therein excuse him as Castidore relateth, and so doth Rufinus and Eusebius.



(9) Touching Constantius affaires in this Island, it appeareth by the last Author, that after his Fathers death, and his owne departure out of this Country, some aspiring mind taking aduantage of his absence, in other warres, perswaded the people here to withdraw their obedience. Whereupon once againe hee addressed himselfe with his Armie to the reestablishing of the Islands subiection: and passing (saith Eusebius) ouer into Britaine, inclosed on euery side by the banks of the Ocean, hee conquered the same. The ioyfull memory of this expedition is registred to posterity vpon his Coin set in the entrance of this Chapter, inscribed *Aduentus Augusti*, and by these Letters, P. L. N. the place of the Mint to be at London.

(10) After this (saith the same Author) he began to compasse in his mind other parts of the World, to the end hee might come in time to succour those that wanted helpe: and when hee had furnished his Armie with milde and modest instructions of Pietie, hee invaded Britaine, that hee might likewise instruct those that dwell inuained round about with the waues of the Ocean: bounding the Sunnes setting as it were with those coasts. And of the Politicall government therein by him altered, let it not seeme offensive that I, who know and professe mine owne weakie sight in most of these matters, doe light my dimme candle, at the Bright-shining Lampe of that Illustrious Antiquarie, who saith:

(11) About this time (saith he) as euidently appeareth by the Code of Theodosius, Pacatianus was the Vicegerent of Britaine: for by this time the Prouince had no more Proprietors, nor Lieutenant, but in stead thereof was a Vicegerent substituted. And againe, Seeing that Constantine altered the forme of the Roman Government, it shall not be impertinent to note summarily in what sort Britaine was ruled vnder him; and in the next succeeding ages. Hee ordained foure Prefects of the Pretorian, to wit, of the East, of Illyricum, of Italy, and of Gaule: two Leaders or Commanders of the forces, the one of footemen, the other of horsemen in the West, whom they termed Praefectales. For ciuill government there ruled Britaine, the Prefect of the Pretorium or Grand Seneschall in Gaule, and vnder him the Picar General of Britaine, who was his Vicegerent, and honoured with the title, Spectabilis; that is notable or remarkable: hee obeyed respectfully to the number of the Prouinces two Consular deputies, and three Presidents, who had the hearing of ciuill and criminall causes.

For military affaires, there ruled the Leader or Commander

Signina.

Subst. tripart.

Eusebius.

Camden in his
Britannia.

Licinius put to
death at Nico-
media, and his
sonne after.
Anno 326.

mander of the footemen in the West, at whose disposition were the Earles or Lieutenants of Britaine, the Earle, Count, or Lieutenant of the Saxon coast along Britaine; and the Duke of Britaine, stiled euery one Spectabilis.

The Earle Lieutenant of Britaine seemeth to haue ruled the Island parts of the Land, who had with him seuen companies of footmen, and nine cornets or troopes of horse.

The Earle Lieutenant of the Saxon coast, who defended the Maritime parts against the Saxons, and is named by Amianus Lieutenant of the Maritime tract, for defence of the Sea coast, had euen companies of footmen, two Guidons of horsemen, the second legion, and one cohort.

The Duke or General of Britaine, who defended the Marches against the Barbarians, had the command of thirty and eight garriisons, wherein their Stations kept, consisting of fourteen thousand foot, & nine hundred horse.

So that in those daies (by Pancirolos account) Britaine maintained nineteene thousand, two hundred footmen, and seuentee hundred horsemen, or thereabouts in ordinary.

Besides all these, the receiver of the Emperours Finances or publicke reuenues: the Protost of the Emperours Treasures in Britaine, and the Procurator of the Draperie in Britaine; in the which the clothes of the Prince and Souldiers were woven: and the Count also of priuate reuenues had his Rational or Auditor of priuate State in Britaine: to say nothing of the sword-fence-schoole Procurator in Britaine (whereof an old inscription maketh mention) and of other officers of inferior degrees.

(12) After the settling of these affaires, to the end that he might with the more facilitate bridle the vntamed Persians that seldome were in quiet, hee removed the Imperiall seat of his Residence into the East, for now Gallienus and Licinius both dead, hee rent and diuided state of the Roman Empire was in him vnto: and purposing to build there a Citie, as an eternall Monument of his name, hee chose the plot at Chalcedon in Asia: but whiles they were measuring out the circuit, an Eagle leaping at the Line, fled with it ouer the Sea towards Byzantium in Thracia, to which place (the thing seeming ominous) he transferred his new foundation, and there built a most Magnificent Citie, naming it New Rome, as appeareth by an inscription of his Statue. In imitation whereof, hee circuled Seneca hills with a Wall for Height, Thickness, and Beauty, the fairest in the world: and not only erected Temples, Towers, and most stately Palaces himselfe, but by his publicke Edicts, commanded all the Princes of the Empire to raise therein some Monuments & memorable Edifices, becomming the Maiesty of so glorious foundatio.

(13) Hither also from Rome hee caused to bee brought many renowned Monuments of Antiquities, as the famous Goddesses Pallas of old Troy, the Image of Apollo in braffe of an vnumcalurable bignesse, the Statues of Iuno, Minerva, Venus, and the like: whereupon Hierome saith: That Constantine to enrich this one Citie, impouerished all others in the Empire: and other Writers which saw it in the perfectio of beauty, report it to be rather an habitation for the Gods, than the dwelling place for Earthly men. Herein also (so Rustidius was he of good Arts) was built the Proud Palace of that Publicke Library, wherein were contained one hundred twenty thousand of the chiefeft Written Bookes, and in the midst thereof were the Guts of a Dragon, in length one hundred twenty foot, on which was admirably written in Letters of Gold, the Iliads of Homer. The New Name of this new Citie lasted not long; for the affection of all men to the Founder, afforded it rather the name of Constantinople. As a trophy then of this Emperours renowne, though now a brand of infamie to another of that name, who lost it in the yeere 1452. to Mahomet the Turke: and as New Rome was reared and ruined in one name, so had Old Rome in Augustus her pitch of height, and in Augustulus her period.

(14) Hee drew likewise hither those Legions that lay for defence of the Prouinces, as well in Germany and Gallia, as in Britaine: from whence hee brought (saith Malmsbury) a great power of British Souldiers, through whose industry and forward service, hauing obtained Tri-

umphant Victories to his hearts desire, and attained to the Empire: such of them as were past service, and had performed the painefull parts of Souldiers their fulltime, hee planted in a certain part of Gaule Westward, vpon the very shore of the Ocean: where at this day their posterity remaining, are wonderfully grown euen to a mightie people: in manners & language somewhat degenerate from our Britains. In which his doings, hee laid open the Prouinces to the irruptions of their Enemies; and is therefore by Zosimus hardly censured, as being the only man that by this means first subuerted the flourishing estate of the Empire. And indeed, by withdrawing his Forces out of Britaine, the Picts and other their wonted Enemies had the bolder and easier entrance into the more ciuill parts of this Island; whereby ere long, being altogether abandoned of the Romans, it became a pray of Conquest to the Saxons, as shall be shewed in due place.

(15) But howeouer his policie failed (carried (as it seemeth) by a Diuine inspiration to leaue Rome) yet is this good Emperour much commended by all Writers for his many vertues, especially for that hee laid the foundation of the Christians securitie, that the same hath stood vnder the protection of Princes euer since, euen vnto this day. And albeit that many Cæsars his successors, haue often attempted to shake it by their authorities, and the sharpe instruments of hereticks dangerously haue vndermined it, yet hath it borne out the Stormes of all their boisterous affaires, and stood in the strength that this Emperour first laid it.

(16) And vpon this foundation, that a glorious building might be raised, hee congregated three hundred and eighteen Christian Bishops in the Citie Nice in Thracia, where hee himself was present, and also President of the same Council (though now his Beadsmen (the Popes) put him & his Successors from that right) and as another Moses, hee then pacified the contentions of the brethren, and reestablished the authorities of the Bishops for the godly government of the Church in that Primitive age.

(17) But as the clearest Sunne hath his set, and the fairest day his night, so Constantines glorious life drew to an end, though his liuing glory shall be endless: for intending a voyage against the Persians, hee fell grievously sicke, and counselled by his Physicians to be carried vnto Nicomedia, a Citie in Bythinia, to the Hot Bathes that naturally there sprang (which caused some erroneously to write that he became a Leaper) he died on the way neere to the place, and in great deuotion commended his departing Soule to his Crucified Redeemer, May 22. the yeere of Christ Iesus three hundred thirty seuen, and of his happy victorious raigne thirty one, and of his age sixty five; whose body was interred at Constantinople, in the Church of the Apostles that him selfe had therein founded.

(18) Eusebius writing this good Emperours life, saith, that hee deferred his Baptisme vntill his old age, in desire that he might receiue it in Iordanye, where our Saviour himselfe was baptized. Yet others thinke that he was baptized with his Son Crispus, what time he created him his Cæsar: for the Celebration whereof, hee caused a most sumptuous Feast to be made in Rome, which Platina & Sabbellius affirme to haue continued to their times. And the ingenuity of the same Sabbellius is much to be approved, in that speaking of Constantines Donation, which some so much vaunt of (though the vanity of that forgery is now laid open to the view of all by sundry learned men) hee acknowledged (himselfe being a Romanist) that he findeth no mention of any such matter, in any of the ancient Records which hee followed, and so leaue it to the Patronage of those Craft-men, out of whose forges it first was formed. He left to succeed him in the Empire as Augustus, (with distaste of the eldest) his three Sonnes, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, whom before hee had made Cæsars, & designed by Testament, Delmatius, the son of Annibalinus, (his brother) Cæsar: and therefore hee haue inherited his money in ranke of those that succeeded this great & glorious Emperour.

FLA. VAL.

Constantine the
establisher of
Christianity.

Ambrose vpon
the death of
Theos.

Rufinus.
Cassid.
Eusebius ecclesi-
ast. lib. 1.

Eutropius.

Eusebius.
Signina.
Constantine ba-
ptized at Constan-
tinople. Socrates, lib. 1.
cap. 26.

Eusebius in vita
Const. lib. 4.

Sabbellius.

Constantine suc-
cessors.

Amianus
Mistrell.

Nineteene thou-
sand foot and
seuentee hun-
dred horse men
maintained in
ordinary in Bri-
taine.

Sabbellius.

A fewish Doctor
haue described
this Citie in an
epistle which
himselfe deliue-
red to our Eng-
lish Ambassadors,
remaining in
Constantinople in
Anno 1594.

Hier. in his ad-
ditions to Euse-
bius.

Constantinople
built by Con-
stantine.

W. Malmsbury.



FLA. VAL. CONSTANTINVS IVNIOR,
FLA. VAL. CONSTANS,
FLA. IVLIVS CONSTANTIVS,
FLA. DELMATIVS ANNIBALLIANVS,

Emp.

CHAPTER XLVII.

Constantinus
Iunior Emp.
Val. Constans
Emp.Iul. Constantius
Emp.
Delmatius
Anniballianus
Emp.

An. Do. 337.

Constantinus his
part of the Em-
pire.Constans his
part of the Em-
pire. Constantius his
part of the Em-
pire.Constantinus
flaine.
Socrates lib. 2. c. 3.

Cassiod. trip. 11. p.

A Councellor
against the Ari-
ans called by
Constantins.

OR the Empire being di-
vided among these Bre-
thren, Constantinus the el-
dest, whole portion was
Britaine, France, Spaine, and
part of Germanie, tooke
himselfe wronged in this
partition; whereas Con-
stantius his second brother
had Italie, Africa, Selaue-
nia, Dalmatia, and Greece; and Constantius the young-
est possessed Thracia, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt,
Provinces much greater in his light, then his owne
seemed to bee; and therefore at last ambitiously hee
attempted to enlarge his vpon the Frontiers of his
brother Constantius, at that time in Dacia, and in warres
against the Gothes, who there also invaded his territo-
ries, but was met with and slaine by a Captaine of his
brothers, neere to the Citie Aquileia in Italie, when he
had held his Seigniories the terme of three yeeres.

(2) Hereupon Constantius grew exceedingly proud,
and seeing his deceased brothers Provinces, ioined
them vnto his owne Possessions, and with his brother
Constantinus came into this Island. This Battle, and
their arrival heere, by the words of Iulius Firmius,
chanced in the winter season: for (saith hee, speaking
to these Emperours) you have subdued vnder your Oares
the swelling and raging waves of the Britishe Ocean, even in
the deepe of Winter; a thing hitherto neuer seene before.
And the Britaines were soe afraid to behold the vn-
expected face of their Emperour. This Constantius was
he that called a Councell to Sardica against the Ari-
ans, which were assembled three hundred Bishops, and
among them, some of the Britishe, as formerly we haue
mentioned. But this Prince being youthfull, cast a-
way all care of the Empire; and drowned in his owne
pleasures, followed ill counsell, (the vsuall way to
Princes ruines.) Thus growne greuous to the Pro-
vinces, and nothing acceptable to the Souldiers, was by

Magnentius a Captaine of his owne flaine, as hee was
hunting neere the Castle of S. Helens, situate amongst
the Taporis, a Spanishe people vnder the Pyren Moun-
taines. And as hence this Murderer of his Soueraigne,
Lord and Master, was branded with the name of Taporis,
so in this Emperour there murdered was fulfilled
a Prophecie that hee should die in his Grandmo-
thers Lappe.

Olympias the Widow of this Constantius was giuen to
Aspaes King of Armenia, by Constantius his brother,
to be a bond and purchase of his surer friendship, of
which his need was much, as the times required: for
after the death of Constantine, Vetricano was proclaimed
Emperour by the Pannonian Armie, though shortly
disrobed, and sent to end his decrepit age in a priuate
fortune. Nepobanus the nephew of Constantius by his
sister Eutropia, was at Rome by the abiect Rout saluted
Augustus, which he enioied not much aboute twentie
daies, being suppressed by Magnentius, who had now
made the truncke of Maiclie, his Soueraignes bodie,
the Basse, whereby he meant with Decentius and De-
derius, his two brethren, to ascend the Throne.

(3) Simon Dunelmensis saith, that Great Constan-
tine at his departure from Britaine, left one Octavianus
to gouerne the Land, who shortly rebelled, and after
duers conflicts was slaine by Traherne, Commander of
a Roman Legion. Galfridus makes the said Octavianus a
Britaine, and will haue him to raigne with great Victo-
ries ouer this Island the space of fifty foure yeeres,
which (as Fabian hath accounted) doth extend to the
time of Valentinians Rule in Rome: so farre doe our
Britishe Historians differ from the Romans. But from
them most certaine it is, that Magnentius before men-
tioned, a Britaine by his father, though borne among
the Latins in France, iuncted himselfe into the Imperiall
Dignitie, vsurping France, Spaine, and Britaine, thus
stamping the face of himselfe and his brother Decen-
tius, by him made Caesar at Milan, vpon the currant
Monies of such reuolted Provinces as he vsurped.

And

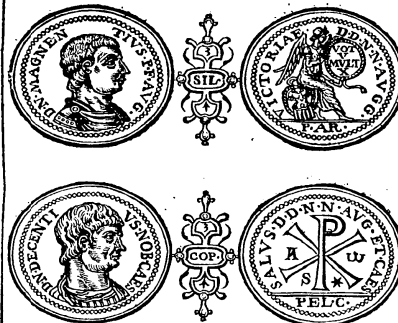
Constans flaine.

Amianus lib. 10. c. 1.

Fl. pop. Nepobanus
p. E. Aug.Simon Dunelm.
J. Stow.

Galfridus Mon.

Rob. Fabian.

Stagenius mur-
dereth himselfe.Socrates lib. 2. c. 37.
Amian. lib. 10. c. 5.Gracianus of ad-
mirable strength.Martin Deputie
in Britaine.Amianus lib. 10. c. 1.
lib. 14. cap. 4.Pulch. a Spaniard
in sublimitie.Amianus lib. 15.
cap. 1.
Pulch. called Ca-
tina for his crueltie.

Martin killed.

Amianus lib. 15.
c. 1. p. 11.

And did for three yeeres bandy against Constantius,
though with some vnequall successe: but lastly despair-
ing to vphold his owne greatnesse, murdered him-
selfe at Lyons in Gallia, as his brother vpon newes ther-
of, did with a halter in the same Countrey. For this
euent (no other occasion moouing) Constantius both
thut the Temple of Janus in Rome, as a token of an
vniuersall Peace; and gloriously triumphed with more
then a vsuall aspect.

(4) At this time the Generall of the Armie in Bri-
taine was one Gracianus, the father of Valentinian the
Emperour, by birth an Hungarian, and so strong of
limbe, that no five men could pull a rope out of his
hand with all their force; whereof hee was furnished
Funarius, the Roper. This man giuing entertainment
to Magnentius, was condemned in confiscation of all
his goods by Constantius that now ruled sole Empe-
rour, vnto whom also the Britaines submitted them-
selves, and whose Deputie after Gracianus was aged
Martin, a man (no doubt) vertuous and vpright, as
he witnessed by his death: for Constantius, whose base
and distrustfull heart feared the wagging of euery
leafe, by the slaughter of many guiltlesse, sought to
make himselfe secure: and egged on by his Flatterers,
(to secure their purposes) sent one Paulus a Notarie
into Britaine, to apprehend them that had aided Mag-
nentius.

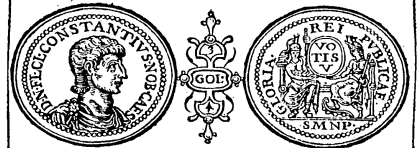
(5) The said Notarie was a Spaniard of a pestilent
wind and subtiltie, especially in finding out all quirks
and deuices to endanger mens estates: whose busi-
nesse being now to apprehend and bring away such
Martiall men as had entred action in the foresaid
conspiracies, he vnder that pretence drew into dan-
ger many that were guiltlesse, and the Emperours
true Subiects: some of which hee imprisoned, others
he tormented, and many with Manacles and Chaines
so bruited, that therefore hee was called Catena. Old
Martine the Deputie, much lamenting their mis-
eries, besought the Spaniard to surcease, and not with
the Offenders thus to punish the Innocent; wherat
the proud Catch-pole so much disdaind, that hee threat-
ned and sought to bring Martin before the Councell,
and that in bands in manner of a Traitor; which so
much incensed the aged man, that with his dagger he
assailed him; but perceiving the wound hee gaue was
not deadly, hee stabd the same into his owne side,
and thereof presently died: vnfortunate in this fact, but
otherwise a most righteous man (saith Amianus) that
thus attempted to ease the wrongs of these oppressed
Brittaines.

(6) But besides these their distresses, the out-
rages of the Scots and Picts breaking into the Marches
of the Brittaines, sore molested their peace: for redresse
whereof, Iulian the Caesar wintering at Paris, and distrai-
ted into sundry thoughts, was afraid in person to
passe those Seas himselfe, and to leaue Gaule without
a Ruler, especially at such a time, when the Germans
had stirred vp a most cruell warre: wherefore hee sent Lu-

picianus at that time Colonell of the Infanterie, and Mas-
ter of the Armie, to withstand their furie; a warlike
man certes, and skilfull in feats of Armes, but with-
all proud of heart and countenance, looking high,
and speaking bigge, and in gesture demauncing him-
selfe in his charge as an Asse vpon a Stage, and other-
wise so qualified, that men doubted a long time whe-
ther hee were more Couetous or Cruell. Hee from * Bo-
nomia embarked all his men, and with a good gale arri-
ued in the Haueu * Rutupi, marching in all haste to
* Lundinium, that from thence, after aduice taken, ac-
cording to the qualitie of the businesse, hee might
make more haste to come into the field, and giue bat-
tle. But with what successe his affaires afterwards
proceeded, I finde not recorded: and therefore I re-
turne againe to the Emperour Constantius.

Lupicinus sent
Deputie into Bri-
taine.

* Boullen.

* Richburrow or
Ripebester.
* London.Gallus chosen
Caesar.

(7) Flavius Claudius Constantius Gallus his cofe-
german hee elected Caesar, permitted him to stampe
this money, and linckt him in marriage with his siller
Constantia. But he, designed to gouerne the East, and
make good those Frontiers against the Persians, forgot
the duty of his charge, and gaue himselfe vp at Anti-
och to all licentious lusts and cruelties: of which when
Constantius (infected afore with some ialousie of his
ambition) was informed, hee so plotted, that this lost
man, drowned in his owne vicious securitie, was sur-
prised, and with his hands bound backward (like a
Felon) giuen vp to the common Headfiner for execu-
tion. His brother Iulianus was then made Caesar, and
this Emperours other siller Helena bestowed vpon
him, whose Victories against the Germans and Gaules
gained him such applause, that hee was against his will
by the Souldiers elected Augustus, and made Confort
with Constantius in Power Imperiall.

Gallus executed.
Iulianus made
Caesar.
Iulianus Epistola.

(8) Whose fortunes thus sticking in a tumultu-
ous State (for, with others, Nigriuanus (whose con-
secrated memorie is left to posteritie vpon this money)
attempted the disquiet of this Emperour, by an am-
bitious affection of rule, that was both short and fa-
tall to him) did plainly forehew, that neither his
Raigne nor life would last long.



For besides the affections of the time that then fol-
lowed that new risen Starre Iulian, his nightly visions
and imagined apparitions did both terrifie and appal
his mind; for as he thought, his fathers Ghost pre-
sented vnto him, a Babe of an ingenious countenance,
which brooke the Ball (that the Romans call Tusa, a
Globe borne only by a Monarch) out of his right hand,
betokening nought else but a change of State. Which
howeuer his diuiners interpreted for pleasing
things, yet himselfe thought his owne Genius still fol-
lowed him, in a forlorne, poore, and mournfull
habite.

Constantius appa-
rition.

(9) These dumps notwithstanding, this new
Ccc 2 Election

is said hee dissembled his Religion) but that he opened the Temples of the *Pagans Gods*, repaired their Altars; declaring to future ages, the memorie of this his detestable act, by minting a *Bull* prepared for sacrifice, vpon the Currant money of the State, with this inscription, *Securitas reipublice*; as if *Romes Empire* should lose her securitie, and the fatal destinie of Command, when the *Genius* of that Citie and the Gods of her foundation should bee forsaken. And where there remained any antique Monument of the Infant Christian Church, or any new erected badge of Religious deuotion, those hee caused to bee defaced. Thus did he in *Caesarea Philippi*, with that Brazen figure of our *Sauour* arraigned in a short vesture, and the *Woman* cured of her bloud issue, kneeling and elevating her hands to him; and at whose feet in the said *Pillar* grew a certaine *Hearb*, in height vnto the *Hem* of his *Garment*, which cured all kind of maladies; placing his owne figure, to the intent that it should bee worshipped: but suddenly it was with *Lightning* from *Heauen* defroide, breaking with violent force the *Brest* thereof asunder, and striking the *Head* fast into the earth, whose Reliques, as *Zosimus* saith, remained there to bee seene a long time after, a witness of mans presumptuous error and Gods iust displeasure. Manie lawes hee made against them, and manie rights of Subjects hee took from them. By Edict he forbad the Christians the publick Schooles & study of the Arts and Tongues; leaving away the reason of this iniustice with scoffes, as hee did the rest; saying, that *Aristotle*, *Isocrates*, and *Plato*, who must be their guides in such liberrall learnings, adoring *Mercurie* and the other *Gods*, hee held it absurd that they should read and learne of their *Bookes*, that loath and raile at their Religion.

The equitie of this extended power may appeare by *Marcellinus* censure, a man of his owne Religion, who of it saith, *Inclemens obsequium perenni silentio*; Let the Edict be dumb to eternall silence. When hee seized vpon the goods of the Christians, which was often, and vpon weake pretences, hee vsed to inuere the Letter of their owne Doctrine, in warrant of his foule act, saying that hee did it, *ut facilius in Regnum Caelorum veniant*. When hee had disabled the Christians of all command, either in the Field or Common-wealth, (as hee did *Iovinian*, *Valentinian* & *Valens*, after Emperours) hee would say, hee did it because their Gospell taketh from them *Potestatem Gladii*. And wherefoever any poore Christian implored the hand of *Iustice* against wrong and violence, they returned with no better redresse, then that it was the rule of their Religion, *perferre iniurias*, it was the dutie of their Profession to beare all iniuries. And although most Authors agree that hee stained not his gouernment with the bloud of any *Catholikes*, well knowing that gore of Perfection is the seed of the Gospell; yet some affirme that when *Apollos Oracle*, neere *Antioch*, had lost his power of answer by the holy presence of *Babillaes* bodie (there martyred and intombd) and that the Christians in remouing it away, sung solemnly the *Psalm*, *Let all them be confounded which worship grauen Images*: this Emperour (although the Act was his direction, though not the order) grew so enraged, that hee put then many Christians to the sword.

Of the prudence and learning of this man there be many notable monuments remaining: for in all the courses of his life hee did rather labour to content the parts of his vnderstanding, then of his sensuality, often being heard to say, *Turpe est sapienti, cum habeat animum, captare laudes ex corpore*; and therefore writing to *Ecdicius*, Prefect of *Egypt*, to helpe him to the Bookes of *George Bishop* of *Alexandria*, hee saith, *Where others delighted in Horse and Hawkes, I haue bene from my insancie inflamed with the lone of Books*. Many works there were of his owne pen, though now raked vp in the ruines of the time.

As his Oration to *Tamblicus*, and other Volumes of various learning, remembered by *Suidas*: yet is there extant that witty *Satyre* of his, of all the *Casars*.

The Register of his Epistle, full of worthy obseruations.

His discourse De Regno, wherein hee deciphereth much of his Persian Actions.

His Hymne to the Sunne, a song of a high strain, and of a matchlesse delicacie, if the subject had not bene too prophane.

As for his *Misopogon*, (where playing with his own person and beard, hee sharply reprehendeth the *Antiochians* of their intemperance in frequenting *Stage-Plates* of their impietie, in changing *Iupiter* and *Apollo* (Gods of their Forefathers) into the *Christ* of the *Galileans*; and of countenances in their *Magistrates*, in selling *Iustice*) it is one of the wittiest Inuectiues extant of those middle times.

In the course of his Religion hee is by the Writers of his owne affection and time rather reported superstitious then deuout; and his fancies therein rather to them accounted ridiculous then religious. Such was the excess and waste of Oxen in his sacrifices, that it is beleueed if his returne had bene from the *Perficke Expedition*, there would haue bene want of them to supply his Rites, and therefore they might happily say as the white Oxen did of the Emperour *Marcus*, *Si tu viceris, nos perimus*. Yet were his rules of order to the *Priests* of his superstitious zeale, such as may well become the most religious Church-man of our age to imitate: for hee prohibited those *Priests* from gaze of *Stage-Plays*, frequenting *Tavernes*, or exercising any foule or illiberrall profession, perfwading them to imitate the Christians, whose bounty to strangers in distresse, charity in burying the dead, and whose humble manners and fanctitie of life (though but dissembled) had so much increased their Profession.

(6) His fortitude appeareth in the proceesse of his *Martiall Actions*. At three and twenty yeeres hee was made by *Constantine* his nephew *Cesar*, matched to his sister *Helena*, and sent in person to restrain those barbarous Nations that had forced in vpon the *Roman Limits*. But whether this imploiment was grounded vpon the Emperours owne feare to aduerture his person against these *Samages*, a desire to nurture this poore Scholar his brother in law in more princely manners, who then was rude; or to expose him (in respect of some ieaously in State) to an assured perill: it remaineth doubtful. Only himselfe saith, that hee bestowed his *Title* of *Cesar*, *libenter dabat*; & *qui accepit, omnino recusabat*: for in it hee gained nothing but *ut occupatio interiret*, taking this his Expedition against those *Intrades*, as a banishment into the *Hercinian Desert*, *ut tanquam venator cum feris bellaret*: and beleeuing himselfe rather thereby called out to an expected death, then intended honour. But this man then neither of opinion or hope, and who should haue seemed to haue effected a point of excellent seruice, if hee had no more but defended the frontiers, and repelled the Enemies, did by his valour performe no lesse then deeds of admiration.

Hee recovered the reuolted Cities of *Gallia*, overthrowing seven of the mightiest *German Princes* in one set Battle.

Hee sent to *Rome* *Chonodomaricus* and *Badonacarius*, two of their greatest Kings, as spoiles to adorne the *Trophy*, and attend the triumph of *Constantinus*. Hee forced on euery side those to feare his power, that had so long bene fearefull to the *Roman Empire*. And had he returned home, borne vp only with the merit of this his seruice, and opinion of the world, and not bene blowne beyond the bounds of his old moderation by a new desire, hee had escaped the imputation of ambition and treacherie, and bene esteemed a iust successour, against whom hee is deemed now an vniust vsurper. But it may be said that it was a diuine power that inspired it, and a strong hand that informed him to it: for from about the Porch of his entrance, into one of the regained Cities, the *Wreath* of *Laurell* (referred an ornament of that place) fell in wonder vpon his head. The *Genius* of *Rome* in many apparitions chiding & reprehending his slow desire to

Julian, imp. cap. 10.

Jul. imp. Epist. lib. 1. de p. claus. ad Iulianum, Hymnus Iulian. Solou.

Misopogon vel Antiochenus.

His Religion.

Marcel. lib. 15.

Ex Iulian Epist. ad Pon. Galat.

His Fortitude.

Marcel. lib. 15.

Ex Epist. Iulian. Maximo Thysio. p. 10.

Amian. lib. 16.

to affect the Empire, and restore the State. As touching his election, he calleth the Gods to witnesse his unwillingnesse, and the publike protestation hee made against it at *Paris*, when he was there by the tumultuous *Armie* saluted *Augustus*. And although by the great prouision made by him of Corne from *Britannie*, to hold a foot the *Armie* against the plots of *Constantinus* (that grew now enuious of his fortune, hee may seeme to haue intended the ruine of his Soueraigntie) yet doth hee by the Gods of his greatest confidence, *Iupiter* and the *Sunne*, protest, *Quod Constantinus occidere nunquam optauit, imò ne id accideret exceptauit*.

(7) But *Constantinus* ending this quarrell and competition by his death, *Iulian*, whom a *Pithonist* had deluded with the hope of *Perfit*, telling him that his fortunes should bee as his feature, like *Great Alexander*, bred in him a thirstie desire after the surname *Perfitus*: whereupon hee prepared an *Armie* for this expedition, and seeking the fauor of his Gods the *Moone*, *Fortune*, and *Mars*, embred their Altars with the *Blood* of an hundred *Bulls* at once; though manie ominous signes, as they were interpreted by his *Philosophers* and *Southsayers*, forbad the same. Such was the great Earthquake happening in *Bithynie*, that swallowed vp the Citie of *Nicomedia*. *Riuers* likewise are saide to stand drie, even in the heart of winter; and *Springs* forgetting their vsuall boillings, yeelded not forth their wonted waters: yea and it wee will beleuee the reporters; his successe was forethrewed by the departure of an Angell, and by a *Meteor* gliding in the Aire. All which hee fought to preuent, by pacifying his *Heathenish Gods* with multitudes of *Sacrifices*: and with an *Armie* extended ten miles in length, entred *Perfit*, cutting asunder the *Bridges* by which hee passed ouer his men, to adde to them more of resolution, as their meanes were lesse of returne, refusing all humble submission and composition offered him by their King; and at the place then called *Phrygia*, ioined Battle against *Suena*, a great Commander among the *Persians*, and *Merenes*, Generall of their *Horse*, accompanied with two of the Kings *Sonnes*, whose powers notable to resist the *Romans*, gaue backe and fledde.

Iulian either vpon a vaine confidence, or sudden *Alarm*, had forgot to arme himselfe with his *Corset* or *Brigandine*; and in following the disfarraied flight of the *Persians*, lift vp his hands in signe of victorie: at which very instant a *Tauelin* strucke thorow his left *Arme* into the short *Ribbes*, and stucke in the nether lappet of his *Liner*; which whilst hee endeuoured to plucke out, did cutt the finewes of his fingers: wherat al together distracted, hee fell forwards vpon his hor-

ses maine, and thence was carried vnto his *Paulion*. From whose hand this *Tauelin* came (saith *Amianus*) God only knoweth. Some report the Cafter to haue bene a *fugitiue Persian*: others lay that from the hand of one of his owne Souldiers it proceeded: and *Calistus* one of his owne Guard; that wrote this *Battle* in *Heroicall Verse*, affirmeth, that by some wicked Fiend or *Dinell*, this *Tauelin* run him thorow. Howfoeuer, there are that report that in pulling out this *Lance*, and casting it into the aire with his bloud, hee should vtter this blasphemous speech, and say *Thou hast ouercome me, O Galilean*. At his setting forth hee vowed to his Gods a *Sacrifice* of *Christians* bloud, if hee returned *Conquerour*, but hee performed it with his owne. His slaine Corpses was carried to *Tarsus* a City in *Cilicia*, where with small pompe of *Funerall Obsequies* it was interred neere to the Cities side; which place himselfe to that purpose had formerly assigned: although *Nazianzen* affirmeth the earth to haue opened, and in a flame of *Sulphur* to haue sucked vp his body into her Wombe.

(8) Thus ended this Emperour, the twenty sixth of Iune, in the two and thirtieth yeere of his age, and three hundred sixty and three of *Christis Natinitie*, when hee had reigned *Augustus* neere three, and *Cesar* full seuen yeeres. Whole wit and eloquence needs no further testimony then the Monuments of his owne Pen; nor his religious zeale more then the Function his youth so worthily performed in the Christian Church. His *Imperiall Vertues* we see match him in storie with *Titus*, in moderation with *Aurelius*, and for successe in warre, with *Traian*; three of the most excellent Princes: and his fortune was to see bounded within his sole greatnesse, what the hand of right and sword of tyrannie had so late dispersed. But now one *Error*, his *Apostasie*, disrobbing him of all his *Morall Vertues*, leaues him an obiect naked to the vulgar eye, but as a Monster of men, and marke of infamie. I hold it therefore fitting no lesse the vsf, then the iustice of a Storie, to doe him (as I haue done) all his right: since in him we learne that all those admirable endowments of *Nature*, embelished with all the morall and internall graces that *Aur* could adde, are not the bafe of holinesse, without diuine grace; nor dalliance of *Fortune*, and fulnesse of *Empire* (that made this man wanton and forgetfull) is the center of securitie and happinesse, without heauenly protection: since from the sense of *Sacred Pietie* hee fell to *Pagan Superstition*: for many are called, but few are chosen; and in the seat of *Presumptuous Maiesie* hee felt the rod of *Diuine Renegae*.

Discite Iustitiam moniti, & non temere Dinou.

Amianus lib. 25. cap. 3.

Socratus lib. 5. cap. 18.

Zosimus lib. 6. c. 25. Theod. lib. 3. c. 25. Sabellicus.

Matth. 20. 16.

FLAVIUS IOVIANVS.

CHAPTER XLIX.



Fl. Iovianus. Emp.

An. Do. 364.



He mindes of the whole Army being much distracted by the death of *Iulian*; the next day, being Iune twenty seuen, they met, and consulted vpon a new Emperour: where for a while two factions were maintained, & with equall deserts argued, till

lastly in one accord they both agree vpon * *Salustius*, a man very honourable and wise, but withall aged and weake, and therefore hee absolutely refused the election. *Iovinian* by them then was nominated, in regard of his fathers deserts indifferently commended, saith *Amianus*: but *Rufinus*, *Theodoret*, and *Socrates* attribute great worths vnto himselfe, and confidently affirme his unwillingnesse to accept of that dignitie, for that the whole Armie had yeelded to *Iulians Idolatrous Edicts*, openly professing himselfe to be

* *Marcellinus*, saith *Eusebius*.

Rufinus Eccl. Hist. lib. 10.

a Christian, and withall protesting that he would not be a *Soueraigne* ouer an *Ethnicke Empire*, vntill by the instance of the *Souldiers*, which declared themselves likewise to be *Christians*, he did accept of the same.

Jouianus his Page.

* Jouianus, his picture.

(2) His Father was *Varronianus*, by birth an *Hungarian*, a Captaine of good note, who not long before had laid downe his charge of warre, and retired into his Country, to a more quiet course of life. Himselfe serued *Julian* the *Apostata* in his Campe, from whence he departed by vertue of his Edict, commanding all Christians out of his pay, among who^t *Iouianus* (as wee haue said) chose rather to cast from him his *Sword and Girdle*, (marks of honour to *Military Professors*) then to forsake the *Ensigne* of his Heauenlie Chieftaine, and the Badge of his *Christian Profession*.

(3) No sooner was he clad in the *Purple Robe*, but one *Iouianus* (a *Roman Ensigne-bearer*, lately at variance with this new *Elected Emperor*, then a priuate man) fearing the danger of so powerfull an *Enemie* stepped now aboute the degree of the common fort, reuolted to the *Persians*; and hauing good access, informed *King Sapor* of the death of *Julian*, (to them till then vnknowne) and disabbling *Iouianus* for an *Vnskilfull and Effeminate Captaine*, both encouraged the *Enemie*; and gaue directions how to take the advantage. The *Persian* as ready to execute as ioyous to heare, set forward his forces, his Elephants leading the way, whose terrible brayings and fearefull approach much affrighted the *Roman Souldiers*. A fore battell was fought, and fountains of blood drawne from the sides of both parts: wherein, with an infinite number of *Persians*, *Julianus*, *Macrobis*, and *Maximus*, three *Roman Tribunes*, of those *Legions* that then were the *Principall* of the whole *Army*, were slaine: in regard whereof, and especially for want of *Virtuall*, (whose scarcitie then was such, that for one *Pecke* of *Meale*, ten peeces of *Gold* were giuen) *Iouianus* made *Peace* with the *Persians* for thirty yeeres, giuing them five *Provinces* beyond *Tigris*, some *Cities* and *Forts* in *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Nisibis* is named for one that had been the very sinewes and strength of the *Confines*, euer since the *Warres* of *Antioch*: for which his doings, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Amianus* (who both liued in his daies) and of most the deed is held very dishonourable to the greatnesse of the *Roman Empire*: howbeit diuers others excuse him very iustly, considering the extreame misery and famine wherein *Iulianus* left the *Army*, which was in apparant hazard to be giuen ouer for a pray to the *Enemy*, to the endangering of the whole *Empire*, had it not been thus prevented: and therefore they highly commend

him heerein, as the onely *Preferuer* of the *Roman Army*.

(4) Howsoever, he is highly commended by *Socrates*, (the continuor of *Eusebius* his History) who flourished aboute *Twelue hundred yeeres* since; for his constant faith grounded vpon the *Nicen Creed*, and for his *Lowing Reuerence* to the *Christian Bishops*, recalling from banishment those that *Constantius* and *Julian* had exiled; among whom, *Athanasius* of *Alexandria* was one: putting downe the *Idolatrours Temples* of the *Gentiles*, and restoring to their offices both in *Court* and *Campe*, those who for their *Conscience* had beene expelled.

(5) At his departure from *Persia*, hee visited the *Citie Tarsus*, where he caused the Sepulchre of *Julian* (though otherwise he had found him auerfe both in *Affection* and *Religion*, yet for that hee was his preceding *Emperor*) to be richly adorned: and taking *Antioch* in his way for many daies together was troubled with some accidents, which that age did take for *Ominous signes*. For the Statue of *Maximianus Cæsar*, standing at the entrance into the *Kings Palace*, let fall the *Ball* or *Globe* out of his hand, no force mouing it: horrible sounds and noises were heard within the *Conflitory*: and *Blazing-starrs* appeared at *Noone-day*.

Thence therefore in great haste he marched, and at *Ancyra*, declared his sonne *Varronianus* his *Cæsar*, a verie *Infant*, whose *Wrappings* and *vnwillingnesse* to ride in the *Imperiall Chariot*, portended (saith *Amianus*) that which after happened. For halting still towards *Constantinople*, he came to *Dadastana*, a place that diuideth *Bithynia* and *Galatia* asunder, and there died suddenly of the obstructions and stopping of the *Lungs*, caused by the dampe of a new mortered *Chamber* wherein he lay; or (as others write) by coales there set to dry the new seeling, whose vapors hauing no issue, stifled him to death, the seuenteenth day of February, the yeere of the worlds redemption, three hundred sixtie foure; after hee had reigned seuen moneths, and twenty two daies, aged thirty three yeeres.

(6) For his personage, he was of goodly presence, both tall and big, his gesture graue, his eyes gray, and countenance pleasant: an affectionate louer & professor he was of the *Christian religion*, of indifferēt learning himselfe, but a most honorable imbracer thereof in others; very precise and considerate in choosing of *Judges* and *Magistrates*; facile and familiar to his seruitors about him. His *Blemishes* were these, that hee was a great feeder, and giuen to wine; and somewhat to that other *Vice* which vsually accompanieth such intemperancies.

Socrates & hyl. lib. 3. cap. 20.

Bishops recalled from banishment.

Iouianus ador. north Julians tombe.

A Blazing starre seene at Noone day.

Sabellius.

Iouianus death. His rainge. Amianus Hist. lib. 25. cap. 14. Socrates eccles. hist. lib. 3. cap. 20.

Iouianus shape and disposition.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 25. cap. 13. Cassiod. Tripar. lib. 7.

Paulus Orosius. Sabellius.



FLAV

FLAVIVS VALENTINIANVS. } Emp. FLAVIVS VALENS.

CHAPTER L.



Flavius Valentinianus, Emp.

Flavius Valens, Emp.

An. Do. 364

Amianus Mar. lib. 16. cap. 5.

Seuerus in eccles. hist. lib. 4. cap. 11.

Chap. 47. sect. 4.

Valentinianus a Christian.

Thucyd.



Recently vpon the death of *Iouianus*, by a secret whispering and running rumor, *Equitius*, Tribune of the *Scutarij* was nominated *Emperor*, a man naturally rigorous, and rude; and therefore disliked of the better aduised, and no further followed. But first

him, their voices turned to *Iamarius*, a kinsman to the last deceased *Iouianus*, at that present *Gouernor* of *Illyricum*. But he also reiected, *Valentinianus*, then absent, was *Elected* at *Nice*, as a fit and meet person for the managing of their *Warres*, and good of the *Republike*.

(2) His birth was of *Pannonia*, in the *Citie Cibalas*, of meane and poore parentage; the sonne of *Gracian* (spoken of before, who by trade was a *Rope-seller*, but of great strength; and therefore by seruice preferred to places of account, and had been made *Ruler* of *Britaine*. His owne life likewise was spent in seruice of *Warre*, and was ere-while a *Captaine* ouer the *Targatiers*; but *Julian* requiring him either to *Sacrifice* to his *Gods*, or to leaue his place; he chose rather to lay aside his *Belt* then his *Faith* and *Christianitie*, as likewise *Iouianus* had done; and so for neglecting a little honour then, he had now a farre greater bestowed on him by the disposer of all *Earthly Kingdomes*. The *Estare* to vrging it, he made *Valens* (his Brother) *Partner* in the *Empire*, the trumpets eury where sounding *Warres* throughout the *Roman World*. For the *Albans* invaded *Gaul* and *Rhetia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* made spoile of *Pannonia*: the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots* infested the *Britaines*: the *Austorians* made roades into *Africa*: the *Goths* ranfacked *Thracia*, and the *Persians* centred *Armenia*. For which cause, *Valens* remained to defend the *East*, and *Valentinianus* tooke his progresse into the *West*, where in three *Battels* vnder the conduct of *Iouinus*, hee discomfited the *Albans*: and *Valens* likewise ouercame and beheaded *Proco-*

pius; whose feature we haue here expressed, a dangerous *Vsurper* in the *East*.



(3) But in *Britaine* things prospered not so well: for by the generall Bandings of the foresaid *Nations*, their old *Enemies*, the *Provinces* was sore distressed and brought to extreame misery. For *Neftaridius*, *Admiral* of the *British Fleet* they flew, and *Balthobandes* *Lord Warden* of the *Marches*, by a traine of these barbarous people, was forelaide & assailed on euery side. The intelligence of which occurrences, when it was brought to *Rome* with great horror, the *Emperor* first sent hither *Seuerus*, *Steward* of his *House*, if fortune would happily speed his hand, to redresse whatsoeuer had happened amisse; But he in short time being called away, had not the hap to see the wished successe. Then *Iouinus*, famous for his *Warres* in *Germany*, came into the same parts; and seeing the puiffance of the *Enemy*, meant to craue aid of the *Auxiliarie Forces*, the vrgent necessitie requiring so much: at last, in regard of many (and those fearefull) accidents, which rumor continually reported, touching the state of this *Iland*, hither was designed *T. headesius*, a man esteemed most happy, and approued for his *Martiall* prowess, who with a bold resolution and select power both of *Horse* and *Foot*, set forward for *Britaine*.

(4) The *Picts* at that time were diuided into two *Nations*, to wit, *Deucalidones* and *Vesporiones*. The *Attacots* likewise a warlike kinde of people, and the *Scots* ranging in diuers parts, wasted all where they went.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 27. cap. 7.

Neftaridius slaine.

* Westerne Picts.
* Easterne Picts.

a Christian, and withall protesting that he would not be a *Souueraine* ouer an *Ethnicke Empire*, vntill by the instance of the *Souldiers*, which declared themselves likewise to be *Christians*, he did accept of the same.

(2) His Father was *Varronianus*, by birth an *Hungarian*, a Captaine of good note, who not long before had laid downe his charge of warre, and retired into his Country, to a more quiet course of life. Himselfe seru'd *Iulian* the *Apostata* in his Campe; from whence he departed by vertue of his Edict, commanding all *Christians* out of his pay, among who^e *Iouianus* (as wee haue said) chose rather to caft from him his *Sword* and *Girdle*, (marks of honour to *Military Professors*) then to forsake the *Ensigne* of his Heauenlic Chieftaine, and the Badge of his *Christian Profession*.

(3) No sooner was he clad in the *Purple Robe*, but one *Iouianus* (a *Roman Ensigne-bearer*, lately at variance with this new *Elected Emperor*, then a priuate man) fearing the danger of so powerfull an *Enemie* stepped now aboute the degree of the common sort, reuolted to the *Persians*, and hauing good access, informed *King Sapor* of the death of *Iulian*, (to them till then vnknowne) and disabling *Iouianus* for an *Vnskillfull* and *Effeminate Captaine*, both incouraged the *Enemie*, and gaue directions how to take the aduantage. The *Persian* as ready to execute as ioyous to heare, set forward his forces, his Elephants leading the way, whose terrible brayings and fearefull approach much affrighted the *Roman Souldiers*. Afore battell was fought, and fountaines of bloud drawne from the sides of both parts: wherein, with an infinite number of *Persians*, *Iulianus*, *Macrobins*, and *Maximus*, three *Roman Tribunes*, of those *Legions* that then were the *Principall* of the whole *Army*, were slaine: in regard whereof, and especially for want of *Victuall*, (whose scarcitie then was such, that for one *Pecke of Meale*, ten peeces of *Gold* were giuen) *Iouianus* made *Peace* with the *Persians* for thirty yeeres, giuing them five *Provinces* beyond *Tigris*, some *Cities* and *Forts* in *Mesopotamia*, whereof *Nisibis* is named for one that had been the very sinewes and strength of the *Conspires*, euer since the *Warres* of *Antiochides*: for which his doings, he is taxed by *Eutropius* and *Amianus* (who both liued in his daies) and of most the deed is held very dishonourable to the greatnesse of the *Roman Empire*: howbeit diuers others excuse him very iustly, considering the extreame misery and famine wherein *Iulianus* left the *Army*, which was in apparant hazard to be giuen ouer for a pray to the *Enemy*, to the indangering of the whole *Empire*, had it not been thus preuented: and therefore they highly commend

him heerein, as the onely *Preseruer* of the *Roman Army*.

(4) Howsoever, he is highly commended by *Socrates*, (the continuor of *Eusebius* his History) who flourished aboute *Twelue hundred yeeres* since; for his constant faith grounded vpon the *Nicen Creed*, and for his *Lowing Reuerence* to the *Christian Bishops*, recalling from banishment those that *Constantius* and *Iulian* had exiled; among whom, *Athanasius* of *Alexandria* was one: putting downe the *Idolatrous Temples* of the *Gentiles*, and reitorting to their *Offices* both in *Court* and *Campe*, those who for their *Confidence* had been expelled.

(5) At his departure from *Persia*, hee visited the *Citie Tarsus*, where he caused the *Sepulchre* of *Iulian* (though otherwise he had found him auerfe both in *Affection*, and *Religion*, yet for that hee was his preceeding *Emperor*) to be richly adorned: and taking *Antioch* in his way for many daies together was troubled with some accidents, which that age did take for *Ominous signes*. For the Statue of *Maximianus Cæsar*, standing at the entrance into the *Kings Palace*, let fall the *Ball* or *Globe* out of his hand, no force mouing it: horrible sounds and noises were heard within the *Consistory*: and *Blazing-starrs* appeared at *Noone-day*.

Thence therefore in greatt haste he marched, and at *Ancyra*, declared his sonne *Varronianus* his *Cæsar*, a verie *Infant*, whose *Wrappings* and *vnwillingnesse* to ride in the *Imperiall Chariot*, portended (saith *Amianus*) that which after happened. For halting still towards *Constantinople*, he came to *Dadastana*, a place that diuideth *Bithynia* and *Galatia* asunder, and there died suddenly of the obstructions and stopping of the *Lungs*, caused by the dampe of a new mortered *Chamber* wherein he lay; or (as others write) by coales there set to dry the new feeling, whose vapors hauing no issue, stifled him to death, the seuenteenth day of *February*, the yeere of the worlds redemption, three hundred sixtie foure; after hee had reigned seuen moneths, and twenty two daies, aged thirty three yeeres.

(6) For his personage, he was of goodly presence, both tall and big, his gesture graue, his eyes gray, and countenance pleasant: an affectionate loue & professor he was of the *Christian religion*, of indifferēt learning himselfe, but a most honorable embracer thereof in others; very precise and considerate in chooing of *Iudges* and *Magistrates*; facile and familiar to his seruitors about him. His *Blemishes* were these, that hee was a great feeder, and giuen to wine; and somewhat to that other *Vice* which vially accompanieth such intemperancies.

Socrates & Chel. lib. 3. cap. 10.

Bishops recalled from banishment.

Iouianus ador. with Iulians tombe.

A Blazing starre at Noone day.

Sabellicus.

Iouianus death. His raigne. Amianus Hist. lib. 25. cap. 24. Socrates eccles. hist. lib. 3. cap. 24.

Iouianus shape and disposuion.

FLAVIUS VALENTINIANVS. Emp. FLAVIUS VALENS.

CHAPTER L.



Flavius Valentinianus, Emp.

Flavius Valens, Emp.

An. Do. 364

Amianus Mar. lib. 26. cap. 5.

Valens in eccles. hist. lib. 4. cap. 2.

Sup. 47. sect. 4.

Valentinianus a Christian.

Valens.



Recently vpon the death of *Iouianus*, by a secret whispering and runnig rumor, *Equitius*, Tribune of the *Scutary* was nominated *Emperor*, a man naturally rigorous, and rude; and therefore disliked of the better aduised, and no further followed. But from

him, their voices turned to *Iannarius*, a kinsman to the last deceased *Iouianus*, at that present *Gouernor* of *Illyricum*. But he also reiected, *Valentinianus*, then absent, was *Elected* at *Nice*, as a fit and meet person for the managing of their *Warres*, and good of the *Weale* publike.

(2) His birth was of *Pannonia*, in the *Citie Cibalas*, of meane and poore parentage; the sonne of *Gracian* spoken of before, who by trade was a *Rope-seller*, but of great strength; and therefore by seruice preferred to places of account, and had been made *Ruler* of *Britaine*. His owne life likewise was spent in seruice of *Warre*, and was ere-while a *Captaine* ouer the *Targatiers*; but *Iulian* requiring him either to *Sacrifice* to his *Gods*, or to leaue his place; he chose rather to lay aside his *Belt* then his *Faith* and *Christianitie*, as likewise *Iouianus* had done; and so for neglecting a little honour then he had now a farre greater bestowed on him by the disposer of all *Earthly Kingdomes*. The *Estate* so vrging it, he made *Valens* (his Brother) *Partner* in the *Empire*, the trumpets euer where founding *warres* throughout the *Roman World*. For the *Almans* invaded *Gaul* and *Rhetia*, the *Sarmatians* and *Quadi* made spoile of *Pannonia*: the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*, and *Attacots* infested the *Britaines*: the *Austrians* made roades into *Africa*: the *Goths* ranfacked *Thracia*, and the *Persians* entred *Armenia*. For which cause, *Valens* remained to defend the *East*, and *Valentinianus* tooke his progresse into the *West*, where in three *Battels* vnder the conduct of *Iouianus*, hee discomfited the *Almans*: and *Valens* likewise ouercame and behended *Proco-*

pius; whose feature we haue here expressed, a dangerous *Wisper* in the *East*.



(3) But in *Britaine* things prospered not so well: for by the general bandings of the forsaide *Nations*, their old *Enemies*, the *Province* was sore distressed and brought to extreame misery. For *Nectarius*, *Admirall* of the *British Fleet* they flew, and *Belchobaudes* *Lord Warden* of the *Marches*, by a traine of these barbarous people, was forelaid & assailed on euery side. The intelligence of which occurrences, when it was brought to *Rome* with great horror, the *Emperor* first sent hither *Seuerus*, *Steward* of his *House*, if fortune would happily speed his hand, to redresse whatfoeuer had happened amisse. But he in short time being called away, had not the hap to see the wished successe. Then *Iouianus*, famous for his *Warres* in *Germany*, came into the same parts; and seeing the puilliance of the *Enemy*, meant to craue aid of the *Auxiliary Forces*, the vrgent necessitie requiring so much: at last, in regard of many (and those fearefull) accidents, which rumor continually reported, touching the state of this Iland, hither was deligned *Theodosius*, a man esteemed most happy, and approved for his *Martiall* prowess, who with a bold resolution and select power both of *Horse* and *Foot*, set forward for *Britaine*.

(4) The *Picts* at that time were diuided into two *Nations*, to wit, *Deucalidones* and *Vesuriones*. The *Attacots* likewise a warlike kinde of people, and the *Scots* ranging in diuers parts, wasted all where they went.

Amian. Marcell. lib. 27. cap. 7.

Nectarius slaine.

Westerne Picts. Eastern Picts.



* Britain: so
called.

* Robberies.

London called
Augusta.* Theod. sin. inful-
lis received into
Lancaster.* Valentinianus shared
lib. 28. cap. 7.

went. As for the Traicts of *Gaul*, the *Frankners* and *Saxons* their neere confined neighbours, whereof they could breake forth, and make *Roades* by Sea or Land, made haucke here by seizing of *Bootes*, firing of *Townes*, in killing of men and women, and leading away *Captives*. To stay these wofull miseries, if the *Heavens* had beene so benigne, this valiant *Captaine* intended a voyage to this *our end of the World*: and comming to *Romynia*, which lieth diuided from the opposite tract of Land by a narrow Channell ebbing and flowing with terrible *Tides*, where the *waters* are scene sometimes to match the highest *Mountain*, and againe to kittle with the leuell of the *Plaines*, without any harme of *Sailers* or *Passage*: this *Slene* with a gentle course hee crossed, and arrived at *Rutupie*, a quiet *Road* and *Harbour* ouer against it: from whence after that the *Bactrians*, the *Herni*, *Ioni*, and *Vittores* (Companies bold and confident in their strengths) were come, he marched towards *Lundinium*, an ancient *Citie*, which posterities afterwards named *Augusta*: and hauing leuered his *Troopes* into sundry parts, he charged vpon those companies of rousing and robbing enemies, even when they were heauie laden with *booties* and *spoiles*, and were driving away before them both *Men* and *Women* bound for their *Captives*, besides much *Cattle*, and a great *Prey*. These hee soone discomited, and restored to the poore distressed *Tributaries* their *Liberties* and *Losses*, bestowing some small parcels thereof among his weary and well-deseruing *Souldiers*: and entred the *City* with exceeding great ioy, in manner of a *Petty triumph*, which ere while was ouerwhelmed with *Calamities*, but now on the sudden refreshed and set in perfect safety.

(5) Vpon this prosperous successe encouraged to greater attempts, hee abode yet doubtfull of the future, casting with himselfe many proiects, which poised *Fortunes Scales* alike: but lastly by certain *Captaines* and *Fugitives* hee learned that those Companies of sundry fierce *Nations*, spread so farre and diffusely vpon the face of the *Province*, could not be vanquished, vlesse it were by sleights and stratagemes. By *Edicts* therefore he first proclaimed *impunitie* to such as had forsaken their *Colours*, if they would returne; whereby many which had run to the *Enemie*, or at their owne pleasures had beene dispersed into diuers parts, came in, and by their countenance declared their resolutions in his behalfe. Notwithstanding, mistrusting the euent, and pensiue still with cares, hee thought good to call to his assistance *Cicilius*, a man of great vnderstanding, quicke spirit, and withall an vpright *Iusticer*, who was to rule *Britaine* as *Deputie*, and likewise *Dulcinius* a *Captaine*, renowned for his skill and deedes of *Armes*.

(6) After Consultation with them, hauing gotten courage, and departing from *Augusta* with a power of *Souldiers*, which in his politike industrie he had leuiued and trained to his hand, hee brought exceeding great succour euerly where vnto the troubled and confused state of the *Britaines*, gaining before hand such places in each part, as might giue advantage to annoy the *barbarous Enemie*; and enioined the *Common Souldiers* no seruice, whereof himselfe tooke not the *Assay* with a cheerefull heart: in this sort performing as well the Offices of an *Attieue* and hardy *Souldier*, as the careful charge of a right-noble *Generall*, he discomited & put to flight diuers *Nations*, whom insolent *Pride* (fed with security) had incited and set on fire, to invade the *Romans Territories*; and so restored wholly vnto their former state the *Cities* and *Castles* which had sustained many losses, and established a sure peace for a long time following.

(7) Now there happened whiles hee achieued these exploits, a dangerous matter likely to haue broken out into great mischief, had it not beene quenched in the very beginning of the enterprise: for one *Valentinus* of *Taleria Pannonia*, a man of a proud spirit, first Deputy Leutenannt and after president, for some notable offense banished into *Britaine*, as *Frontinus* immediately before had beene, as one impatient of

rest, like some noisome wilde Beast, vpon a certaine swelling pride, rose vp in commotion against *Theodosius*, whom hee perceived to be the only man able to withstand his wicked designs. Howbeit, casting about many waies, both closely and apparently, as the gale of his vnmeasurable desire rose higher, he solicited as well the banished persons as *Souldiers*, promising (as the time would afford) rewards to allure and draw them on to some actual attempt. Yet when the day came wherein it should haue beene effected, *Theodosius* hauing intelligence thereof, surprized *Valentinus* with some few of inward complices, and deliuered them vnto *Dulcinius*, to be put to death accordingly. But in his militarie skill and policie, (wherein hee was reputed to haue exceeded all men liuing in those daies) gelsing at future dangers, hee inhibited all *Inquisition* to be made touching the rest of the *Conspirators*, lest so generall a feare surprising at once, and spread abroad among many those tempestuous troubles of the *Provinces*, which were now well allaiad, should reuiue againe.

(8) Therefore turning himselfe from this businesse to the reforming of such enormities as were of most consequence, now that all dangers were quite ouer-blowne, hee reedified the *Cities*, repaired the *Garrison Castles*, and fortified the *Frontiers* with standing *Watches*, and strong *Fore-senses*. And thus hauing recovered the *Province* againe which had yielded subiection to the *Enemies*, hee reduced it vnto the pristine *Estate*, so as by his meanes and motion it had againe a lawfull *Gouernour* appointed, and also named it *VALENTIA*, in honour of *Valentinianus* the Emperor.

(9) The *Areens*, a kinde of men (as witnesseth *Amianus*) instituted by those of ancient times for politike imployments, who by little and little were fallen into disorders and vices, hee remooued from their *Stations*, as being manifestly conuicted, for that (induced with the great neede of officers receiued or promised) they had diuers times discovered vnto the *Barbarous* whatsoever was done or debated betwixt the *President* and his *Counsell*: for indeed their charge was to runne to and fro by long iournies, to intimate and make knowne vnto the *Romans Captaines* vpon the *Marches*, what doings and stirres were among the *Neighbour-Nations*; whereby they had great opportunities both to know and reueale the secrets of the *State*.

(10) And thus *Theodosius* hauing managed most excellently these affaires, was sent for to the *Emperours Court*: who leauing the *Province* ouer-ioied for their *Peace*, was no lesse famous for his many important *Vittories*, then was either *Furius Camillus*, or *Papinius Cursor*. And being honourably accompanied and attended vnto the *Narrow Seas*, with the heartie loue and fauour of all men, departed, and with a gentle gale of winde passed ouer, and came to the *Princes Campe*, where (being receiued with ioy and praise) hee succeeded in the roomes of *Valens Iouinus*, who had the conduct of the *Horsemen*. For these his Martiall deeds so happily atchieued, in honour of him there was a *Statue* erected, resembling a *Man of Armes* on *Horsebacke*, as by *Symmachus* may be vnderstood, thus speaking to his sonne *Theodosius*: The *Author* of your kindred and stocke, *Captaine Generall* both in *Africke* and *Britaine*, was (among other ancient *Titles*) consecrated by the most honourable Order with *Statues* of *Knighthood*. And in his commendations, *Claudian* with full note thus poetically sing:

*Ille Caledonijs posuit qui Castra pruinis,
Qui medijs Libys sub Caside pertulit aestu.
Terribilis Mauro, debellator, Britanni
Littoris, ac paritor Borea vastator & Austri.
Quid rigor aeternus? Caeli quid sidera profunt?
Ignotumq; secretum? Maduerunt Saxone fuso
Orades, incaluit Picetorum sanguine Thule,
Scotorum cumulos senuit glacialis Hiberne.*

*In Caledonian frosts his Tents he pitcht,
And Lybiaes scorching heat endur'd in Field:*

The

Theodosius con-
parable to Ce-
milus.

Symmachus.

Claudian in praise
of Theodosius.Dreadfull fights,
and fearful
Earthquakes.
Amian. Marcell.
lib. 34. cap. 14.* Valentinianus a Re-
bell put to death.Theodosius auer-
sely Waitours.Collect of the Sea
wulbare, and
many Cities
drowned.Paulus Orosius.
S. Jerome.
Wooll rained
from Heauen.* Amian. Marcell.
lib. 28. cap. 7.* Amian. Marcell.
lib. 34. cap. 9.
* Fraumarius made
King of the Buc-
inobantes.

*The Coleblacke Moores, and Britaines faire, in fight
He queld, and fore d both South and North to yield.
What then auaild cold Clime strange Seas, or Starres,
What Orkney lies be drencht with Saxons gore:
When Thule did reake with Picts blood spilt in warres;
And Ireland did huge heapes of Scots deplore?*

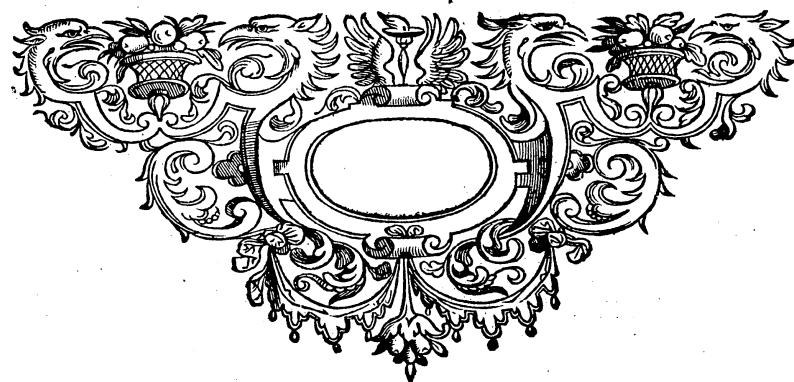
(11) Strange and dreadfull were the signes that in the third yeere of this *Emperour* chanced; as *Earthquakes*, *Inundations*, and the like; whereof *Marcellinus* thus reporteth: A little after the *Summe-rising* (saith he) the weighty and steddly masse of the whole *Earthly Globe*, shooke, *flashes* of lightning very thicke and fierce going before: the Sea also driuen aside, and the waues and billowes so preposterously tumbling and retiring back, that the deepe *Gulfs* being discovered and laid empty, a man might haue scene sundry sorts of swimming creatures sticking in the *mudde*: Also the vast *Valleys* and *Rockes*, which *Nature* had set farre away vnder the huge *Waters*, did now behold the *Beames* of the *Sunne*; inasmuch that many *Ships* were bedded fast in the drie ground, and flocks of people stragled at their pleasure in the small remains of water, to take up *Fishes* as the Sea-*spoile*; when on the sudden the waues disdaining to be thus dispossessed, returned with such violent beating vpon the *Ilands* and *Promontories*, which lay farre into the Sea, as that they ouer-flowed, and laid leuell an infinite number of buildings and *Cities*. And therefore in this furious discord of the *Elements*, the surface of the world being couered, represented strange, and wonderfull sights: Among which *S. Ierome* reporteth, that there rained *Wooll* from *Heauen* so perfect and good, that no better grew vpon the *Sheepe*, the naturall *Producer*. But to returne.

(12) *Fraumarius*, whom *Valentinianus* had ordained to be *King* of the *Bucinobantes* in *Germanie*, was made *Tribune* and *Colonell* ouer a *Regiment* of *Almans* in *Britaine*, which for number and valour in those daies were renowned; where (no doubt) matter enough was ministered for him to worke vpon. But the death of the *Emperour* presently following, admits no mention of further discourse which happened in this manner: The *Quadi* after many molestations done to the *Roman Legions* and their *Confederates*, sent their *Ambsassadors* vnto him, desiring pardon for their former faults committed, and an abolishment of all re-

membrances thereof: with whom being in earnest conference, suddenly the blood gushed out of his mouth; and being laid vpon his bed, shortly after died of an *Apoplexie*, or rather of the *Plague*, as the *blew Markes* appearing vpon his dead body gaue coniecture: *November* the *seuenth*, of his age fiftie *liue yeeres*, hauing reigned eleuen yeeres, eight moneths, and two daies, in the yeere of our *Christ* three hundred *seventy* liue.

(13) For preface, he was Maiesticall, of bodie fat, his complexion faire, his eyes gray, and hauing therewith somwhat a scue cast, his haire shining bright, his ioints strong and well knit: he was a *Prince* mercifull and louing, and mitigated many *Tributes* formerly imposed on the *Provinces*: a wife *Warriour*, sterne in countenance, hastic of speech, and chaffe of body, a good *Iusticer*, and impatient of all delays. But these his *Virtues* with some *Vices* were accompanied: for he is taxed with enuie and partialitie, in punishing seuerely the poore *Souldier* for small offences, but remissiuely to the faults of their *Captaines* and *Leaders*, and that was the cause (by *Amianus* his report) of the troubles in *Britaine*, the losses in *Africke*, and the waiting in *Illyricum*.

(14) His *Arian* brother *Valens* suruiuing him, raised *Emperour* in the *East*; by whose sufferance the *Barbarous Gothes* entred *Thracia*, which presently produced to be the bane of the *Roman World*, for that these *Gothes* (a strange and unknowne People till then) being forced out of a secret Nooke in *Scythia*, by the *Hog-Backt Hunnes*, rushing as an vnresistible *Whirlwinde* from those *High Mountains*, infested the *Coasts* about *Danubius*, and obtained licence from *Valens* to passe the *Riuer Donay* into *Thracia*, where long in quiet they staid not, but like a violent *Flood* running with a full current, they ouerwhelmed all before them, ouercomming the *Romans* in many *Battles*, and in one slew the *Emperour Valens*, with most of his approved *Captaines*, and twenty *liue Tribunes* that had charge of *Regiments*, the third part of his *Armie* hardly escaping vnslaine. Some report that *Valens* flying the *Field*, took into a house neere *Adrianople*, whither being pursued by the *Enemie*, and his *Hold* fired vpon his head, was therein burned to ashes, after he had reigned *Emperour* fourteen yeeres.

Secret. Eccl. Hist.
lib. 4. cap. 25.
* Valentinianus
death.* Valentinianus his
personage and
vertues.* Valens Emperor
in the East.* Amian. Marcell.
lib. 31. cap. 34.* Gothes ouercome
the Romans.
* Valens slaine.

FLAVIUS GRACIANVS FLA. VALENTINIANVS IVNIOR. } Emp.

CHAPTER LI.



Gracianus &
Valentinianus
Emp.

An. Do. 376.

Amianus Mar.
lib. 17 cap. 5.
Gracian and Val-
entinian Emp.

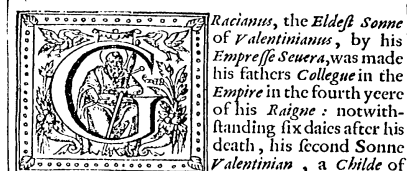
lib. 30. cap. 12.

Gracian louing
to Valentinian.

Iustina mother
of young Valen-
tinian.

Secrestes ecclef.
lib. 4. cap. 25.

Valentinianus
married Iustina,
by whom he had
young Valen-
tinian.



Gracianus, the Eldest Sonne of Valentinianus, by his Emperre Severa, was made his fathers Colleague in the Empire in the fourth yeere of his Raigne: notwithstanding fix daies after his death, his second Sonne Valentinian, a Child of Foure yeeres old, by the ad- uice of the Counsell and generall consent of the Camp, was also stiled and proclaimed Emperour. These Brethren lived in much loue, and ruled in the West, as their vncle Valens did in the East, of whom wee last spake. And albeit Gracian had cause of displeasure, that this his Younger Brother was thus advanced without his allowance; yet he as a Prince kind and naturall, regarded his Brother exceedingly, and brought him vp in all tender affection, forgetting the wrong offered vnto himselfe and his owne Mother for Valentinians mothers sake.

(2) The Mother of this Valentinian was Iustina, a damsell of an admirable feature and exceeding beautie, surpassing all other women so farre, that the Emperre her selfe fell in loue with her, and vually conuered with her familiarly as her equall, imparting her most private secrets vnto her as her trustie Counsellor, and often bathing together in the same Bath. Neither was her ardent affection contained within the measure of womanish modestie, in so much as she restrained not in the hearing of the Emperour (her Husband) to extoll her incomparable beautie, preferring her far above any creature in the World. Whereupon Valentinianus so farre affected this Lady, as that heooke her to his Wife, by whom he had this young Valentinian, and also three Daughters, notwithstanding Seuerus was yet liuing.

(3) The stormes of the Gothes as a violent tempest beating still against the Shores of the Roman Provinces, caused Gracian to beare Saile toward the safest Harbour, and to commit the guidance of his shippe to the most assured Pilot: their forces

being so great, and their outrages so terrible, that hee thought it best not to adventure his owne person, but to imploy some other approoued Captaine. For which exploit, none was held more sufficient then Theodosius, the Sonne of that Theodosius who was so famous for his British Warres, and whose life was taken away by Valens the Easterne Emperour. Him he made first Captaine Generall of the Roman Empire, and immediately vpon his first seruice against the Gothes, his Fellow Emperour and Augustus, allotting him those parts in the East, that his vncle Valens lately had enjoyed.

(4) In many Battels, fought to the last drop of blood, this worthy Generall ouercame the Gothes, so that their King Athanarius was lastly enforced to sue for his Peace, which vpon honourable compositions was graunted, and himselfe in most princely manner entertained by Theodosius in the Imperiall Citie Constantinople; where falling sicke after three moneths, he died, and was both much lamented, and sumptuously buried by the Emperour. These reports caused Sapor, the most puissant King of Persia, to submit himselfe vnto Theodosius, and by his Ambassadors, attending his Court, obtained his Amicitie. Thus gloriously reigning and perfect peace established, he ordained his young sonne Arcadius his Fellow Emperour in the East.

(5) But the affaires in the Westerne Empire proceeded nothing so fortunately: for Gracian a meeke and soft spirited man, ballanced with Theodosius, was held without regard; and Valentinian by his Prefect Probus, held both Rome and Italy at his deuotion; onely Gallia obeyed Gracian. For Clemens Maximus borne in Spaine, but descended lineally from Constantine the Great, by his affability and liberal carriage, had wonne the affections of the Brittaines to side with him; a man, no doubt, both Valiant and Wise, had he held his allegiance to his Soueraigne Lord. But the time fitting his purposes, when the Scots and Picts with their wonted inroads, fore indamaged the Province, he set himselfe for their deliuerance, and therein sped so well, that the Souldiers by constraint (as Orosius saith) forced him to assume the Imperiall Stile and Purple Robe. And

them Maxi-
mus striketh
him against
Gracian.

Andragathius a
murderer,
Gracian, his
saub & raigne.

Theodosius ouer-
cometh the
Gothes.

Aurelius Victor,
Paulus Orosius.

Sapor King of
Persia.

Clemens Maxi-
mus rebelleth
Camden.

An. Do. 381

Zosimus.
Paulus Orosius.

Cluuent Stadi-
us affirmeth the
Imperiall Stile.

so halting into Gallia, with all the flower and strength well neer of the Brittaines forces, arrived in the mouth of Rhene, vnto whom also the German Army ioyned, and now accounting himselfe an absolute Monarch, admitted Victor his sonne, then Caesar, to be partner of his Empire, whose Stampe therefore with his father we haue here annexed.



(6) Thus Maximus establishing his throne at Truers, Spread his wings (saith Ovid) the one into Spaine, the other into Italy, and with the terror of his Name, leuied Tributes and Pensions for Souldiers pay, of the most fell and savage Germans.

Against him Gracianus made his power, but after five daies skirmishings was forsaken of his own Souldiers, and so put to flight. And now dejected and destitute of meanes to maintaine his quarrell, hee sent Ambrose (a great Doctor of the Church) his Ambassador vnto Maximus, to intreat for Peace, which in outward shew was graunted, but was farre otherwise intended, as the sequell proved. For seeking his death, he did shortly after effect it in this wise: He caused Letters, and reports to be given vnto Gracian, that his Emperre was in iourney to visit him, and withall sent forth a Carroche stuffed with Souldiers, and with them a desperate Captaine named Andragathius. Gracian greatly reioicing for his Wifes approach, prepared himselfe to meet her accordingly, and opening the Litter, thinking to embrace his Emperre, was by these Ruffians treacherously murdered nere vnto Lyons, when he had reigned fiftene yeeres, and liued twentienine. Valentinian with his Mother Iustina, fearing the like conspiracies, became supplicants vnto Theodosius in the East against Maximus.

(7) He therefore preparing his forces, marched as farre as Aquileia in Lombardie, where Maximus remained both confident and secure. For hauing fortified the straits of the Mountaines with sufficient Garrisons, and dammed the Hauens with strength of Ships, himselfe and asisturs with great boldnesse proceeded against Theodosius, and gaue him a battell before the Citie Syesia in Pannonia, and againe most valiantly receiued him in another, vnder the leading of his brother Marcellus; but in both of them was ouercome. From this last, he secretly retired vnto Aquileia, where of his owne Souldiers he was betrayed, and deliuered to Theodosius his pursuers; and by him to the Ex-

ceptioner to be beheaded: of which his vnforgotten, but deferred end, the famous Bishop Martinus Turonensis being in Britaine, did foretell him long before. Andragathius also, the Murderer of Gracian, whose state was now desperate, cast himselfe headlong into the Sea, and made an end of his wicked life. Victor the sonne of Maximus, made his Caesar in France, as we haue said, was defeated, taken Prisoner & slaine. This Victory was held so worthy and memorable, that the Romans from thence forward solemnized that day euery yeere as festiuall, saith Protolus.

(8) But these Brittaines that had assisted Maximus, as by Writers is recorded, did forcibly invade Armorica, and there planted themselves: From whence (saith Bede, the Brittaines first arrived into this Island. But surely himselfe is either greatly mistaken, or else we must take him altogether, and that rather, for that by Caesar those Coasts that lie vpon the Sea shores, are called Armorica, and there the Celtes seated, being the Originall of our Inhabitants, as is holden, and so from thence they might spread themselves further into these British Islands, long before it recetued the name of Little Britaine. The like troubles fell to other Provinces at the same time, by the intestine warres of the Empire: for the Gaules were molested by the Frankes; Spaine by the Suenians; and Africa by the Vandals: the East parts by the Heruli, Ostrogoes, and Hunnes; Italy by the Lombards, and shortly after by the Gothes.

(9) These troubles in the Provinces, caused the Emperours to call home their Armies, with Aides of their Allies, & all too little to support their own declining Estates, which now beganne to end of it selfe, and these Emperours raigues to be cut off by their vntimely deaths.

But to returne into the path of our History, from whence (by the intangled occasions of these foure Emperours raiguing together) we haue wandred; let vs remember what occurrences happened vpon the death of Maximus the Tyrant, and haften to end the greatnesse of the Empire, which in most Provinces began to end of it selfe. For Valentinian being rid of his feares, vnto which he had beene subiect; and Theodosius of his Colleague, vnto whom hee was enforced; great hope was conceiued of a flourishing Estate, but it brought forth onely the remains of their downefall: for the one returning to Constantinople in great Triumph, liued not long after, and the other left peaceably in the Westerne World, was (as you shall heare) soone made away by Conspiracie.

(10) Valentinian remaining at Vienna in France, free from Hostile Enemies, retained in his Court those that fought his life, wherof Arbogastes, a Captaine of a haughty stomacke, politick, aduenturous, and of great power, but withall of a base Parentage, a stranger and an Infidell, was one; Eugenius a Grammarian, but now bearing Armes, and of great account, was another. These corrupting his Chamberlaines, compounded for his death, which they as wickedly performed, by strangling him in his bedde, giuing it forth that the Emperour had hanged himselfe; which was so confidently aouched, that Prospers in his Addition to Eugenius writing his death, saith, that it was acted by himselfe, after hee had liued twenty six, and reigned fiftene yeeres, being strangled in the yeere of Grace three hundred eighty foure.

Sabellicus Eum. 7.
lib. 9.
An. Dom. 88.
Andragathius
drowneth him-
selfe.

Arbogastes a
conspirator.

Eugenius a Gram-
marian, another.

Valentinian
strangled.

Prospers.

Valentinian his
raigne.



FLAVIUS THEODOSIUS.

CHAPTER LII.



Flau. Theodosius Emp.

An. Do. 392.



He haue declared in the life of the last preceding Emperour, the Birth and Fortunes, Warres and Victories of this most worthie Theodosius, vntill the death of Maximus the Britaine, (for so most writers terme him) and now onely remaine his latter Acts in Warre and Peace to bee further related.

Theodosius goeth against Arbogastes and Eugenius.

(2) This Emperour returning from Aquileia in Lombardie vnto Constantinople in the East, long time there staid not, but was drawne againe into the West both to reuenge the death of Valentinian his Fellow Emperour so treacherously strangled, and also to oppose the proceedings of Eugenius, whose Coine wee haue here expresse, being one of the Murderers then vsurping that portion of the Empire, sided by Arbogastes the other.

Eugenius vsurper.



(3) Theodosius marching with his forces towards the Confines of Italie found the passages stopped at the foot of the Alps, and his Enemies powers farre surmounting him: Therefore a while to deliberate on these busineses, hee pitched his Tents, and there staid. In the meane time Eugenius and Arbogastes his associate had forleide the Countrey, and hemmed him about in such a strait, that no victuals could bee brought vnto his Campe.

Theodosius prayeth to God for victorie.

(4) No meanes being now left, but either to cleere the passages, or bee ouerthrowne, hee first became supplicant with Fastings and Teares vnto his God, whom he knew to be the God of Hosts, and whom euer he had serued, and whose aid had hitherto neuer failed him: whereupon boldly encouraging his men, he accepted of the Field. But the Battle furiously begunne, fell so fore against him, that ten thousand of his Souldiers were presently slaine, and the rest despairing ready to flee, himselfe at that instant had bene surprized, had not God turned the heart of Arbogastes, a Captaine of his Enemies, suddenly to come to his side, and to rescue him. Theodosius much daunted by these unfortunate beginnings, yet conceiued better hopes of the following successe, trusting to the vprightnesse of his Cause, and the helpe of his God, which still he im-

plored, till the Heauens were propitious to his earnest desires.

(5) For suddenly a violent tempest arose, and a raging winde rushed so extreemly on the faces of his Enemies, that they were in no wise able to withstand it, the power thereof beating backe againe their darts into their owne sides; whereas the arrows shot from the Emperours part, were thereby forced with double strength to pierce through the Rebels Iron plates, whereby a most glorious victory was obtained; and Eugenius taken, who lay grouelling at the Emperours feet, deploring his estate, and craving his pardon; but euen as hee kneeled with cries and teares, the Souldiers standing by stricke off his Head. And Arbogastes the Author of these euils by flight escaping, two daies after ran himselfe vpon his sword, and so reuenged on himselfe his owne wicked actions. This victory was atchieued the sixth of September, in the yeere of grace three hundred ninety six, by Socrates account: and was so famous, that besides the Records of Christian Historians, Claudius a Heathen Poet thus eternizeth the fame in his Heroick Poeme.

Gods darling deare, the heauens thy souldiers were in arms,
And windes conpired to aid and follow thy allarms.

(6) Theodosius thus deliuered, repaired vnto Milan, where worne with yeeres and trauels, shortly after he sickened vnto death. And sending for his Son Honorius, made him Emperour of the West, and to Arcadius gaue the East, wherein hee had before made him his Cesar. The Province of Africa he assigned to the government by one Gildus in his Sonnes behalfe, and in the Non-age of Arcadius appointed Rufinus for Constantinople, and Stilicho Tutor to young Honorius in Italie, three most worthy men vndoubtedly, had the greatnesse of their spirits bene contained within the lists of their trust and places.

(7) This last named Flavius Stilicho, famous for a long time, and an inward companion with Theodosius, had bene imployed in the Britaines warres against the inroades of the Scots, Vandals, and Picts, and therein had borne himselfe with fortunate successe, as the Poet Claudian implieth, where he bringeth in Britaine thus speaking:

Me quoq, vicinis pereuntem Gentibus, inquit,
Muniuit Stilicho, totam quum Scotus Eibernem
Mouit, & infestis pumauit remige T betis.
Illius effectum curis, ne bella timerem
Scotica, nec Pictum tremere, ne littore toto
Prosperem dubijs venientem Saxona totis.

And I, saith he, that ready was
By bordering foes to perishe,
When Scots did cause the Irish stirres,
then Stilicho did me cherishe.

His

Theodosius doeth victorie.

Socrates Hist. lib. 5. cap. 24.

Eugenius beheaded.
Arbogastes killed himselfe.Theodosius died.
Honorius and Arcadius made Emperours.Gildus Governour of Africa.
Rufinus Governour of Constantinople.
Stilicho Governour of Italie.

Stilicho famous imployed in the British Warres.

Stilicho commended by Claudian for his conquest in Britaine.

When Seas did foame with strokes of Oares,
that beat the bellows backe,
His force effecting with his cares,
preuented still my wracke:
He had me feare no forraigne powers,
that Scots or Picts could make,
Nor of the Saxons that on Seas,
uncertaine courses take.

So that being by him freed from those many dangers, and all her enemies ouerthrowne, shee singeth her security by the same Poet.

Domito quod Saxone Thetis
Mitior aut fracta secura Britannia Pictis.

My Seas, though rough are calmd,
sith Saxons conquer'd are,
And I securely rest,
now Picts are queld in warre.

But this her ioy through the Treasons of these three Gouvernours, was loone turned into laments and teares, and the whole Empires glory brought to a fatal period, as presently it will appeare.

(8) This Theodosius for his Princely parts by all writers is ranked among the very best of all the Emperours: And as he is likened to Traian for his feature and personage, so may he be compared in wisdome to Marcus Aurelius: In temperance with Antoninus Pius: For his Christian profession and deuotion, with Constantine the Great: and for his meeknes, c-

quall to any: Whereof among many other, we haue one example very remarkable, vpon an offence committed by the Inhabitants of Theffalonica, hee commanded most severe punishment to bee inflicted, which was so vnadvisedly executed, that as well the innocent, as the offenders were inuolued therein. He then coming to Millan, would haue entred the Church to haue communicated with other Christians in their sacred deuotions, which Ambrose, the great Doctor, and Bishop of that Sea (though otherwise a man of admirable mildnesse) resisted and forbade, in which estate the Emperour stood for eight moneths continuance: and then with great humility & submission, acknowledging his offense was absolved, and againe receiued into the congregation: For preventing of the like rash offences by him committed, he then enacted a Lawe, that thirty daies should passe betwixt the sentence of death, and the execution of the Malefactor: And to suppress his hasty choller (whereunto he was much subiect) his vltim manner was to recite the Greeke Alphabet, before hee vttered any speech suauering of that humour.

Theodosius vpon his submission, absolved by the Church.

Theodosius, his art to suppress his anger.

Socrates eccles. hist. lib. 5. cap. 25.
Theodosius his death and progeny.

(9) He died Ianuary the fteuenteenth, the yeere of the worlds happines three hundred ninety five: when he had reigned fteuentee yeares, and liued fixty, as Aurelius Victor writeth, with whom he ends his History. His first wife was Flaccilla, a religious Lady, the Mother of Arcadius and Honorius, by his second wife hee had a daughter named Placidia Galla, first married vnto Athaulphus King of the Gothes, and after his death vnto Constantine, whom Honorius her brother made Augustus and his fellow Emperour.

ARCADIUS
HONORIUS } Emperours.

CHAPTER LIII.



Arcadius Emp. East.

Honorius Emp. West.



Attall was the Act of Theodosius, in his Election of the three foresaid Protectors, whose greatnes carried with a glutted prosperity, grew to a surter after his death in their ambitious thoughts, and was the downefall of the now aged and drooping Emperour: first Gildus in Africa, not contented with the title of Comes or Earle, cast off all subiection, and as an absolute Lord, acknowledged neither Arcadius, nor Honorius for his Soueraigne.

Gildus rebelleth.

Felix Diatonus.

Masteterius overcommeth his brother Gildus.

with which, though much too weake, he marched against the Emperours Enemy, and as Paulus Orosius writeth more by force of praier to God, then power of men, in his encounter preuailed, and beheaded Gildus for his Treason: But himselfe becoming mightie, and forgetting that which in others hee remembered, himselfe vsurped the command of Africa against Honorius, casting off all subiectiue obedience, and as a free Prince ruled the Province: The Souldiours that had lately assisted the Emperours cause, now well perceiving his aime, leuelled at the Crowne, thought best to cut the string before hee looked the shaft, and made him shorter by the head.

Paulus Orosius.

Gildus beheaded.

Masteterius beheaded.

Ruffinus ambition.

(3) Rufinus in Constantinople as boldly bare himselfe, thinking Arcadius both too weake and yong to found the depth of his designs, whose thoughts did also worke vpon conceited Souerainety: he therefore secretly sollicitated the Gothes to warre vpon the Empire, that so Arcadius might either be slaine or im-

F ff 2

trapped,

Ruffinus flaine.

Stilicho set at ha-
zard the whole
Empire.Alaricus the
courge of Rome.

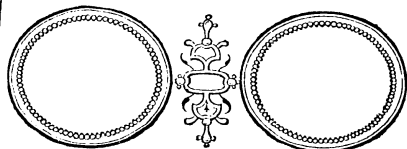
Paulus Orosius.

Radagastus with
two hundred
thousand Gothes.Hieron. in Epist.
ad Paul. & Eust.Marcus chosen
Emperour.
Marcus murder-
ed.
Sabinianus Em. 7.
lo. 9.Gracian chosen
Emperour.
Gracian mur-
dered.

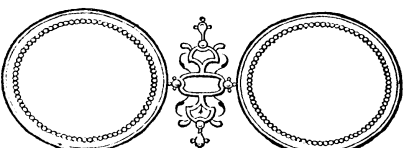
trapped, or else himselfe in those dangers, set vp as the more sufficient. But these things thus dangerously plotted by *Ruffinus*, were as politically preuented by the *Emperour*, although a *Child*: for before the Seed of this *Treason* could bring forth either *Bud* or *Blade* it was discovered, and the *Author* slaine by an *Italian Band*, his Head (which as some affirme, first tooke breath in *Britaine*) was aduanced ouer a *Gate* in *Constantinople*.

(4) Thus *Peace* obtained by the *Deaths* of these two *Tyrants*, the *Third* stood vp with more danger in the *west*. For *Stilicho*, *Tutor* to young *Honorius*, thought it not sufficient honour for him to haue his *Daughter* an *Empresse* by the *Marriage* of his *Ward*; but set at hazard (for himselfe and sonne) his own *Conscience*, both their *Lives*, and the fatal ruine of the *Now-declining Empire*. For first, sowing seditions amongst the *Lieutenants* of the *Provinces*, picked also quarrels in the *Emperours Court*, *Cashiering* with disgraces those *Gothes* that had serued with good proofe of their fidelitie a-boue twenty yeeres, since their entertainment by *Theodosius*. These to reuenge their *Wrongs*, chose for their *Chieftaine* a valiant *Goth* named *Alaricus*, which shortly found the *Seourge* of *Rome*: with whom ioyned the *Fandals*, *Alanes*, and *Suenians*, who ioyntly with great fury beganne to warre in *Austria* and *Hungary*, increasing their *Powers* with such *Multitudes*, that as *Paulus Orosius*, an *Author* of that time saith, *The World* was amazed and stood in feare. For vnto these *Colonies* resorted two hundred thousand *Gothes*, more, vnder the leading of *Radagastus* their *King*, who together with vnited forces, subdued all *Thracia*, *Hungary*, *Austria*, *Scythia*, and *Dalmatia*, and spoiled all in such manner, that it seemed *Dinels* and not *Men* had passed that way, as *Saint Ierome* (who liued at that time) expresseth: *These brute Beasts* (saith he) *suffered by the wrath of God in this warre, haue laid Cities waste, slaine the People, and left the very Fields bare and desolate, whereof the Provinces of Thracia, and Scythia, with the Country wherein my selfe was borne, beare too true, but lamentable Records.*

(5) The *Roman Empire* thus daily declining, and these fierce *Nations* making hauock where they came, the *Armies* in *Britaine* were put in great feare, lest the *Flames* of their *Neighbours* fire might *Flash* out, and take hold of them also. Therefore proudly to preuent that danger, they elected one *Marcus* their *Lieutenant* for *Emperour*, yeclding him their obedience some shorter time, and then finding his defects, immediately murdered him.

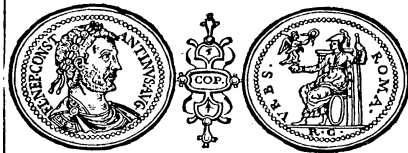


In whose stead they *Inthroned* one *Gracian* a *Britaine*: whose carriage not answering their expectations, they *Murdered* also, within *Four* *Moneths* after his *Royall* solemnity.

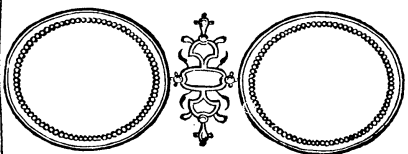


The features and Imperiall Titles stamped on the

Romish Mony of these two *Usurpers*, (according to the vusual manner of the like in *Estlate*) we finde not, neither stands it with credit of our *History* to faigne them at pleasure: therefore till time bring them forth, from the *Cauces* of obscurity we haue allowed them place onlie by these *Circles* inferred, that others may supply what presentlie wee want, and accomplish by pencile what we cannot by *Presse*.



(6) Yet time to *Constantine* hath bin more fauorable in preserving his remembrance by his minted *Monies*, which here with his *Story* we present to fight. At the fall of these former, no better at all then a *Common Souldier*, but vpon confidence onely conceiued of his *Name*, was made *Emperour*, who with more respect of honour, and liking of his aduancers, bare himselfe better then the others had done. For putting to Sea, and landing at *Bologne*, he easily indued the *Romans* forces as farre as the *Alps* to side with him: *Valentia* in *France* hee manfully defended: the *Rhine*, which long had been neglected, hee fortified with *Garrisons*: vpon the *Alpas* well as vpon the *Maritime Coast*, where passages were frequented, hee built *Fortresses*: *Spaine* likewise hee held vnder the hand of *Constantians* his *Sonne*, whom of a *Monke* hee had made *Augustus*, & by whose valour subdued all from the *Pyrenean Mountaines* to the *Ocean*, whose *Monies* wanting to expresse his Image and *Stile*, we haue also supplied with another *Blanke*.



(7) *Constantine* prospering as wee haue said, sent *Letters* of excuse vnto *Honorius*, affirming constantly that he was compelled by the *Souldiers* to doe what hee did: whereby hee so pleased the *Emperour*, that commending his *Valor*, & holding him fit, hee sent him of free gift a *Purple Robe*. Whereupon this new-grown blade began to bud faire, and at *Arles* planted his *Imperiall Seat*, Commanding the *Citie* to be called *Constantina* from him, and ordained that the *Assemblies* of the affairs of *Seuen Provinces* should bee therein held. But his his *sunshine* of prosperitie was soone ouercast with the *Clouds* of aduerser fortunes, and his *Crowne* & *Life* laid together in the dust. For in *Spaine* against him was arreared *Maximus* a *Vassall*, whose *Generall* *Gerontius* intercepting *Constantians*, (his *Sonne* and *Cesar*) at *Vienna* in *France* slew him: and *Constantine* himselfe within the *Wall* of *Arles*, besieged for *Four* *Moneths*, after the *Raigne* of *Four* *Yeeres*, laid aside his *Purple Robe*, and entered the *Church* in *Order* of *Priesthood*, surrendering the *Citie* with his *Stile* *Imperiall*, was lastly led into *Italy*, and there beheaded.

(8) From that time *Britaine* renewed her obedience to *Honorius*, and the *Province* a while was refreshed by the *Wisdom* and *Prowesse* of *Victorinus* her *Lieutenant*, who often repressed the incursions of the *Scots*.

Scots and *Picts*: whereupon in his praise *Rutilius Claudianus* thus wrote:

Conscius Oceanus virtutum conscia T hule,
Et quacunque ferox arua Britannus arat.

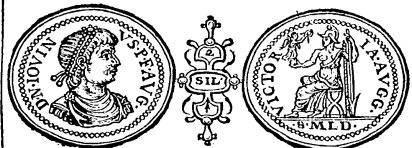
The Ocean wide and T hule,
his vertues wine-se wills
And all the Champion Fields,
w. ch Brittaines fierce doe till.

(9) But *Rome* at this time being fore afflicted, and by *Alaricus* with his *Goths* and *Vandals* presently lacked, *Honorius* sent for *Victorinus* with his *Army* out of *Britaine*, to the rescue of the *Citie*, as *Claudian* signifieth, when he reckoneth vp among other *Aides*, the *British Legion* sent thither: whereof the *Scots* and *Picts* had soone notice, and (according to their wonted manner) with fire and sword molested their neighbours.

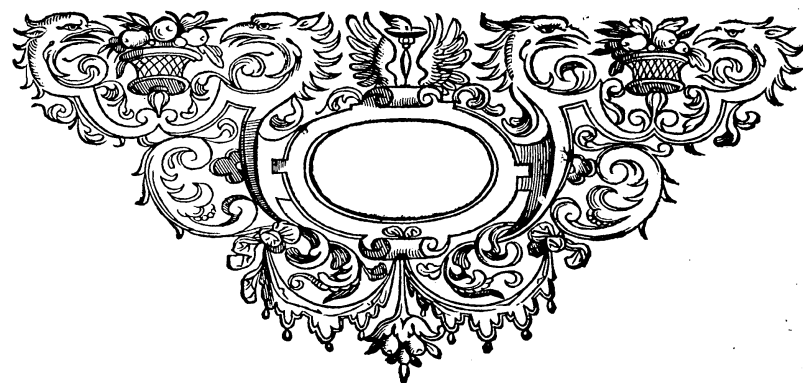
(10) The *Britains* therefore resolutely engaging themselves into dangers, took *Armes*, and freed their *Cities* and *States* from those *Barbarous People*: by whose example, the rest of their Nation in *Armorica*, with the *Provinces* of *Gaulois*, deliuered themselves also from their oppressions, and all of them cast out the *Roman Presidents*, setting a forme of *Common-wealth* to their owne liking. But these our *Britains* growing too weak to withstand the continuall inroads of their *Northerne Enemies*, humbly besought *Honorius* for succour; whose returne of comforts consisted only in words, exhorting them by *Letters*, to stand vpon their owne *Guard*. But they knowing it was not words which must helpe them, againe deplored their miseries, & so obtained of him the assistance of one *Legion*, which in their aid droue backe those *Assailants* into their owne *Marches*, and fortified againe the *wall* betwixt the *Frith* of *Edenburgh* vnto *Cluid*: so then departing, left the *Britains* to defend themselves; who now, besides the *Common Enemies* so often mentioned, were much molested, and their *Faith* corrupted by one *Pelagius*, by birth a *Britaine*, by profession a *Monke*, by leaud doctrine an *Heretike*, who was brought vp in the famous *Monastery* of *Bangor* in *Wales*, had also travelled *Italie*, *Sicilia*, & *Egypt*, for the studie of learning, and grew into great fauour with *Paulinus* Bishop of *Nola*, and with *S. Augustine* also, till his *Heretickall Assertions*, which had beene by him and his disciple *Caelestus* (a *Scot* secretly taught, and by *Saint Ierome* discovered) were afterwards condemned by *Innocentius* the first, Bishop of *Rome*. But the *Ach-heretike* returning into *Britaine*, began againe obstinately to maintaine the same, together with

Agricola, one who spread the venome of that *Heretie* into *Forraine parts*: whose doctrines were, 1. That *Man*, without the grace of *God*, was able to fulfill all the *Commandements*. 2. That *Man* in himselfe had *Freewill*. 3. That the *Grace* of *God* was giuen vnto vs according to our merits. 4. That the *Iust* haue no sinne. 5. That *Children* are free from *Originall sinne*. 6. That *Adam* should haue died, though hee had not sinned. And therein also one *Timothie* most impiouslie disputed against the *Diuine* and *Humane Natures* of *Christ*. Notwithstanding, at the same time flourished *Fastidius*, a most learned *British Bishop*, and *Chrysanthus* also the *Deputie* or *Vicegerent* of *Britaine*, who with great honour gouerned the affairs of the *Church* and *Common-wealth*, and was afterwards (as elsiwhere we haue shewed) made *Bishop* at *Constantinople* of the *Novatians* against his will.

(11) Thus were the affaires of this *Land* managed vnder these *Brethren Emperours*; the elder of which, *Arcadius*, died in peace at *Constantinople*, leaving his sonne *Theodosius*, a child of eight yeeres, to the succession of the *Empire*, and to the tuition of *Hisdalgerdus* King of *Persia*; a matter which seemed at first very dangerous, but proued at the last very profitable. Hee reigned thirteene yeeres, and died the first of *May*, the one and thirtieth of his age, the yeere of *Christs* birth four hundred and ten. At which time one *Iovinus*, of an obscure beginning, had raised some *Tumults* in *Gallia*, stiled himselfe *Emperour*, vsurped the *Purple Robe*, and stamped his *Coines* with the *Title* of *Victorie*, as is seene in one which we heere present.



(12) Against him *Honorius* made his power, and with his little losse slew the *Pyrrh* in the *Field*: whereby his fame was more spread in the *West*, though not so fortunate as his brothers was in the *East*, after whom hee liued fiftene yeeres, and with whom hee had reigned other thirteene; and hee died, saith *Paulus Diaconus*, of an infirmity at *Rome*, in the yeere of grace foure hundred twenty foure, leaving no issue of his body to succeed him in the *Empire*.

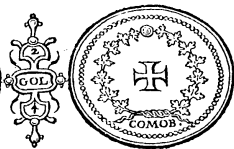


THEODOSIUS 2. Emp. VALENTINIAN 3. Emp.

CHAPTER LIIII.



Theodosius 2. Emp. East.



Valentinian 3. Emp. VWest.

An. Do. 408.



Theodosius 2. & Valentinian 3. the last Roman Monarchs in Brittain.

Great have been the Wars and strange the Alterations which both here at home, and through the World abroad have chanced vnto States since the first attempts of Julius Caesar vnto these present Emperors, Theodosius the second, and Valentinian the third, his Associates, whose Lines and Reigns did conclude the Successions of the Romish Monarchs within this Island of Great Brittain, and threw down their Triumphall Arches in many other Provinces, which for long time had been obsequious to Romes Soueraigne Command. So vncertaine is the Glory of this World, and her Seeming Strength so liable to Instabilitie, that the Powers and Periods thereof held in His hand that holdeth the vniuersall Ball, are suddenly turned from their high-mountained fire and beauty of the Sun vnto the Downe-fall and darke fide of the Globe, and either fall againe into the small Circuit of their first compass, after they have expired their Number, Waigh, and Measure: or else with Daniels Image are vnterly extinct and blowne away, as the chaffe from the Summer flower.

Dan. 2. 35.

The Roman Monarchies continuance.

Abraham the first betweene the promise and the fulfilling of the Law. Gal. 3. 17.

I. King. 6. 1. The time betweene the departing out of Egypt, and the building of the Temple of Salomon.

(2) The continuance of whose Estates, seeme they neuer so Great and Durable in Power, Circuit, Defence, and Multitude, hath seldom extended much the limit of Five hundred yeeres, but that their high and mounted Flames, fall in the ashes of their owne consuming decays, or else hath receiued some other alteration of Empires encrease, as many learned Writers have obserued in most Common-wealths. So was it in the State established by God himselfe among his Peculiar People. As from the Promise to Abraham, made of Christ the blessed Seed and Life of Man (where ceased the worlds formerly-used computation from the Ages of Men) vnto the Law deliuered vpon Mount Sinai, declaring condemnation and death, were foure hundred thirty yeeres: from Israels departure out of Egypt, when their Common-wealth beganne to be ruled by Judges, and Gods seruice celebrated in the Tabernacle vnder Curtaines vnto the Building of their Glorious Temple erect by King Salomon, were yeeres foure hundred and eighty. From the Anointing of David, the first King, set vpon Iudahs Throne, vnto the death of Zedechiah the last King thereof, slaine by Nebuchadnezzar, and that Holy Temple consumed by fire, were yeeres foure hundred & seuentie. And other Politike Estates haue stood much vpon the like space of time. For the Kingdome of Athens set vp by Cecrops the first

King thereof, vnto Codrus the last, when they changed their Monarchie to a Democracie, is said to haue continued foure hundred and ninetie yeeres. The Lacedemonians State from Lysurgus their Law-giuer, vnto Alexander the Great, that ouerthrew it, flourished the space of foure hundred ninety one yeeres. From the expulsion of Romes Kings vnder Tarquinus, vnto the affected Empire in Julius Caesar, were foure hundred ninety and nine yeeres. And omitting many others, to come to our felices; from Caesars first Inuasion of Brittain, vnto the daies of this Valentinian the third, wherein the Romans did quite abandon it, were five hundred yeeres. From the Saxons intrusions and diuision of this Realme into an Heptarchie vnder their Governement, vntill the vniited Monarchie made by King Egbert in the yeere eight hundred and ninetene, were yeeres foure hundred sixty nine. But from thence, vntill their issue failed in King Edward Confessor, were yeeres only two hundred forty seuen. And from the Normans Conquest, vnto the death of that most sacred Soueraigne of eternall memorie, Quene Elizabeth, when began againe the name of GREAT BRITAIN, and the vniion of the whole Island to be brought into one inuie Monarchie, by the rightfull Succession and thrice-happie entrance of our most gracious King IAMES, are yeeres five hundred thirtie six. But of these three last, we are to speake hereafter; and now returne to finish vp the falling Estate of the Romans Greatnesse.

(3) Theodosius the sonne of Arcadius beganne his Empire in the yeere of the worlds saluation foure hundred and eight, and was gouerned with a speciall protection by the Persian King during his Minortie, vnder the charge of Antigonus an excellent man. But now growne to yeeres, and some variance happening betwixt him and his Tutor, he was left to the disposal of himselfe: and his vncke Honorius leauing at his death great troubles vnnquenced in the West, the mightiest Potentates assailed to make themselves Emperours ouer seuerall Dominions, and from the richesse of the Imperiall Diademe, each one sought to plucke a Twell to beautifie his owne Crowne. So the Barbarous Nations out of this one Monarchie began the foundations of many succeeding Kingdomes. For in Spaine the Vandals, Sueuians, and Alanes, not contented with their portion therein assigned, betooke themselves to Armes. The Franks and Burgundians, which had been driven out of France, resolved againe to returne. The Gothes, that were Lords of Barcelona, Narbona, and Tolosa, did as the rest. The Hunnes entred Hungarie. John the Tyrant held Rome: and in Africa, Boniface became a Neuter. These stirres moued Theodosius to nominate

The time betweene Cecrops his setting vp, and Codrus the last. Lysurgus, the time betweene him and Alexander the Great. Tarquinus, the time betweene him and Julius Caesar. Caesar, the time betweene his Inuasion of Brittain, and Valentinian the third. Saxons, the time betweene their intrusions and King Egbert. Egbert, the time betweene him and Edward Confessor. Normans, the time betweene their Conquest, and the entrance of our gracious Soueraigne King James.

Theodosius 2. vnto the Persian King.

Antigonus his Tutor.

The disposition of the Roman Empire.

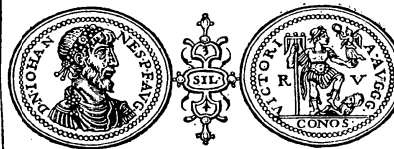
Valentinian elected Emperour in the West.

His descent. In Chap. 53. Sec. 8.

nominate Valentinian his kinsman Emperour in the west; whose raigne and affaires (so farre as they touch Brittain) we will follow, being the last of the Romane Emperours that held out the succession of our Britissh Monarkes.

(4) This Valentinian was the sonne of Constantine, made Augustus, as is said, and of Placidia Galla daughter to the first Theodosius Emperour: which Lady in the sacking of Rome by Alaricus the Gothe, was taken Prisoner, and by him giuen in marriage to his neere kinsman Athaulphus, who afterwards was King of that Nation; and by her sweet demeanour, and prudent meanes, a Peace was concluded betwixt her Husband and her Brother, but with such dislikes to the Gothes, that they presently killed him, and raised one Vallia for their King; who likewise comming to composition with Honorius, deliuered Placidia according to Couenants, whom the Emperour her Brother bestowed in Marriage vpon Constantine his Generall, in regard of his good seruice and Victories by him achieved.

(5) Shee, with young Valentinian New-made Emperour, being sent into Italie, selected the best appointed Captaines to secure her sonnes Estate; whereof Alar was one, that in Rome slew John the Tyrant, who had there made himselfe Emperour, stamping this his face and stile vpon the currant Money of the State; and by his Tyrannies held his fortunes for five yeeres continuance.



John Vsurper.

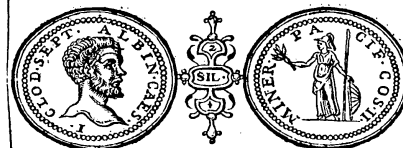
Etius likewise, that had bene Gouvernour of spaine, was imploied into Gallia, where the Franks and Burgundians (vnder the conduct of Clodius their second King) fought to establish (as shortly they did) their Kingdome in that Countrey, giuing it the name of France, according to their owne, by which name they were neuer knowne to Caesar, Strabo, Pliny, Tacitus, Mela, nor Ptoleme; whereby the great blasp of their Antiquitie is shewed to be but a puffe of winde.

(6) At this time the Brittaines were againe sore oppressed by the Scots and Picts, who hauing notice that the Aides sent by Honorius were returned, passed over the Water in their Boats at both the ends of the Wall, and inuaded the Province with such force, that they bare downe all before them. The Brittaines in this lamentable plight, sent their Ambassadors to Rome; with their Garments rent, and dust vpon their heads, vnto Valentinian the Third, bewailing their most miserable Estates, and crauing his helpe. The Emperour moued to remorse, sent a Regiment of Souldiers into Brittain, vnder the Command of Gallio of Ravenna, a most valiant man, who hauing put backe the Enemy with the assistance of the Islanders, gaue some small comforts to the distressed Brittaines. But the Burgundians passing the Rhene, and threatening to waite Italy, Etius was compelled to recall Gallio with his Legion, to secure the Countrey about Paris, whilest himselfe with his, followed the dangerous Enemy.

(7) He now ready to depart for France, told the Brittaines that it was not for the Romans to take so long and painefull Iournies, neither at that time especially when their own Empire was in danger to be ouer-run. Therefore he willed them thenceforth to stand vpon their Guard, and to prouide for their owne safeties: and to that end, in regard of their good seruices done to the Romans, he taught them the vse of their Armour and Weapons, as also to strengthen their Fortification, and Wall of Turfe, which now they began to build with firme Stone, laid eight foot in thickeesse, and

twelue foot in height. This Wall (saith Gildas) they drew in a straight line (at the publike charges of the State) from East to West, and from Sea to Sea, planting Bulwarkes, and raising Turrets with convenient spaces distant one from another; which gaue a faire and faire prospect into the Sea. And so the Romans gaue a small Farewell, meaning neuer to returne againe; and burying part of their Treasures heere in the Earth, whereof much hath bene found, and more is still sought, left Brittain about the yeere of Christ fise hundred, after the first Inuasion thereof made vnder the conduct of Julius Caesar.

(8) This vnfortunate Emperour Valentinian lost not only Brittain, but stifled also Africa, France, and Spaine to be plucked from his Empire: and the weaknesse of the Romans power (whose strength consisted most in Forraigne Aides, (as Tacitus saith) was left vnto him to defend it selfe; when they had bereft this Province of all the Flower and Choice of Men, as Gildas in that age complained, saying, Brittain is despoiled of all her armed men, with her militarie forces: her Rulers (scarcely though they were) are wasted, her Garisons withdravvn, and defenseles open, and an exceeding great number of her stout couragious Souldiers taken from her, to serue the Romans in their warres. With which his sayings the Roman Writers themselves agree, and record the Mutters and great multitudes of Brittaines that haue bene transported by them out of this Island: as when Trebellius Maximus with his Britissh Forces made strong the Faction against Otho in Germanie: and then also Honorius Flaccus brought thence eight thousand chosen Souldiers to uphold Vitellius in his cause.



Clodius Albinus.

Clodius Albinus banding against Severus the Emperour, assuming the Title, and stamping the Moneyes of the Imperiall Estate (as by this here inserted is to be seene, which comming to our hands since his storie was written, we hold it more acceptable to set heere, though out of place, then to give it no place at all in this Worke, being so worthy an Antiquitie, and so much concerning the Brittaines) vnder whose Banner the Flower of their Cheuallrie perished in Battle, when in the Fields of France; and nere vnto Lyons, they spent their blood in his cause; whereby the finewes of their owne Countreys defense was fore weakened, and laid open to Forraigne Inuaders. Constantine the Great also as Malmsbury noweth carried hence a great power of Britissh Souldiers with him in his warres; by whose puissance (as he saith) he obtained Triumphant Victories, and the Empire of the whole World: and after assigned them that part of Gallia to inhabit, which was called Armorica, lying tweward vpon the Sea Coasts, where they seating themselves, their posteritie was increased, and continueth a Mightie People euen vnto this day.

(9) This Countrey afterwards (being conquered by Maximus, and his reconciled Enemy Conan Meriadoc, Lord of Denbigh-land, by the prowess of those Britissh Souldiers whom hence hee carried in his quarrell against Valentinian the Emperour) was receiued in free gift of Conan, after the slaughter of Iubates the King, and the name thereof changed to Little Brittain, as being a Colonie or Daughter of this our Island. The Province is large, pleasant, and fruitful, and containeth in her Circuit nine Bishops Sees, whereof three are called Cornouaille vnto this day, which are Leones, St. Paul, and Tregniers: the other fix are Dole, Rhemes, Eec 2 S. Mals,

Gildas.

The time of the Romans final forsaking of their temporal misfortune in Brittain.

Nierphorus.

Ptolemy Aquitanus. Romans unable to defend their owne Countreys.

Gildas.

Tacit. Hist. l. 1. c. 13.

Constantine transported a great power of Brittaines.

Armorica a part of Gallia giuen to the Britissh Souldiers.

Armorica conquered.

Armorica changed to the name of Little Brittain.

It containeth
nine Bishops
Sees.
Keepeth as yet
the fourth Dia-
lect.
Great numbers
of Britanes sent
to Consta.
A great multi-
tude of Virgins
sent out of Brit-
ain to Avaricus.

Matthew West-
minster
Monks.

Maximus gave
many Counties
to the Britanes
his Souldiers.

Gerardus
15th. Angliens.

Britanes fled in-
to Armenia
in the time of the
Saxons.

Constantine who
was elected for
by none, trans-
porteth great
multitudes of
Britanes.

Camden.

S. Malo, Nanctensis, Vannes, and Brien, whose language differeth from their Neighbours the French, and retaineth as yet the British Dialect. I omit to speak of those other Numbers of men sent out of this Kingdom by the said Conan, whereof our British Historians make mention; besides the sending of *Vrsula* with Eleuen thousand Virgins to be matched in marriage with these their Country-men, all of them perishing by Sea or by Sword, but none of them returning hither againe; whereby the bane of the Land presently followed, her hopes being cut off, and deprived of wanted Poet-rites.

(10) This Conquest and Plantation in *Armo-rica*, *Matthew of Westminster* accounteth to have happened in the year of Christ three hundred ninety two. And these Souldiers thus withdrawn, are so recorded by *Henry of Huntingdon* his ancient, and *Ninius* also long before both, reporteth that *Maximus* gave manie Counties to these his Britanes, even *the Poole* which is on the Top of *Impiter Hill*, to a Citie called *Cantguic*, and vnto the Western Mountaines. These (sayeth he) are the Britanes in *Armerica*, who neuer returned to this day, in regard whereof Britaine was Conquered by Strange Nations. With whom agreeeth *Gerardus* a Monke of *Canturburie*, *John Angliens*, *Rampolus* of *Chester*, and others. Thither also in the downefall and desperat Estate of the Britanes, many of them fled from the rage of their Enemies, as hee that was borne in *Armerica*, and liued here to that age, euen the *Writer of the Life of s. Wingham* of the *Confessor*, doth sufficiently proue. An offspring (saith he) of the Britanes embarked in Flotes, arrived in this Land, on this side the British Sea: what time as the Barbarous Nation of the Saxons, fierce in Armes, and unciuill in manners, possessed their Native and Mother Soyle, &c.

(11) And lastly, in the cause of that other *Constantine*, who was elected only for his Name, most of the Flower and Strength of the Britanes were transported into Gallia and Spaine, where in his variable fortunes many of them perished. And *Malmesbury* writing of these Times, saith, that the Romans had emptied Britaine of all her Flower and Chivalry of Warre, leauing now in her Countries but Halfe-barbarous men, and in her Cities only Epitewes, vnfit for seruice. In confirmation whereof, the most learned *Camden* out of *Antike Inscriptions*, and the Booke named *Noctitia Provinciarum*, hath obserued, that these Companies vnder written serued the Romans in their Warres, and were dispersed here and there in their Provinces, which also were from time to time euermore supplied out of Britaine.

Ala Britannica Milliaria.
Ala XIII. Britonum in Egypto.
Cohors prima Alia Britonum.
Cohors VII. Britonum.
Cohors VII. Britonum.
Cohors XXXV. Britonum in Armenia.
Britannici sub Magistro Pedum.
Inuicti Iuniores Britannici inter Auxilia
Excellatores Iun. Britan. } *Palatina.*
Britones eum Magistro Equitum Galliarum.
Inuicti Iuniores Britones inter Hispanias.
Britones Seniores in Illyrico.

(12) No maruell is it then if Britaine lay weake, being thus continually exhausted of her strengths, which these approued Records made so apparant, as we need not allege the doubtfull Story of *Irpas* of *Norway*, for the depopulation of the Island, who is said by subtilty vnder pretence of Kindred, and Honour to be attieched, to haue gotten an infinite number of Britanes to follow him in his enterpriss, which neuer returned againe: or the Booke Triades mentioned by the Author of the Reformed History of Great Britaine, that bringeth an Army hence, consisting in number of one and twenty thousand men, into *Aquitaine* and *Gaul*: which, as he saith, was the Aid mentioned by *Cesar*, that out of Britaine assisted the *Gauls* against him. Which may partly seeme to be gathered from *Cesar* himselfe, as hath been said: where he affirmeth, that the Britanes and *Gauls* were governed vnder the same King: and is further confirmed by the fashion and Inscriptions of Antike Coines, which wee haue seene stamped in Gold, the Forme round, and Shield-like: Imbossed outward in the Face, and Hollow in the Reuerse; a Forme vnfallible to be of the Britanes Coines, and yet the word *Comes* is inscribed vpon the Imbossed side, whom we imagine to be the same Governor of *Artoye* in Gallia, whom *Cesar* mentioneth.

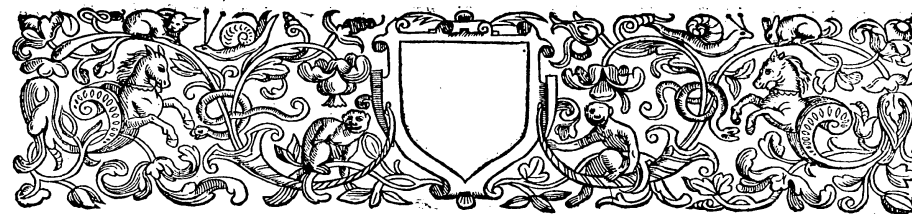
(13) Thus then was Britaine first made Weake by the Romans exhaustings, and then quite abandoned of their helpe, and left as a tree in the wilderness, to lose her faire leaues by the continual blasts of these sharp Northerne winds, whose beauty before had bin as the Cedars of *Libanon*, or like vnto those in the Garden of *God*. And whose Riches had drawne the Worlds then-Monarchs to such liking and loue, that no means was omitted to attaine the same, nor care neglected to keepe it in their Subiection: which, while it stood a Province in their obedience, was held and accounted to be the fairest flower in their Triumphant Garlands, and of some of their Emperors thought worthy the Residence of their Imperiall Throne.

S. John Pys.
Irpas of Norway
transporteth an
incredible number
of Britanes.

Britanes once
twenty thousand
transported in
Aquitaine against
Cesar.

Attributed in Gal-
lia and Britan.

Britaine account-
ed the fairest
plume of the Ro-
mans Diademe.



THE ORIGINAL, INVA- SIONS. AND HEPTARCHIE OF THE SAXONS; WITH A SVCCESION OF THEIR MONARCHS IN THIS ISLAND OF GREAT BRITAINE, THEIR RAIGNES, MARRIAGES, ACTS, AND ISSVES, VNTIL THEIR LAST SVB- VERSION BY THE DANES, AND NORMANS.

But first of the Downe-fall of BRITAINE.

BOOKE VII. CHAPTER I.



BRITAINE thus abandoned of all the Romanes, Garrisoned, and emptied of strength, that should haue supported her now down-falling-estate, lay prostrate to confusion and miserable calamities; no lesse burdened with the tumultuous uproares of her

owne great men, who stroue for the supreme Government, then of the Barbarous Nations which with continual incursions made spoile where they came. These times (saith *Ninius*) were full of feares, and were prolonged with forty yeeres afflictions: wherein *Vortigern* then King was troubled with the violence of the Romans, the dreads of the *Picts* and *Scots*, and the oppositions of *Aurelius Ambrosius*, who furnishing his flaine Parents, that had worn the Imperiall Purple Robe, fought their rvenge vpon their wicked Murderer: besides the Intrusions of the Germane Saxons, called in for Friends, but prooued indeed the greatest Enemies. During the conflict of these tempestuous stormes, some small comforts were ministred vnto the Britanes by *Bishop German* his presence, who from France assisted them against the *Pelagian Heresies*, and the perillous assaults of the *Scots* and *Picts*, who in diuers skirmishes ouercame them.

(2) These dolorous times of Britanes destruction, *Gildas* the mournfull Historian, who liued not long after, doth declare. As soone as the Romans (saith hee) had left Britaine, and were returning vnto their home, forthwith hideous multitudes of *Scots* and *Picts* came swarming out of their Carraghies, (where with they passed the Sea like whole Armies of dusky vermine), which at high noone, when the Sunne is in his greatest heat, began to crawle forth of their narrow holes an infinite number of hideous *Scots* and *Picts*; which two kindes of People, though in conditions somewhat different, yet they co-sorted too well in greedie desire of blood-shed: and hauing intelligence, the associates of Britaine were now returned with utter disclaime of further assistance, with more confident bold. Then enen before, they seize all the Northerne and vntermost part of the Island, as if it had beene

their own inheritance, as if it were as the Wall. Against these attempts there were ranged in the high Forts along the Wall, Garrisons of Souldiers, but such as were both slothfull, and also vnseruicable for Martiall Affaires: which white-linced Lozels with quaking hearts late still warding day and night, till their ioints were as benumbed and stupid as the stones whereon they sat: in so much, as the naked Enemies did with long hooked Engines plucke from off the wall these miserable Warders, dashing their bodies against the ground. This good yet they got by this their untimely deaths, that being thus suddenly dispatched out of the world, they escaped the imminent lamentable calamities that their brethren and children shortly felt. To bee short, hauing abandoned their Cities and this high defensive Wall, once more they betooke themselues to flight, and were dispersed in a more desperate manner then enen before. For the enemy was more hot in pursuit, and more cruell in the slaughter, the wofull Inhabitants being by their Enemies massacred, and rent in peeces like Lambes in the hands of bloody Butchers, or in the iawes of cruell and sauage Beasts. In these most miserable times, (necessitie so compelling the poore distressed people forbare not to rob each other of that sustenance, which could helpe them but for a very small season: and so their hostile oppressions were increased by their domestike vexations, for that the whole Countrey by these continuall dreptions, was utterly deprived of the flasse of foode, hauing nothing left to prolong their life, but that only what they got in hunting. Whereupon, about the thirtie nine yeere of *Theodosius*, and of Christ foure hundred fortie six, the distressed Remaines of the down-cast Britanes addressed their misliue Letters to *Actius*, whom *Gildas* calleth *Agitus*, President of Gallia, in most lamentable manner, and thus inscribed.

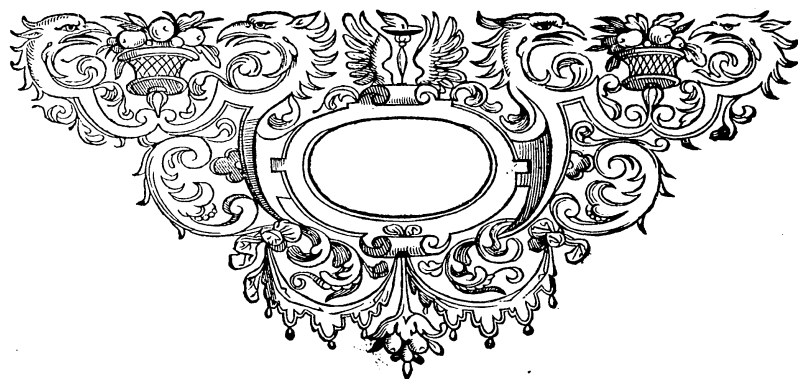
To *Actius* Thrice Consul, the groanes
of the BRITANES.

"The Barbarians drine vs backe to the Sea; the Sea againe putteth vs backe vpon the Barbarians: thus betwene two kindes of deaths, we are either slaughtered or drowned. And the more to intinate their mielicies, and to moue his assistance, thus they further vrge: Wee (say they) are the Remnant that suruiue of the Britanes, and are your Subiects, who besides the Enemy, are afflicted

Scots and Picts
catch the Bri-
tanes with long
hookes.

Britanes send for
helpe to *Actius*
President of
Gallia.

Gildas Hist. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 13.



afflicted by famine and mortallitie, which at this present extreamly rageth in our Land. And putting him in mind that it much importeth the Maiefty of the Roman Empire to protect and succour their Province, seeing it had now stood upon the point of five hundred years vnder their obedience, whose strength of Souldiers taken from thence to ferue their Emperors in their Wars else-where, was now decayed, and their wealths wasted by maintaining their many Legions in their own Land and abroad: All this notwithstanding the Romans either would not, or could not relieue, hauing enough to doe to uphold their owne; but returned them againe with heauy hearts into the hands of their most cruell Enemies, who now knowing themselves free from the Romans interceptions, as a violent flood brake thorow the Prouince, and bare downe all before them, the Inhabitants flying like chafed Deere, some taking our Seas into Britany in France, some to South-wales, North-wales, Cornwall, and parts of Denonshire, leauing the best of the Land to the will of their Persecutors, and much of their Treasures hid in the ground, which neuer after they inioyed.

(4) But the greuous Famine still increasing, though it had this wofull issue with some, that it made them yeeld themselves into the Enemies bloody hands (onely in hope to gaine a little sustenance of food for the present) and for many yeeres after left lamentable tokens (saith Beda) of great defolations wrought by that dearth: yet with those other which were of more noble and resolute spirits it produced a better effect; inasmuch as fied out of the Mountains, Caves, and thicke woods, they assailed their enemies, repoling their trust not in Man, but in God, whose help is then most at hand, when mans helpe faileth. These in many skirmishes gaue them the ouerthrow with much slaughter, and that for many yeeres together, when they made their incursions for booties and spoile; which caused these Raucening Tribes to returne home and the Pits: a while rested from further molestation. Notwithstanding the Britaines returned not from their owne wickednesse, growing strong now daily in repressing the Enemy, but stronger in their owne finnes and euill dispositions. By means whereof, though a surfeate of Hostile Warres was imbraced, and the skarres of famine clearly skinned vp, yet another fore as dangerous as either, secretly bred, and shortly brake forth. For the Land being free from the Enemies wailes, yielded forth plenty and abundance of all things, as the like before no age had seene, and therewithall such riot and excess, that the peoples sins grew to a plentiful harvest, as by the words of Gildas is apparant.

(5) Certainly it is heard (saith he) that there is such fornication, as the like is not among the Gentiles. Truth with the maintainers thereof is hated: Lies with the Forgers thereof highly esteemed. Euill is entertained for good, leandnesse respected more then uprightnesse, darknesse desired before the bright Summe, and Satan accepted for an Angell of light: Kings then were anointed, not according to Gods liking, but such as excelled others in cruelty; and as cruelly againe by their anointed were they murdered, not for any demerit, but that they might advance others more sauaage then the former. If hee were milde, or inclining to truth, the darts of hatred were an euery side lenelled against him, as the only Subuerter of the Britaines Estate. What was pleasing or displeasing to God, was all one with them, sauing that the better things commonly wrought most discontent: so that rightly the saying of the Prophet, which was denounced vnto the people in old time, might bee applied to our Country: Yee lawlesse and corrupt children haue forsaken the Lord, and provoked vnto wrath the holy one of Israel. Why should hee be smitten any more, still multiplying iniquitie? Euery head is sicke, and euery heart is heavy: from the sole of the foot vnto the crowne of the head, there is nothing sound therein. Thus did they all things that were contrary to their sestetie, as if that medicine which was bestowed by that trust Physitian of all, was needlesse for the world. And not only the prophane sort did this, but also the selected stocke of the Lord, and the Shepherds

thereof, who ought to haue giuen example to the whole people. To speake of drunkennesse, numbers of them lay senselesse and weltering in wine, swelling with pride, contention, and gripping enuie, putting no difference in iudgement betwene good and euill: inasmuch that it seemeth contempt was poured forth both vpon Princes and people: and all of them seduced by vanities, wandred in errors and by-paths, not leadin the right way. When God therefore was minded to purge his Familie, and to recure them thus infected with the corruptions of finnes, by heare-say only of Tribulation, the winged flight of an often-tried rumour pierced the attentive eares of all men, giuing notice of their ancient Enemies, ready to arrive, and fully minded to destroy them utterly, and to inhabit (as earst they did) the whole Country from one end to another. Yet all this could not reclaim them, but like vnto mad horses, which taking the bit fast betwixt their teeth, runne away with their Riders, so these leauing the way which leadeth (narrow thought bee) vnto saluation, ranne at random in the wide way of all wickednesse, which leadeth directly to death. Whiles therefore (as Salomon saith) the stubborne seruant will not bee amended with words, he is scourged for a foole, and feeleth not the whip: for loe, a pestilent contagion fell heauily vpon this foolish people, which (though the enemies sword was gone) in short space destroyed such multitudes of them, that the liuing were not able to bury the dead. Neither yet also were they thereby bettered, that the saying of the Prophet Esay in them might be fulfilled: God called them to mourning, to baldnesse, and sacke-cloth: but behold, they fell to killing of calves, and to slaying of Rammes; loe, they went to eating and drinking, and said withall, Let vs eat and drinke, for to morrow wee shall die. And indeed the time now drew neere, wherein their iniquities (like as those in times past of the Amorites) should come to the fullnesse. And euen at that instant the like measure beganne to bee heaped vpon the Britaines.

(6) For the common enemy now inuading the Southerne parts, was entred as farre as Stamford vpon the Riuer Welland; to whom to resist, the Britaines assembled together, and hauing experience what ciuill iarres had formerly done, they jointly vnite their meanes and powers, and with one consent elect a King to manage these affaires, which was Vortigern, by birth extracted from the British Line, nobly descended, had not his many vices blemished the fame. The British Historie saith, that hee was Earle of Cornwall, and of great command in the daies of Constantine their King, whose simplicitie hee much abused, and whom lastly hee caused to be murdered by the Guard of his Person, the Scots and Pits by him so placed, and to that end intigatid: whom neuertheless with death hee severely punished, to auoid further suspicion. In whose reuenge, these fierce Nations so assaulted his Dominions with rape and spoile, that hee was forced for further assistance to fend for these Saxons to his aid. Whether thus, or otherwise, most true it is, the Saxons were sent for, and of hoped Friends, became the tried Enemies to the Britaines and their Estates, as out of Gildas their Historian wee shall anon declare.

(7) The occasion and manner of this their inuiting and comming is set downe by a Countryman of their owne Witichindus, a Writer of good antiquity, who thus relateth the circumstance thereof. Britaine (saith he) by Vespasian the Emperour, long since being reduced among the Roman Prouinces, and held in their subiection, stood them in no small stead: but their Legions abandoned, and destitute (as it seemeth) determining the downfall, became soone assaulted by their neighbour Nations the Northerne Borderers. For the people of Rome after that the Emperour Martiall was slaine by his Souldiers, being tired out with forraigne wars, were not able to asist their friends with supply of accustomed aides. And yet had they built a mighty peece of worke for the defence of the Country, reaching betwene the confines from Sea to Sea, where it was thought that the Enemies would assaile the Inhabitants left in the Land. But no difficulty it was for them so fiercely bent, and euer ready to make war (especially where they dealt with a Nation feeble and left vnable to make resistance) to destroy

the

Saxons great Warriors and fortuitous.

Princes, the Britaines Ambassage and speech to the Saxons.

Psal. 106. 43.

Britaines heare of an invasion, yet not reclaimed.

Prou. 29. 19.

Esay 22. 13.

Britaines in quiette.

The Enemies inuadeth the Southerne parts.

Britaines vnite their powers.

Vortigern elect Britains King.

Earle of Cornwall.

The Scots and Pits sent to murder Constantine.

Vrit. Martini. The Saxons sent for.

Witichindus.

Martiall was slain.

The Romans worke for the Britaines defence, reached by the Northerne Borderers.

the said worke. Therefore hearing of the worthy and fortunate exploits atchieved by the Saxons, they sent an humble Embassage to require their aid; and these hauing audience, spake as followeth.

"Most noble Saxons, the poore and distressed Brites, outworne and tired by the many incursions of their enemies, hearing the fame of thole victories of which you haue most valiantly obtained, haue sent vs Suppliants vnto you, craving that you would not deny them your helpe and succour. A large and spacious Land they haue, plentiful and abundant in all things, which wee yeeld wholly to be at your deuotion and command. Hitherto wee haue liued freely vnder the patronage and protection of the Romans, next vnto whom wee know not any more powerfull then your selues; and therefore wee seeke for refuge vnder the wings of your valour. So that we may by your puilliance be superiour of our enemies, whatsoeuer seruice you shall impose vpon vs, that will we willingly abide.

To this petition the Peeres and Nobles of the Saxons briefly made answer in this wise.

"Know yee that the Saxons will bee fast friends vnto the Brites, and ready at all times both to asist them in their necessitie, and also to procure their wealth: with ioy therefore retorne yee Ambassadors, and with this witheld-for tidings make your Country-men glad. Heereupon (according to promise) an Armie sent into Britaine, and ioyfully received, which in short time freed the Land from the spoiling enemies, & recovered the country vnto the behoof of the Inhabitants.

(8) But how true this last clause is, may appeare out of the ancient Gildas, who thus recordeth it: To repress (saith hee) many Inuasions of those their ancient enemies, which with cruell slaughters and booties continually afflicted them, the Britaines fell to consult vpon some convenient course therein to be taken. Lastly, all the Counsellors, together with the proud Tyrant, being blinded in iudgement, deuised such a protection, as in the end proued their Countries destruction; namely, that those fierce Saxons, a people sauaage and of hatefull name, odious both to God and man, should be let into this Land, as it were wolues into sheepe-folds, to repulse (forsooth) the Northerne Nations; then which proiect doublet nothing was euer more pernicious and vnhappie vnto this Land. O senselesse and plunged into deepest mists of error! O desperate dulnesse, and blinde blacknesse of minde! Those whom in absence were feared more then death, now of their owne accord are inuited by these Princes of Egypt (if I may so say, thus sottishly counselling their Pharaos) to come and rest with them vnder one roofe. Presently out of the Denne of that barbarous Lionsse rushed forth a kennell of her whelpes, in three long Vessels, called in their Language Cynule, carried vnder full saile, and with ominous presages fore-prophecying that for 300. yeeres they should possess that Land vnto which they then directed their course, and for halfe of that space, (viz. one hundred and fiftie yeeres) they should waste and depopulate the same. These being put on shore first in the East part of the Island, and that by Commandement of this unfortunate Tyrant, there set fast their terrible paves, pretending to the Landers, defense of their Country, but more truly intending the destruction of them. The foresaid Lionsse finding that her first troupe of whelpes did so well, sends againe a greater Rabble of the same Litter, which beere arrived in Flotes, bringing with

them some other Associates of baslardy and vnnoble brood. And these beginnings, the slips of iniquitie, and the roots of bitternesse, (an accursed plantation well besetting our demerits) haue sprung up, and put forthin our Ioyle their haughtie boughes and spreading branches. This barbarous Nation thus admitted, professing themselves our Souldiers, and such as would endure all hazards (so they fained) in defense for their good Hoists, first they craned supple of victuals onely; which being giuen them, for some time stopped (as we may say) the Dogs mouth: howbeit, after ward they complaine that their wages was not bountifully enough paid, deuising of purpose colourable occasions of quarrell, and threatening that vntill they might haue more munificent entertainment, they would with the breach of conuenant spoile and waste the whole Land. And without further delay, they second these threats with deeds (for our Sinnes, the cause of deferred reuenge, were full nourished) and the fire kindled Eastward, was set a flaming by these sacrilegious men from Sea to Sea, ceasing not to consume all the Cities and Countries bordering thereabout, vntill such time, as burning wheree all the Inland Soile of the Land, itlicked (as it were) with the red tongue of the flame the very Westerne Ocean it selfe. In this violent inuasion, comparable to that of the Assyrians against the Land of Israel in old times, is historically fulfilled also in vs that which the Prophet by way of sorrowfull lamentation uttereth: They haue set fire vpon thy holy places, and haue burned thy dwelling place of thy name, euen vnto the ground. And againe: O God the Heathen are come into thine heritage, thy holy Temple haue they defiled: for all the Fortifications demolished with their Engines, and the Inhabitants together with the Bishops of the Church, and also the Priests and people, with glittering swords and crackling flames, were all at once laid along vpon the ground, yea and (which was a most lamentable spectacle) the stately Towers, high mounted Walls, and the sacred Altars, lay all tumbling together (all purpled with the broken and bloody Quarters and gored Carcasses mixed as in a horrible wine-press). Neither were there any other Sepulchers abroad, save the ruines of buildings, and the bowels of wilde beasts and birds.

(9) During this most wofull, desperate, and tempestuous season (saith the mournfull Historian) some poore Remaines of Britaines being found in the Mountains, were slaine by whole heapes: others pined by famine, came and yeelded themselves vnto their enemies, vpon composition to serue them as Bond-slaves for euer, so they might not bee slaughtered out of hand: which granted, was reputed a most high and especiall grace. Others went ouer Seas into Strange Lands, singing vnder their spread Sailes with a lamentable and mourning note, that of the Psalmist: Thou hast giuen vs, O Lord, as Sheepe to bee deuoured, and hast scattered vs among the Heathen. Yet others remained still in their owne Country (albeit in fearefull estate, and continually suspecting hazard) committing their lines and safetie to the high steepe Hilles, to cragie Mountaines naturally intrenched, to thicke growne Woods and Forrests, yea and to the Rocks of the Sea.

(10) Thus was Britaine brought to the period of her glory, and the people miserably subiect to a forraigne Nation, about the yere from Christs Nativity 473. and after the Romans last farewell 28. In which time you see they were most cruelly purged with all calamities of warre, and lastly betrayed by them in whom so much trust was reposed, as mournfull Gildas hath ruefully declared.

Saxons inuent occasions of quarrell.

Saxons spoile comparable to the Assyrians vpon the Israelites. Psal. 74. 8.

Psal. 79. 1.

Britaines slaine in the Mountains.

Psal. 44. 11.

Britaines purged with all calamities of warre.





THE SAXONS ORIGINAL.

CHAPTER II.



S times decayed Ruines have topped the Passage of those small Springs issued from the first fountaine of Nations beginnings, and haue diuerted their streames far from any sure Course, or certaine known Heads; so the originall parent, place, and name of

our English-Saxons, haue bin writtē with a pen of slight touch vpon the leaues of obliuion, or else recorded in those obscure Routes, that as yet lie bound vp in the Office of Times forgetfulness: whereby it rests doubtfull from what root these branches first sprang; some bringing them from *Asia*, some from *Africa*, some from *Maecdon*, some from *Denmarke*, and some without all likelihood from *Britaine* it selfe.

Saxons, the vncertainty from whence they came.

Occa Scarleus, Saxons from Saxo Prince of India.

Of the Saxons, Saxons from Saxo Prince of India.

Saxons from Saxo Prince of India.

Saxons from Saxo Prince of India.

Saxons from Saxo Prince of India.

Saxons from Saxo Prince of India.

Saxons from Saxo Prince of India.

Saxons from Saxo Prince of India.

these of ours. Of these *Saxa*, *Strabo* writeth that they made inuasions into Countries lying farre off, as namely *Armenia*, where they left the memory of their successe in a part of that Country, by calling it *Saccena*, after their owne name.

(4) From these parts of *Asia*, as *Scythia* and the rest, one Band of them, consisting chiefly of their Youth, proceeded by degrees into *Europe*, and possessed the *Nesse*, or *Forland*, which the *Romans* called *Cimbria Cherfonesus*, being at this day the continent part of the kingdom of *Denmarke*. In which place they were first knowne by the name of the *Saxons*. And here also they among themselves beganne first to be distinguished into other Tribes, as *Holt-Saxons* (for so *Verflegan*, out of their old *Chronicle*, faith they were called) for their keeping in the Woods: but more properly (wee may say) into *Saxons*, *Angles*, and *Iutes*. From hence afterwards they departed, and passing ouer the *Riuer Elbe*, diuided themselves into two Companies; whereof the one taking into the vpper parts of *Germany*, by little and little intruded themselves into the ancient Seat of the *Sueuians*, which now of them is called *Westphalia* and *Saxony*; and the other inroched vpon *Friseland* and *Holland* (then called *Batania*) with the rest of those Countries that lie along the *German* Seas.

(5) The time wherein these *Saxons* should thus inleat *Germany*, by *Occa Scarleus* veridit, is as ancient as great *Alexander*: others account it long after, in the raigne of *Tiberius*. But before *Ptolomie* we finde them not mentioned by any Author, who flourished in the daies of *Antoninus Pius*, about the yeere from *Christis* Natiuitie 140. And most certaine it is by *Eutropius* and *Beda*, that before the yeere three hundred, when *Droeflan* (swaied the *Roman* Scepter, the *Saxons* out of *Cimbria Cherfonesus* fore offended the coasts of *Britaine* and *France*, with their many piracies, and were fearfull enen to the *Romans* themselves. These multiplying in number and strength, seated in the Maritime tract of *Intland*, *Sleswick*, *Holsatia*, *Ditmarse*, *Breme*, *Oldenburgh*, all *Frisland* and *Holland*: and indeed, according to the Testimonie of *Fabius Quesitor*, wholly all the Sea coasts from the *riuer Rhene* vnto the *Citie Donia*, which now is commonly called the *Denmarc*; and with him *Henry of Erford* affirmeth *Saxon-Land* to stretch from the *Riuer Albis* vnto the *Rhene*; the bounds of no one people of all the *German* extending any way so far, faith he.

(6) But these spreading Boughes, are brought by others from a neerer Roote, planted not in *Asia* or *Scythia*, but rather in *Europe* and in *Germanie* it selfe; grounding their opinion from *Cornelius Tacitus*, who maketh them to be bred in the same Country, though distinguished by Name from the rest, as others more beside then were. Which *Saxons* (say they) though they were not mentioned by *Tacitus* in his Description of *Germanie*, yet in *Ptolemy*, that wrote not much about fortie yeeres after him, they are named; as also the *Guta*, and the *Angli*, Copartners of their Conquest, *Tacitus* placeth among these *Germanes* that worhipped *Herthum* the Mother-earth for their Auourie Goddess; at first but one People, but afterwards diuided into three severall Tribes; that is, the *Saxons*, *Angles* and *Iutes*, who left the remembrance of their Names stamped (as it were) in the soile from whence

Strabo.

Saxons coming into Europe.

Verflegan, cap. 11. Saxons, Angli, Saxons Iuti.

Sebastianus, lib. 3.

The time of the Saxons entrance into Germany.

Eutropius, lib. 4. Saxons feared to the Roman themselves.

The names of these Saxons Tribes.

Tacit. Descrip. Germ. cap. 1.

Tacit. Descrip. Germ. cap. 4.

Saxons, Angli, Iutes.

whence they departed, and also coined new vnto others, whereof they became possessors.

(7) *Ptolemy*, among the *Sueuians* in *Germanie* placeth the *Saxons*, neere to the mouth of the *Riuer Albis*, in the continent of *Cimbria Cherfonesus*. And in this *Iland of Britaine*, *Beda* telles vs, that the *Kingdomes of the East and West Saxons* were of them peopled: Whole originall Name, besides the *Indian Saxo* or the *Scythian Saxa*, some will haue Etymologed from *Saxuma Stone*, because forthwith these people were hard or *Stone-hearted*; and some againe from the *Axones* in *Gallia*, of whom *Lucan* maketh mention in this his verse:

Longis piceis Axones in armis,
And nimble Axones in their Armour light.

(8) *Iustus Lipsius* coniectureth, and *Engelhusius* affirmeth (as *Verflegan* faith) that the name *Saxon*, tooke the appellation from the Fashion of the weapon that vsuallie they wore; which was a Crooked Bowing Sword, somewhat like vnto a *Sithe*, with the edge on the contrary side, called by the *Netherlanders*, a *Sai-fa*, and by themselves *Saxen*, and the shorter of like fashion for hand-weapons, *Seaxes*; such as were those that were hid vnder their Garments in the *Massiere* of the *British Nobilitie* vpon *Salisbury Plaine*, when *Henric* gaue the watch-word, *Nem eour Seaxes*, that is, *Take you Swords*: three of which *Knies Argent*, in a Field *Gules*, were borne by *Erkenwyne* King of the *East-Saxons*, vpon his shield of Armes, as some of our *Heralds* haue imblazed. And that their Name was so giuen them from their Weapons, some allege their accustomed manner in wearing thereof, which vsuall was to trusse the same ouerthwart their backs when they went forth to battle; whereby notice was taken, and that name attributed vnto them, as the like hath been vpon like occasion vnto others: for so in *Asia* the *Scythians* were named for their skill in shooting; in *France* the *Picards* for their long *Pikes* vsed in fight; and in *Ireland* the *Galloglaifes*, which bare the *Pollax* as their principall weapon: and of latter times, vpon lesse occasions haue *Surnames* growne both to particular men, as also to whole Societies; which may appeare in such as haue vowed their voyage and seruice for *Ierusalem*, were continually vpon their backs a red Croffe, whereby the name *Croffe-backe*, or in old English, *Cronch-backe*, was to them attributed: in which ranke, *Edmund Earle of Lancaster* (second sonne to King *Henry* the third) was a principall, and thereby got that name, which he could not claw off from his backe euer since. So likewise those men who entred that Religion of Monasticall life, were vsuall vpon the outside of their Garments the signe of a *Croffe*, whereby that Order was distinguished and noted from others by the name of *Cronched* or *Croffed-Friers*. But whence or howsoeuer the name arose, among all the *Germanes* there were none in reputation for militarie deeds comparable vnto these *Saxons*: neither had any aduentured by Sea and Land so farre to purchase renowne and praise, or perhaps (and that more likely) to supply their owne wants; ranging often from place to place, as men alwaies ready to enter any action: and in *Germanie* to this day a great Dukedome retaineth from them the name of *Saxony*.

(9) The *Gute* (no doubt the *Iute*) *Ptolomie* likewise placeth in the *Iland Scandia*, lying very neere the Coasts of *Germanie*, vpon whose vttermost Promontorie (as faith an ancient Manuscript) the *Iutes* did for certaine inhabit, which vnto this day of the *Danes* is called *Intland*. These *Iutes*, *Gutes*, *Getes*, or *Goths* (or as *Beda* calles them) *Vites*, gaue names to those parts of *Britaine* which they inhabited, as to this day the *Ile of Wight* beareth their impression. This variety of names we will no further inforce, then that these *Gotes* were not the same that had passed *Ither* by *Pontus Euxinus*, and ouer-ran *Europe*, who were also called the *Getae* by *Iohn Maior*. Their name, as *Verflegan* will haue it, was taken from their agility, or swiftnesse of foot: and some of them (as *Sebastianus Munster* declareth) went

Ptolemy, Geogr. in descr. Ger. The place of the East-Saxons inhabiting. Beda Hist. Angli. lib. 1. cap. 25.

Iustus Lipsius and Engelhusius determination of the Name Saxon.

Saxons weapons called Saiten, Seaxes and Seaxes.

British Nobilitie massacred.

Verflegan, cap. 11. Saxons, Angli, Saxons Iuti.

Sebastianus, lib. 3.

Scythians so named of Scythian Nobilitie. Poles for their long Pikes. Galloglaifes for their Pollaxes.

Iutes had vowed their voyage to Ierusalem, named Croffe-backe. Cronch-backe.

Eutropius, lib. 4. Saxons feared to the Roman themselves.

Minna, cap. 1.

Genea lib. de it.

Erkenwyne.

The names of these Saxons Tribes.

Tacit. Descrip. Germ. cap. 1.

Tacit. Descrip. Germ. cap. 4.

Saxons, Angli, Iutes.

and inhabited among the Mountaines that diuide *Germanie* from *Italie*, whereupon their name grew to be called the *Hill-Vites*, which are now the *Helneians*.

(10) The *Angles* (by *Fabius Quesitor* *Ethelwardus*, an ancient Writer, and a Noble Perion of the *Saxons* Royall Bloud) are brought from *Ould-Anglia*, a Portion lying betwixt the Countries of the *Saxons* and the *Gjots*, as he writteth them, whose chiefe Towne was by them called *Sleswic*, and of the *Danes*, *Haithby*: but (more particularly) it lay betwixt the *Citie Flemburge* and the *Riuer Sth*, which Country by *Albertus Crantzius* is called *Anglia*. From hence (saith *Henricus Rantzoni*) the *Saxons*, who were also called the *Longobards* and *Sueuians*, went to aid the *Britaines*. And at this day there is a little Prouince in the Kingdom of *Dania*, named *Angell*, beneath the *Citie Flemburge*, which *Lindebergus* calleth *Little Anglia*. Their site notwithstanding is placed by most Authours in *Westphalia*, where the *Citie Engern* standeth, and where *Tacitus* and *Ptolemy* rangeth them among the *Tuantes*; which in their times might very well be. Others would haue them in *Pomerania*, where the Towne *Engelen* doth somewhat found their name: so doe *Engelheim*, *Engleburg*, and *Engelente*, places in *Germanie*, beare witness, and are prints of their footing among the *Longobards* and *Sueuians*. But the most glorious remembrance of that their name hath bene for these many ages in this Kingdom of *England*: though *Saxo Grammaticus* (as erit we touched, lib. 3. cap. 2) will needs haue *Anglia* named from *Angul* the sonne of *Humbius*, and Giant-like brother of *Danuis* the first King of *Denmarke*. But *Albertus Crantzius* being offended at his folly, telles him that *England* had the name of *Britaine* many hundred yeeres after that *Angul* was dead. Others there are that deriue the name *England* from the manner of this *Ilands* situation, being narrow in the *West* and *North*, for that *Eng* in the ancient *Teutonic* Tongue, as well as in the moderne, doth signifie *Narrow*, *Strait*, or a *Nooke*; and to that purpose doe produce this verse of a *Portugall* allusion:

Anglia terra ferax et fertilis Angulus Orbis,
Insula preclues, qua toto vix eget orbe:

A fruitful Angle, England thou, another world art said:
An Iland rich, and hast no need of other countries aid.

(11) *Calpine* without prooffe deriue the Name from *Queen Angula*: but on as weak a ground as those who will fetch it from their Angel-like faces, alluded vnto by Pope *Gregory* the Great. Or that of *Goropius*, from the Angle or Fishing-hooke, because, faith he, they hooked all things to themselves, and might vnder well therefore be called Good Anglers: a very meane conceit in sooth. But howsoeuer, most certaine it is that these *Angles* stole the name of this blessed Iland from their elder brethren the *Saxons* (as *Iacob* did the birth-right from *Efus*) and called it after their owne; as wee shall further shew when our Historie hath gotten to the age of the *Saxons* Monarchie.

(12) These all claime their descents from Prince *Woden*, called by the ancient *Latines* *Othinnus* and who is deduced by our *Antiquaries*, as hath bene said, from the eldest Sonne of the Patriarke *Nath*, and is accounted the most noble of all the Progenitors of the *Saxon* Kings, insumch as they, and especially the *Angle-Saxons*, our Ancestors, haue (in their superstitious conceit of such woddish gods) imagined *Woden* to be their principall God of Battell; whose Wife named *Frea*, was by the like fancie held a Goddess; of whom more hereafter.

(13) These had issue between them sundry Sons, and from sue of them, all the Monarchs of the *English-men* haue claimed to haue bene descended. *Wechta* the first being reported to be the Progenitor to the Kings of the *Kentishmen*: *Caser* the second, to the Kings of the *East-Angles*: *Wethelgeat* the third, to the Kings of the *Mereians*: *Wegdeg* the fourth, to the Kings of the *Dierians*: and *Beldeg* the fifth, to the Kings of the

The Angli-Saxon place of inhabiting. Ould-Anglia.

Crantzius. Henr. Rantzoni.

Lindeburgus.

A Prouince in Dania called Little England.

Words of affinity with the name Angles.

Saxo Grammaticus.

Albertus Crantzius.

Verflegan.

Eng significth narrow.

Calpine. Beda Hist. lib. 1. cap. 1.

Goropius Neces. Angles so called of a Fishing-hooke.

Angles stole their name. Gen. 27.

Saxons both Angles and Iutes descended from Woden.

Woden esteemed a God. Frea the wife of Woden.

Woden sue sons their names and Seigniorities.

the South-Saxons, to the Kings of the Bernicians, afterwards Kings of Northumberland; and also the Kings of the West-Saxons: only the Kings of the East-Saxons, claiming to descend of the same race, deride not their defections from any of the Sonnes of the same men. This may suffice for the Originals of these three peo-

ple; who, as *Cisner* affirmeth, retained still the same manners after they were seated in Europe, as they had formerly done in Asia. And what those were, let vs heare the reports of *Tacitus*, and other ancient Authors, who together with the Germans (among whom they dwelled) doe thus describe them.

THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMES OF THE ANCIENT SAXONS.

CHAPTER III.



These Germans, and among them the Catti and Suetons, (our Ancestors according to *Albertus Cranzius*) were a people (saith *Tacitus*) well set, sterner of countenance, tall of stature, gray eyed, and of a fire aspell, and their haire yellow.

Vnto whom, *Witichindus* the Monke addeth and saith, that They were faire of complexion, cheerfull of countenance, very comely of stature, and their limbes to their bodies well proportioned, bold of courage, hardy in fight, and very ambitious of glory: for which parts (saith he) the Franks had them in great admiration, and wondered at their new and strange attire, their armour and their busbie lockes of haire, that from their heads ouer-spread their shoulders, but about all at their constant resolution and valiant courage. Their heads and beards they suffer (saith *Tacitus*) to grow at length, and neuer put off that vowed ornament and bond of valour, vntill they haue slaine an Enemy: but then vpon blood and spoile, they encounter their forehead, and say they haue paid backe the price of their birth, and thinke themselves worthy of their Country and parents. Their curled lockes (saith he) they binde up in knots, and standing on end, tie it in the crayne oyle, that is the baywolfe care they haue of beantie, to seeme more terrible to the Enemy. And by *Sidonius Apollinaris* his testimony, they vied to haue off the haire of their heads, reseruing onely a tuft in the crowne, about which they wore a hoope or plate of copper, which cauled the haire to stand vp right, as by these his verses appeareth.

*Isle Saxona ceruolum videmus,
Adiectum ante Salo, solum timeret:
Cuius verticis extinguitur per ora,
Non contenta suos tenere morfus,
At lat lamina mygem comarum:
Et sic crinibus additem reuicis
Decrescit caput, additurq; vultus.*

In English thus:

There doe we see the Saxons clad in blew,
Bold on the Sea, but fearefull now on land:
Their beighted tops vpon their crownes that shew,
Are not content to hold their wanted band,
But raise in tufts, where all the rest, doth stand
Bare naked shew'd, and bath no haire at all,
Which makes full face'd, but heads seeme passing small.

(2) And that they wereindeede bold vpon the Seas, *Agrippinus* witnesseth. The Saxons (saith hee) a most valorous kinde of men, excell all others in Piracies. In imitation of whom, *Isidore* affirmeth, that for their

valour and nimblenes in seruice they had their name. A people (saith he) stout, hardie, and most valiant, and farre out-stripping all others in Piracies, seemed more fearefull to lue on Land then at Sea. Whole intrusions and sudden violence both France and Britaine with great damages felt: for in Gallia they seized into their possession the Country of *Baioacses*, as is to be scene in *Gregorius Turonensis*, who thence termeth them Saxones *Baioacses*: and in Britaine an Office of Charge was instituted to defend the Coasts from their irruptions, the Capitaine whereof was commonly called the Count or Earle of the Saxon Shoure: of whose Piracies and savage Cruelties, let vs heare *Sidonius* in his Epistle to *Numantius* complaine: So many Rovers as you see (saith he) so many Arsh-Pirates thinke you behold, they all of them together so command, obey, teach and learne, to rob and steale. There is no enemy so cruell as this, that setteth vpon others at vnawares, and as occasion serues, as warily slips himselfe away. Hee setteth at nought such as encounter him: hee bringeth to nought those that take no heed of him: whom he couerth, hee surely ouertaketh: when hee flieth, hee is sure to scape. To this seruice, Shipwrackes inure him, they terrifie him not. Be there a Tempest vpon the same serueth them, and to a safe others. They neuer weigh Ancour vpon the enemies Coasts, but with a resolution againe to returne: and their manner is to kill euery tenth Captiue with a lingering and dolorous torment: for to such Vowes they binde themselves, and with such Sacrifices they discharge their Vowes againe, being indeed not so much purified by such Sacrifices, as polluted with Sacrilege: and the bloody and abominable Murders thinke it a religious thing, rather to torment a Prisoner vnto death, then to set him free for a Ransome.

But when wee shall heare these vnhumane and barbarous reports either of the old Britains or these savage Saxons our ancient Progenitors, let vs neither be offended at *Gildas*, or at the reports of these other forrain Writers, who spake thus of them as they were then Heathens, and knew not God: the time of whose ignorance seeing God regarded not, as the *Apostle* teacheth, let vs acknowledge with due thanks the goodness of a most gracious God, who hath brought vs to a holier conuerfation, and hath made vs Iudges of those finnes in them, that we might flie them in our selues.

(3) Their Apparell was much different from others, and seemed strange to the Gauls, as *Witichindus* hath told vs: and *Tacitus* declareth the manner thereof; which (saith he) was a kinde of Casiocke, called *Sagum*, clasped, or (for want of a claspe) fastned with a thorn, hauing otherwile no garments at all, but going stark naked. Neuertheless, the richer sort were distinguished from others, by their garments; which were neither large nor wide, as the *Sarmates* and *Parthians* use to wear them; but strait and shewing the proportion of euery part of their bodie: besides they wore Pelts made of beasts skins. The

Cisner.

Saxons exceeding all others in Piracies.

* Baioex, Gregorius Turonensis.

Sidonius, lib. 1.

Saxons of all the German the valiantest.

Saxons kill euery tenth Captiue.

Saxons accept Ransomes.

Act. 17. 30.

An admonition to the Reader.

Witichindus, lib. 9. cap. 2. Tacit. Descript. Germ. The Saxons vesture.

The homely fashion of the ancient Saxons women in their attire. *Paul. Diacon.*

Witichindus.

Engelhusius.

Tacit. in Descript. Germ.

Tacit. lib. 4. cap. 6.

Tacit. Descript. Germ. cap. 5.

Saxons of all the German the valiantest.

Marcell. 28. c. 7.

Tacit. Tacitus goes singing to the wars. Tacitus vs. lib. 1. c. 1. Tacitus vs. lib. 1. c. 1.

The custom of skinning their soldiers.

The Saxons vesture in warre.

Isidore Pomarius. The Saxons weapons.

Their Ceremonies in marrying.

Isidore, Marcell. lib. 1. cap. 3.

The Man and Womens attire differed in nothing, saith he, sauing that the women wore linnen Garments trimmed and interlaced with purple, and without sleeves, their armes bare, and bosomes naked and vncouered. Yet *Paulus Diaconus* speaking of the Longobards, comparing them to the Saxons, saith that their Casiocks were large and worse loose, most of linnen, trimmed and set out with very broad Gards or welts perfect, and embroidered with sundry colours, and the richer sort with Pearles: their haire bound up in a copper hoope, stood in tufts vpon the crowne, the rest curled and falling downe vpon their shoulders: their beards they kept still vment, till they had killed an enemy; and for another note of ignominie, they wore an Iron Ring, as a signe of bondage, till they had cast it from them by the Conquest of a Man. Great Knives, or rather broad bending Swords, they trusted vpon little Shields thwart their backs, from which (as we shewed) *Engelhusius* auoucheth they had their appellation. Hee that abandoned or lost this shield in battle (saith *Tacitus*) was debarred from their publicke Sacrifices and Assemblies, the greatest disgrace that could be; for very shame and griefe whereof, many many times hanged themselves. And vpon these Shields their manner was to lift vp their new elected Generall, and with acclamations so to carrie him thorow their Campe.

(4) For Warres, the Germans by *Tacitus* are reputed the best, who for two hundred and tenyeres held tack with the Romans. Not the Samites (saith he) not the Carthaginians, not the Spaniards, or the Gallies, no not the Parthians haue so much troubled vs: for what can the East obiect against vs, sauing the death of *Craffus*, when hee had defeated *Pacorus*, before trodden downe by *Ventidius*? But the Germans hauing either slaine or taken *Carbo*, and *Cassius*, and *Scaurus* *Aurelius*, and *Seruilus* *Cepio*, and *M. Manlius*, haue defeated also sue Consularie Armies, and Varus with three Legions in *Cassars* time. Neither haue *C. Marius* in *Italie*, or *Iulius* in *Gallia*, *Druusus* or *Nero*, and Germanicus molested them at home in their Country, but to their more smart. And yet these Saxons among those valiant Germans were accounted the best for courage of minde, strength of body, and enduring of trauell, as *Zosimus* saith. Terrible also they were, and full of agilitie, by the report of *Orosius*: and for their sudden inuasions, most feared of the Romans, saith *Marcellinus*.

(5) Their fashion was to goe forth singing to the Warres, (or rather they especially are said to march to battle, whereas others are said to goe) carrying before them certaine Images taken out of their consecrated Woods. Their manner was before they ioined Battle, to trie by single Combat (therein arming one of their own against some captiue enemy) what successe was to be expected: and this they kept as a Law vniuoluate, that none might presume to beare Armes before hee was solemnly admitted, where in a frequent Assemblie a Shield was giuen him by his Parents or Kindred: and this was the pledge (as it were) of his first honour, he being till then reputed but a particular of a Familie, but thenceforward a member of the Common-wealth. They are very sensible, wise and considerate in their seruice, in preferring choice Captaines, in following their Leaders, in observing their ranks, in taking the advantage and benefit of the day, and intrenching in the night, holding Fortune euer doubtfull, but valour alwaies certaine. Their weapons, as testifieth *Ioannes Pomarius*, were long Speares, broad Swords, and the Crof-bow: these they held in such esteeme, that with a horse furnished, shield, sword, and Lance, their Virgins were receiued in marriage, accounting them for the greatest bonds, and the very Patron-Gods of Matrimony: which custome might well bee taken from their neighbours the ancient *Saracens*, whose *Maidens* usually presented to their husbands a Tent and a Speare, in way of Dowrie at the entrance of their Nuptials. And among these Germans those Martiiall habiliments were in such vfe, that they did meet neither at Feasts nor in Council, but in their Armour.

A People (saith *Tacitus*) whom thou canst not so easily persuade to manure the ground, as to provoke the Enemy, and adventure wounds, holding small esteeme of that which

is gotten by the sweat of their browes, when it might haue been obtained by the expense of their blood. A strange diuersitie (saith he) that the same men should so much loue sloth, and hate quietnesse. It is with them a great shame for their Prince to be ouercome in Valour; but for any one to returne alius from that Battell wherein the Prince is slaine, a perpetuall infamie and reproach. And that their resolutions were euer noble, and their courage not daunted in distresse or bondage, it well appeared by a whole band of them taken by *Symachus*, and designed for the Romans pastime of Sword-playes, who the same morning that this spectacle was expected, frangled themselves rather then they would incurre such infamie and basenesse, as to make others pastime with the ignominious vlsage of their owne persons.

(6) Their Lawes were seuer, and vices not laughed at, and good Customes of greater authority among them, then elsewhere were good Lawes; no temporising for siner, nor vsury for gaine; but bounteous in hospitality, and liberal in gifts, accounting both due to bee giuen and receiued, yea and that without thanks: no Nation freer from adulterie, or punishing that sinne more severely. For the woman offending, hauing first her haire cut off, was turned stark naked out of her Husbands house, and that in presence of her owne kindred; thence she was scourged with whips thorow the Towne, without regard of birth, beauty, age, or wealth, and neuer after could finde another Husband. Those that were vnaturally leand of their bodies, their manner was to drowne them in filthy mud, and to coner them with hurdles. Yea and greater punishments then these the Pagan Saxons executed vpon such offenders, as by the Epistle of *Boniface* an English-man, Arch-bishop of *Magunce*, which he wrote vnto *Ethelbald* King of the *Mercians*, in reproaching his adulterous life, is manifest. For (saith hee) in the ancient Country of the Saxons (where there was no knowledge of God) if either a Maid in her fathers house, or one hauing a husband, became a whore, shee should bee frangled with her owne hands cloed to her month, and the Corruptor should be hanged vpon the Pit wherein she was buried. If she were not so fed, then her Garments being cut away downe from the Girdle-steel, the chaste Matrons did scourge and whip her, and did prick her with knives, and so was she sent from Towne to Towne, where other fresh and new scourges did meet and torment her vnto death.

And their seuer Lawes a long time remaining in the daies of Christianitie, doe declare with what rigor (without regard of person) they both examined and punished this offense: whereof that of *Queene Emma*, the mother of King *Edward the Confessor*, is a sufficient example, who being accused for incontinencie of body with *Alwyn* Bishop of *Winchester*, was inioined to passe ouer nine Plough-share frowns glowing red hot, the being blind-fold and bare-footed; by which triall shee is said to haue acquitted her selfe, in somuch that hauing passed them all before shee knew it, cried and said: O good Lord, when shall I come to the place of my purgation? This punishment beginning in these Pagans, and continuing vnto the yere 750. Stephen the Second, and most pontificall Pope of Rome, did vtterlie abolish, as too seuer and ouer-rigorous for Christians to vndergoe.

The Virgins of these Saxons were neuer to bee married but once, that they might haue no other thoughts, nor further desire but in case of matrimony: neither had the men pluralitie, excepting great Personages, and they sued vnto in regard of procreation, for to be without Children, was to be without reputation. So that the testimony of *Salimanns*, which liued among them, fitteth well our purpose, saying: I though the Saxons are outrageous in cruelty, yet for chastity they are to be honoured.

(7) But as in these vertues they out-stripped most Pagans; so in the Zeale of their heathenish superstitions and Idolatrous seruice, they equalized any of them: for besides *Herthus*, the Mother-Earth, whom the Angli our auncetors accounted for a Goddess of Aide: they worshipped *Mercurie* vnder the name of *Hhh* 1 *Woden*

Saxons their resolute courage.

Tacit. Descript. Germ.

Saxons great punishers of adulteries.

Chron. off Holand.

Ran. Hist. in Poligr. lib. 6. cap. 23.

Queene Emma her punishment.

Stephen 2. Bishop of Rome.

The Saxons Virgins married but once.

The Saxons did highly esteeme of hauing children.

Salimanns.

Tacit. Descript. Germ. cap. 6.

The Duke of
Saxony, his Armes.Chron. Sax.
Hengist, his
Country and
parentage.Hengist, his first
rising.

Ninias.

Ofta and Elfric
a terror to the
Britaines.The Nobilitie
complaint.Vortigern repro-
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shop of London.He cometh
into fully.His subjects dis-
claim their obe-
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Vortigern.Catigern and
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Leopards, which by Richard Cordelion King of England was given vnto his ancestor Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony, who had married Mathilda the said Kings sister, and by the Emperour Frederic Barbarossa had been bereft of his Armes, and Titles of honor. Moreouer, Charles Emmanuel the now Duke of Saunoy, who is lineally descended from the ancient Princes of the chiefe house of Saxony, by Prince Beral, who came out of Saxony into Saunoy in the yeere of our Lord 998. and was the third sonne of Hugh Duke of Saxony, which Hugh was brother vnto the Emperour Otto the Third, doth yet beare for one of his Coats the said Leaping Horse.

(7) This Hengist was doubtlesse a Prince of the chieft blood and Nobilitie of the Saxons, and by birth, of Angria in Westphalia, wherein vnto this day a place retaineth the name of Hengist-holt. Hee with his brother were the sonnes of one Wihgisl, whose father was Witla, and his father Vella the eldest sonne of Yodenas, Beda writes him, of whose issue many Kings of sundry Prouinces (saith he) had their originall.

Hee growne now into high fauour with the King, by the marriage of Rowena, and feared of the Nobility for his strength and policie, bare himselfe great a-mongall, and his supplies daily arriuing, peltred (if it not plagued) most parts of this Land. For saith Ni-nias, and Beda, the riches of Britaine, and the fertilitie of the soyle, were such motives to their conuents and aspiring minde, that where they got footing, there they kept stand-ing, and picked occasions where they were too strong. Among the that were sent for, by the aduice of Hengist, two principall Captaines, Ofta and Elfric were chiefe, who being embarked in forty Pinnaces, sailed about the Pits Coasts, waiting the Isles that were called the Orades, and got many Countries from them beyond the Frib, whereby a further terror was stricken into the Brittaines hearts.

(8) The Nobilitie perceiving what was in work-ing, and the marke whereto Hengist let his eie to aime, complained to the King of their dangerous estate, shewing themselves agreed to be disposed of Offices and Charge, (as Gaunor the Earle or Licutenant of Kent, by Hengist had bene) the Land peltred with strangers, that sought their subuersion; reproo-ving him much for his match with that Infidel Rowena, his owne carelesse government and adulterous life, and in such manner, that Voderne Archbishop of London, a man of great sanctitie, feared not to tell him that thereby he had endangered both his soule and Crowne, which words by Vortigern were so digested, that thorow-lye it cost the good Archbishop his life. But hee still continuing in his lasciuious and carelesse idleness, was lastly taught by wofull experience, what miserie wilfull rashnesse and neglected government do bring: for the Brittaines his subjects no longer would be thus abused, to see themselves wouen into greater danger by the of defence, then they formerly had bene by the hostilitie of the enemies; but forthwith disclaimed their obedience to the King, when he had raigned the space of fix yeeres, and chose for their Gouverneur his sonne young Vortigern.

(9) His Sonne hee was indeed by nature, but not his in conditions, who (besides the quarrell of his Queene mother for Rowena sake reiecte) bare an inward loue to his native Country, and an outward hate to the strangers that daily sought the subuersion thereof, and presently encountered with them in a pitched Battell neere vnto Ailsford in Kent, wherein Catigern and Horsa, brethren to Vortigern and Hengist, in single fight hand to hand slew each other.

In which place Catigern was buried, and a Monu-ment in memory of him erected: the stones whereof to this day appeare, and stand vpon a great plaine in the Parish of Ailsford, and from Catigern as yet is corruptly called Ciss-Cotthoufe. The like Monu-ment the Saxons built for Horsa, which time hath now defaced, and wherof Beda maketh mention, who saith, that a tombe bearing his name was in his daies to be seene in the East part of Kent. The credit wherof is conti-

nued to this day, where the Village Horsed is reported to haue receiued that name from him, which standeth in the very same place where that Battell was fought, as the Inhabitants report.

(10) Three other Battles after this with variable successe were fought betwixt the Brittaines and the Saxons, one at Crasford, another at Weppled-fleet, and the third vpon Colmore; in which last the Brittaines bare themselves so valiantly, that the Saxons were driuen into the Isle of Tanes (if not ouer the seas) so that small hope refted for them so long as this valiant Vortigern liued, who had dispossessed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often assailed them in Tanes, as Fabian saith. After this Victorie long hee liued not, but was made away by poison through the means of Rowena the mother of all this mischief, when he had late King the space of foure yeeres; and the father againe reestablished.

(11) Vortigern now was no sooner reftored, but that Hengist had notice thereof, who was then in building a Castle at Leiden in Holland, as their Annales doe witness, and John Douja in his verses specifie: where leaving all (as it were) at random, returned to follow his fortunes further in Britaine, and with a mighty Armie of his Saxons thought to land without im-pachment: but the Brittaines growne bold by their former victories, and their blood not cooled since it was heat in fight, admonished their reestablished King, who with them went to withstand his arriuage. When Hengist therefore perceiued their courage, and knew their hatreds to him and his Saxons, hee sought by smooth words to gaine the shoare; and by some stratagem, his wished desire: therefore pretending only to visit his daughter, yea and to rid the Land of her, if so he might haue leaue of the King and them; and therefore desired a conference in friendly manner: after which, his Saxons should depart the Land, and rest the like friends to the Brittaines as they were when first they came in.

(12) This motion seemed reasonable to the No-bilitie, and the place and time appointed, which was the first of May, and vpon the Plaine of Ambrij, now called Salisbury: whither vpon equall tearmes (as was thought) each partie repaired, and a while conferred with friendly semblances; but in the end the Saxons vrging their wrongs, fel from words into blowes, the watch-word first giuen by Hengist their Leader. The Brittaines meant simply, and were no weapons, accord-ing to covenants; but the Saxons vnder their long Caf-focks had short Skaines hid, with which, no sooner the words, Nem eowr Seaxes, were pronounced, but that each slew him with whom hee conferred, by which treason the Brittaines lost three hundred of their disar-med Nobilitie, onely Eldol Duke of Gloucester, as Ran-dolph Higden declareth, with a Stake gotten from the hedge, slew fouenteene Saxons. The King they tooke prisoner; for whose ranfome, the Countries of Kent, Suffex, Suffolke, and Northfolke, were deliuered vnto these Infidels, who shortly defiled the beauty of Chri-stianitie with their Paganisme and heathenish cruelties. Then (saith Beda) the fire of Gods vengeance was kindled by these wicked Conquerors, and raged first vpon those Countries next adioyning, and afterwards from the East Sea vnto the West, without resistance made to quench the same, publike and priuate houses were overthrowne and laied leuell with the ground, Priests were slaine standing at the Altars, and Bishops with their flocks were murdered; neither was there any to bury the dead. And these are the times wherof we speake, and wherein the miserable Brittaines abandoned the Land or hid themselves in caues, wherein they either perished for hunger, or re-deemed their liues with perpetual slavery.

(13) Neither were their calamities greater in out-ward afflictions then their soules, polluted with the heresie of the Pelagians, brought by Agricola, the Son of Seuerianus a Pelagian Bishop, that did foulely cor-rupt the faith of the Brittaines: to redresse which, Ger-manus Ambrosius, and Lupus Bishop of Treves in France, were by the brethren desired, and sent vnto their

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of Horsa his
nument.The Battell
betweene Brit-
taines and Saxons.The Saxons dis-
cuss our Sea.Vortigern possi-
ned by Rowen.Leiden Castle
in Holland, begun
by Hengist.

John Douja.

Hengist's kinde
reflected by the
Brittaines.

Matth. Wijn.

Hengist's vish
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their thus troubled and declining estate. These pil-lars of Gods truth, after they had powred forth pra-ers, and conuicted the Heretikes, lead an Armie of Brittaines against the Picts and Saxons, and gained the victorie; after which (like vnto people that drew on Gods vengeance and their owne destructions) they fell to robberies and rapine, one Citie banding against another, and all laied waste by the Saxons and them-selves. These miseries doth Gildas impute to haue hapned to his Brittaines, because they tooke no care to preach the Gospell of Christ vnto those Infidels the English-Saxons, that in their heathenish cruelties fought the Lands destruction.

(14) Vortigern thus dispossessed, for his further securitie betooke himselfe into Wales, where among those vast Mountaines hee built a strong Castle, of whose foundation, Merlin the Welsh Wizard, with the future successe that should afterward follow the Bri-ttaines, haue by way of prophesie vainly spoken. This Castle most of our Writers haue said to be in South-Wales, vpon a rockie and solitarie mountaine called Breigh, or after others Cloarie, in the West of that Pro-vince, not farre from Radnor, and neere vnto the Ri-uer Gnana: but the inhabitants of North-Wales report (by the reports of their ancestors) that in old Bethke-lerit was that Castle, which Vortigern built, and is yet called Embris, from Merlin Embris, as they affirme. And surely (besides the craggie and solitarie of the place, which seemed to mee rather an entrance in-to the shadow of death, then to be the Palace or Court of a King) the Riuer Llynerrenny mooueth much, by which Fawstus his sonne, begotten of his own daugh-ter Rowena, is said to spend his life in continuall praers.

(15) But whilest Vortigern was busied in building this Castle, and the Saxons making spoiles wher-eo-euer they came, the Brittaines vnder the conduct of Aneulus Ambrosius, began to receiue some breath of hopes, and to flee themselves out of their Caues. This Ambrosius (saith Beda) was a gentle natured man, which only of all the blood of the Romans remained then a-line, his parents being slaine, which had borne the name of the King of the Country. Hee with his brother Vter, commonly called Pendragon, returning out of Britain Armorica, where they had remained from the Tiran-nie of Vortigern, landed at Tameffe in the West of this Island; vnto whom resorted great Troopes of Brittaines.

His first Expedition was against Vortigern the scourge of his Country, and murderer of his King: whose Castle straightwaies hee besieged, and by the iust reuenging hand of God, with wilde fire consumed, wherein those adulterous and incestuous persons were burned to ashes.

(16) Next, following the common Enemy, hee gaue battle to the Saxons on the North of Humber, at a place called Maesbell, wherein Hengist was discom-fited, and in flight taken by Earle Edol of Gloucester, and beheaded at Coningsburray, saith he of Monmouth. Howbeit, Matthew of Westminster maketh him fight another battle vpon the Riuer Dwr, in Anno 489. wherein, saith he, Hengist was taken. And Polydore saith, that in the same battle Hengist at the first onset was slaine, with many of his Germans: the fame of whose victorie (saith he) had in memorie with the Inhabitants of those parts euen vnto this day. Yet Gildas, Beda, and Ethelward, Writers of those ancient times, and two of them Saxons, mention not the death of Hengist, nei-ther this great victorie of the Brittaines. And Marrianus the Scottish Monke seemeth to affirme the contrarie, where he saith, that Hengist raigned thirty foure yeeres in great glorie, and died peaceably, leaving his sonne Etke to succeed him in the Kingdome of Kent. With whom al-so Florentius the Monke of Worcester agreeeth. How-focuer, sure it is, had not the diuine power of God o-therwise determined, the waning estate of Britaine

doubtlesse had recovered her former strength, both by the praers of Bishop German, the prowess of this last spoken of Ambrosius, the valorous attempts of Vter Pendragon, and the worthy indutries of the Christian King Arthur. The famous resistances of this last mentioned Arthur, the Monke of Monmouth with such fables hath augmented, that his Acts and Trauels may be compared to those of Hercules, or with the Conquests of Cesar himselfe; inasmuch that he hath bene accounted and ranged in the Catalogue of the worlds nine Worthies. And surely (by the tes-timonie of Malmsbury) hee was a Prince of great worth, and did often aduerture with his final power to meet the Saxons in the face and in Field.

But the Brittaines strength daily decreasing, and new supplies of these Saxons daily arriuing, brought the one in despair to enjoy their owne right, and the o-ther to triumph in their intrusions of wrongs. For continually incroaching forward, and enlarging their limits wher-eo-euer they came, drove the inhabitants before them from their wonted possessions, & seated themselves in the southern and best part of the Land, laying the stones (as it were) of those foundations, wherupon in short time they raised their most glo-rious buildings.

(17) For every severall Captaine or Commander accounting that part his owne, wherein hee first entred or made conquest of, with full resolution determined to keepe what hee had got, and (as an absolute King) commanded his Prouince, whereby the Land became burdened with seven of them at the first: as Hengist of Kent; Ella, of those parts now called Suffex and Sur-rey; Cherdik, of the West; Erehenwin, of the East; Ida of the North; Crida, of the Middle-land; Vffa, the parts now Middlesex and Essex: which Kingdomes thus be-gunne and erected, stood not long vnshaken by ciuill diffensions among themselves, each King enuying his equals greatness, and seeking to enlarge his owne Dominions vpon the next. In which combutations, few or none of them came to the graue in due time, but were either slaine in warres, or treacherously murdered in peace, or else enforced to heare himselfe a Monke, and resigne his Crowne to another. To speake of all these together, I hold would bring too great a confusion to our Historie, and a needlesse sur-charge to the Readers memorie: To auoid which, I will briefly set downe the Conquests, Circuits, Acts, and Defents, that in euery severall Kingdome hap-pened while they stood in their Heptarchie, before they were vnto an absolute Monarchie; and then (according to my prefixed purpose) continue the suc-cession of GREAT BRITAINES Monarchs.

(18) For albeit the Land was diuided into seven severall Kingdomes, and each of them carrying a foueraigne command within his owne limits, yet one of them euer seemed to be supreme of the rest, and that Prince who had the greatest power or successe in his warres, was euer accounted and called the King of the English-men, as Venerable Beda in the fifth Chapter of his se-cond Booke, and Historie of England, euer termeth them.

(19) Such therefore as held the rest vnder, either by Armes or alliance, in amitie or subiection, swaied the whole Monarchie, and were acknowledged as Supremes in power ouer the rest, which succeeded not euer in the same Familie, neither continued in one and the same Kingdome without reuersement, but were car-ried vpon the Flouds and Ebbes of variable successe, or as destinee pleased to alter the chance: wherof each of them (saing the East-Saxons only) did attaine to the height of that government, as to the haue of their wished desires. See therefore (if you please) a generall view of the whole, and afterwards the se-uerall Historie of euery Kingdome apart, before we enter into the Succession of the English-Saxons Mo-narchs.

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minions.

Heptarchy.	Kingdomes.	Counties.	Kings Successions.	Kingdomes Continuance.	Kings full Christian.
The Kingdome of Kent contained Counties,	Kent.		1. Hengist, 31. 2. Eske, 24. 3. Oda, 20. 4. Imerick, 29. 5. Ethelbert, 56. 6. Eabald, 24. 7. Ercombert, 24. 8. Egbert, 9. 9. Lothar, 11.	10. Edrik, 6. 11. Withred, 33. 12. Eadbert, 23. 13. Edelbert, 11. 14. Alrik, 34. 15. Ethilbert, 3. 16. Cuthred, 8. 17. Baldred, 18.	Beganne in An. 455. Continued yeeres 372. Ended in Anno 827. Ethelbert.
The Kingdome of South-Saxons contained Counties,	Suffex. Surrey.		1. Ella, 32. 2. Cissa, 75. 3. Edilwach, alias Ethelwolf 25.	4. Berthum. 5. Anthum.	Beganne in An. 488. Continued yeeres 113. Ended in Anno 601. Ethelwolf.
The Kingdome of West-Saxons contained Counties,	Cornwall. Devon-shire. Dorset-shire. Somerset-shire. Wilt-shire. Hant-shire. Bark-shire.		1. Cherdik, 33. 2. Kenrike, 26. 3. Chelvin, 33. 4. Ceaclik, 5. 5. Chelwold, 12. 6. Kingils, 32. 7. Quithelin, 1. 8. Kenwald, 30. 9. Eskwyn, 2.	9. Kentwin, 9. 10. Ceadwald, 7. 11. Inas, 37. 12. Ethellard, 14. 13. Cuthred, 16. 14. Sigebert, 2. 15. Kenwolve, 29. 16. Brightrik, 16. 17. Egbert, 19.	Beganne in An. 519. Continued yeeres 61. Ended in An. 1066. Kingils.
The Kingdome of East-Saxons contained Counties,	Essex. Middlesex.		1. Erchenwin, 34. 2. Sleda, 10. 3. Sebert, 21. 4. Sexred, 7. 5. Seward, 7. 6. Sigebert, 23. 7. Sigibert, 13.	7. Swithelme, 14. 8. Sigbere. 9. Sebbas, 30. 10. Sigberd, 8. 11. Seofrid, 8. 12. Ossa, 4. 13. Selred, 30. 14. Suthred, 38.	Beganne in An. 527. Continued yeeres 281. Ended in Anno 827. Sebert.
The Saxons Heptarchy.	The Kingdome of Northumberland contained Counties,	York-shire. Durham. Lancashire. Westmorland. Cumberland. Northumberland.	1. Ella, 12. 2. Sleda, 10. 3. Sleda, 7. 4. Elappa, 5. 5. Theodwald, 1. 6. Frethulf, 7. 7. Theodrik, 7. 8. Ethelrik, 5. 9. Ethelred, 23. 10. Edwine, 17. 11. Oswald, 9. 12. Oswy, 28. 13. Egfrid, 15.	12. Alkfryd, 20. 13. Ofred, 11. 14. Kened, 2. 15. Ofwike, 11. 16. Ceolunp, 8. 17. Egbert, 20. 18. Ofwulph, 1. 19. Edilwald, 11. 20. Alured, 2. 21. Ethelred, 5. 22. Alfwald, 11. 23. Ofred, 1.	Beganne in An. 547. Continued yeeres 379. Ended in Anno 926. Edwin.
The Kingdome of Mercia contained Counties,	Huntingdon. Rutland. Lincoln. Northampton. Leicester. Derby-shire. Nottingham. Oxford-shire. Cheshire-shire. Shrop-shire. Gloucester-shire. Worcester-shire. Stafford-shire. Warwick-shire. Buckingham-shire. Bedford-shire. Hartford-shire.		1. Creda, 6. 2. Wibba, 3. 3. Cheorl, 34. 4. Penda, 30. 5. Peada, 4. 6. wolfer, 17. 7. Ethelred, 30. 8. Kenred, 4. 9. Chelred, 7. 10. Ethelbald, 42.	11. Offa, 40. 12. Egfrid 4 monet. 13. Kenwolve, 22. 14. Kenelme, 5 monet. 15. Chelwolve, 1. 16. Bernulf, 3. 17. Ludcan, 2. 18. Whitlase, 13. 19. Bertwolve, 13. 20. Burdred, 22.	Beganne in An. 582. Continued yeeres 202. Ended in Anno 886. Peada.
The Kingdome of East-Angles contained Counties,	Suffolke. Norfolk. Cambridge-shire. Ely-land.		1. Yffa, 7. 2. Titulhus, 10. 3. Redwald, 44. 4. Erpenwald, 12. 5. Sigebert, 12. 6. Egrik, 13. 7. Anna, 13. 8. Ethelbert, 16.	9. Ethwald, 9. 10. Aldwolve, 19. 11. Afwald, 7. 12. Beorn, 24. 13. Ethelred, 52. 14. Ethelbert, 5. 15. Edmund, 16.	Beganne in An. 575. Continued yeeres 353. Ended in Anno 914. Redwald.



THE KINGDOME OF KENT BEGUN BY HENGIST THE SAXON, WITH THE SESSION OF THEIR KINGS, THEIR ISSUES AND RAIGNES.



CHAPTER V.



Kent, the first Dominion of the Saxons Heptarchie, was formerly in the daies of Julius Caesar, the Seat of foure feuerall petty Kings, yet neuer called a Kingdome, before that Hengist, the first Saxon Captaine, in fauour of his Daughter Rowena, got it

by the gift of King Portigern, about the yeere of Grace 455. and in the seventh yeere after his first arriuage, heere he first laid the foundation of those fortunes which the Saxons his Nation in this Land afterwards attained vnto: for hauing possessed the same with *Victorie* and *Wealth* the space of thirty one yeeres, (some adde three more) he left it in peace to his sonne *Eske*; and the rest of the Land so weakened by his meanes, that others of his Nation were shortly planted in other parts thereof. It contained the Continent that lieth betwixt our *East-Ocean* and the *Riuer Thames*, being bounded vpon the West with *Suffex* and *Surrey*.

Eske, the second King of *Kent*, is reported to bee the second sonne of King *Hengist*, who accompanying his father into this *Iland*, made prooffe of his great valour in all his Battles fought against the *Brittaines*, and in one of them (as *Geffrey of Monmouth* reporteth) being taken prisoner, was for a time retained in *Torke*, but thence escaping, hee aided his father in the Battle of *Crekynford*; and after his decease, succeeded him in the *Kingdome of Kent*, from whom those Inhabitants (saith *Beda*) were called *Eskings*, amongst whom he peaceably raigned about twentie yeeres, and died in the yeere of our Lord 512.

Ossa the sonne of *Eske* began his raigne ouer his Fathers Dominions, the yeere of Christs Incarnation 512. and raigned twenty two yeeres, without mention of any memorabile Act.

Imerik, the sonne of *Eske*, and the fourth King of *Kent*, raigned twenty five yeeres, saith *Stowe*; twentie nine, saith *Saul* in his *Table* collected from our English Writers. He had issue, *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Kent*, and a daughter named *Rikell*, married to *Shedda* the second King of the *East-Saxons*, the mother of *Sebert* and *Segebold*.

Ethelbert, the sonne of *Imerik*, in the yeere of grace 561. succeeded him in the *Kingdome of Kent*, who by reason of his young yeeres, was sore molested by his neighbour Princes, that sought to enlarge their Prouinces vpon him: for now the Saxons hauing made full Conquest of the *Brittaines*, fell at variance amongst themselves, taking all occasions to supplant each other,

as Conquerours commonly can endure no equals, and prosperitie euer is looked at with an enuious eie; whereupon *Cheulin* King of the *West-Saxons*, proud of his victorious successes ouer the *Brittaines*, beganne to disdain all amitie with his owne neighbour *Saxons*, invaded the Territories of this young Prince, and in a set Battle slew *Oslane* and *Cnebba*, two of his *Dukes*, discomfited the King, and wonne the day. This field was fought at *Wipbandun*, in the yeere of our Redemption 567. and is noted to bee the first Battle betwixt the *Saxons* themselves since their first entrance into *Britaine*.

But young *Ethelbert* growne vnto yeeres, repaired his losses with the enlargement of his *Kingdome* to the banks of *Humber*, and was the fifth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, as after we shall heare. His first Wife was *Berta*, the daughter of *Chilperik*, King of *France*, by whom he had *Edbald*, *Ethelburg*, and *Eadburg*: a second Wife he had unworthy of name, for her incestuous and abominable act, in matching her selfe in marriage with her Husbonds sonne, *A sinne* (saith the Apostle) not to be named among the *Gentiles*. Of this King, as also of all the rest that attained vnto the glorie, to bee entailed (*per excellentiam*) the Soueraigne Kings of the *Englishmen*, I purpose to bee sparing in their particular *Kingdomes*, and to referre the larger relation of their *Acts*, *Matches*, *Issues*, and continuance, to the times of their feuerall Monarchies, whereby a more historicall course may be carried, through the successions of the *English-Saxon* Monarches, and a needlesse repetition of the same things avoided, which otherwise of necessitie would follow. Hee raigned in great glory fiftie six yeeres, and was the first Saxon King that received and established the *Gospell*. He died the foure and twentieth day of February, the yeere of Christs 616. after he had raigned 56. yeeres, and was buried at *Canterbury*, with this inscription vpon his Tombe:

*Rex Ethelbertus hic clauditur in Polindro,
Fana pians Christo meat absq. Meandro.*

Edbald, the sonne of King *Ethelbert*, in the yeere of Christs 617. assumed the Government of *Kent*; who no sooner, saith *Beda*, had gotten from vnder the awe of his father, but he refused to entertaine the Doctrine of *Christ*, and so polluted himselfe with the foule sinne of fornication, as that hee married his Mother in Law, the late Wife to his owne Father: which two hainous faults gaue his subjects both occasion and impunity to returne to their former idolatry, who vnder his Father, for fauour, or for feare, had yielded to the Lawes of the Christian Faith. But

Chulvin invaded his Territories.

Ethelbert the fifth Monarch of the *Englishmen*. His first wife, and children by her. In the life of *Saint Werburg*. His second wife.

1. Cor. 5. 1.

Repetition avoided in this History.

Beda Hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 5. Heere *Huntington*.

6. An. Do. 617.

Beda Hist. Eccles. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 5. *Edbald*, his father dead, refused the doctrine of *Christ*. He married his Mother in Law.

Edwald often
plagued.

Reclaimed from
Idolatry by the
Archbishop.

His Wife.

His Daughter.

His Sonnes, and
their issue.

Edwald, his libe-
rality to the
Church.
Beda lib. Angl.
lib. 1. cap. 6.
His raigne and
buriall.

7.
An. Do. 641.

His care of Gods
worship.
Beda lib. 1. c. 8
His Wife and
issue.

Kent divided
into Parishes.

His raigne and
death.

8.
An. Do. 665.

Egbert his mur-
der.

The Eastre-
weald.
Vid. Malmesbury
de gestis regum
Anglorum.

Their bodies so-
lemnly buried.
Doyena their
Office.

Her religiousnes.

Egbert his raigne
at death.
Beda lib. 1. c. 5.
Ang. lib. 4. cap. 5.

9.
An. Do. 673.
Lothaire un-
derstandeth the
Kingdome.

the scourge of God & vengeance from Heauen wanted not to the punishment of this vnfaiethfull King: for he was plagued for a season with often phrensie of minde, and raging fury of an vnclene Spirit; but by Laurence Archbishop of Canturbury, he was at length converted from his Idolatry and incestuous Matrimony, and being baptized, endeouored to maintain the state of the Gospell. He married *Emme*, the daughter of *Theodebert*, King of *Austrasie*, now *Lorraine*, by whom he had issue a Daughter named *Ensfith*, who died a Virgin at *Fulkestone*, a Religious House in Kent of her Fathers foundation; and two Sonnes, whereof *Ermenred* the elder died before his Father, and left issue *Dompnena*, who was married to a *Mercian Prince*, *Ermenberg* that died a vailed Virgin, *Ermenith* a merchant, *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, both murdered by their Colingerman, King *Egbert*. His younger Sonne was *Ercombert* that succeeded him in the Kingdome. This *Edwald* built a Chapell within the Monastery of *Saint Peter* and *Paul* at *Canturbury*, in honour of *Mary* the blessed Mother of God, endowing that Church with sufficient maintenance; wherein, after the continuance of twentyfour yeeres raigne, he was buried neere to King *Ethelbert* his Father, Anno 640.

Ercombert, the Son of *Edwald* by *Emme* his Wife, succeeded his Father in the Kingdome of Kent, in the yeere of grace 641. He was a vertuous, religious, and Christian King: for the Temples of the Heathen Idols he suppressed, and commanded the fast of *Lent* to be obserued. His Wife was *Sexburg*, the daughter of *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, by whom he had issue *Egbert* and *Lothaire*, both Kings of Kent after him. *Ermenhild*, Wife to *Wolfer* King of *Mercia*, and *Erkenode* a professed Nunne in the Monastery of *Saint Brigs* in *France* where she died, and was interred in the Church of *Saint Stephen*. In his daies the state of the Church growing to a well settled forme of government, the Prouince of Kent was diuided into Parishes by *Honorius* the Archbishop, as testifie the Records of *Christ-Church* in *Canturbury*. This King hauing raigned twentyfour yeeres and odde months, died in the yeere of our Lord 664.

Egbert, the elder Sonne of King *Ercombert*, in the nonage of his young Nephewes, *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, (the sonnes of this Vncle *Ermenred*) obtained the Rule of Kent, and had not their murder much blemished his peaceable Government, hee might well haue held place with the worthiest of those Kings; but thirsting after an absolute souerainie, and fearing lest his owne power should diminish by their growths and rightfull successions, he set his mind on that bloody, traitorous, and vnnatural attempt, and with the assistance of one *Thurme*, found fit place and opportunitie to worke that diuillish designe, casting their bodies into a Riuer, that so their Murders might not be knowne. But God (saith *Malmesbury*) that searcheth the heart, reuiled the act, by casting vp their bodies on the shore, and to the open view of the next Inhabitants, who with great reuerence there buried them, and built a small Chapel ouer their Monument, whose bones afterwards were remoued, and new interred in the Abby of *Ramsiey* in *Hantsire*. The Lady *Dompnena* their Sister, and next Heire to the Crowne, that was married to *Merwald*, a Prince of *West-Mercia*, and borne him foure Children, founded the Abbey of *Minster* in Kent: Wherein, saith *Stowe*, she became the first Abbess her selfe, and *Mildrith* her daughter succeeded her therein, saith *Capgrau*. This King in great quietnesse raigned nine yeeres, and died in the yeere of grace 673. in the month of Iuly: leaving issue *Edrik* and *Wigfred*, both Kings of Kent, succeeding after *Lothaire*.

Lothaire the brother of *Egbert*, by strong hand obtained the government of Kent. For notwithstanding *Egbert* left issue *Edrik* and *Wigfred*, (as is said) yet *Lothaire* taking the aduantage of their minority, and the example of his brothers intrusions, made himselfe King against his, as he had done against the

Sonnes of *Ermenred*, but did not inioy the same with the like peace as he had done. For not onely *Ethelred* the *Mercian* warred strongly against him, but also *Edrik*, by the assistance of the *South-Saxons* continually fought to recouer his right, whereby the peace of the *Kentish* was much molested: and lastly, in a bloody battell was *Lothaire* shot thorow with a dart, whereof he died, vnder his Chirurgons hand, the sixth day of February, in the yeere of Christ 685. after hee had raigned eleuen yeeres and seuen months. The punishment of the Murder committed by his brother *Egbert*, was on him repaid, saith *Malmesbury*, who deided and made iests at the lamentes for young *Ethelred* and *Ethelbert*, that were by the people held and accounted Martyrs. His body was buried with his Predecessors, Kings of Kent, in the Monastery of *S. Peter* and *Paul* in *Canturbury*, Anno 685.

Edrik, the Sonne of King *Egbert*, hauing slaine his Vncle *Lothaire* in battell, succeeded him in the Kingdome of Kent, wherein he fate onely two yeeres, and those in continuall warres with his subiects; in which ciuill broiles lastly hee was slaine, leaving the *Kentish* Kingdome so torne with dissensions, that it became a pray to many Vsurpers, and gaue occasion to *Ceadwalla* the *West-Saxon*, to seeke the annexation thereof to his owne Kingdome; who with his brother *Mollo* entred Kent, and with fire and sword made waste where they came. To meet these, the *Kentish* assembled, and getting the aduantage, burned *Mollo* to death: in whole reuenge *Ceadwalla* persisted, and wasted the most part of that Prouince before he departed: so that after for six yeeres continuance no King raigned in Kent, but the Country lay exposed to the tyrannies of oppressors.

Wigfred or *Withred*, seuen yeeres after the death of his Brother, tooke vpon him the government of Kent, which hee purchased with the good opinion that his subiects conceiued, and with a great summe of money paid to King *Ina* for his peace. He entred his Kingdome the yeere of Mans Redemption 693, the eleuenth of November, and two hundred and fiue yeeres, after the death of *Hengist* the first *Saxon*. With him raigned one *Swebhard*, as *Beda* declareth: but without mention from whom, or vpon what occasion. He founded the Priore of *S. Martin* at *Douer*, and behaued himselfe worthily both in Warre and Peace: his raigne was thirty yeeres; thirty three, saith *Beda*; and death in Anno 725. leaving issue *Edbert*, *Ethelbert*, and *Aldrick*, all three succeeding successiue in the Kingdome.

Egbert, the first Sonne of *Withred*, succeeded his Father in his Kingdome, vertues, & valours, whereby a peaceable government is allotted him by all Writers of these affaires, for the continuance of twentie three yeeres, without relation of any notable accident peculiar to himselfe and Kingdome: besides the appearances of two fearfull Comets, in Anno 729. and fourth of his raigne; the one arising immediately before the Sunne in the morning, and the other shewing his fierie beames presently vpon the Sunnes face, both of them striking their gleames into the North, and by West, forebiewing (it may be) the scourge and desolation that the *Pagans* intended, who were at that instant entred into *France* and *Spain*.

Ethelbert, the second Sonne of King *Withred*, and Brother to the last King *Egbert*, began his Raigne ouer the Kingdome of Kent, the yeere of Mans Salvation 749. and raigned without any memorable act either of his, or of his Kingdomes affaires, the space of eleuen yeeres, leaving this life in Anno 759. and was buried, say some, in the Monastery of *Peter* and *Paul* in *Canturbury*, without issue of his body to succeed him: howbeit the *Annales* of *Canturbury* affirms him to bee buried at *Reculers*, in the Ile of *Taney*, whose Monument is shewed at the upper end of the South Ile in the Church, and is mounted with two Spires, if there be not a mistaking of him for *Ethilbert* his Successor.

Aldrick, the third Sonne of King *Withred*, by the death

His buriall.

10.
An. Do. 686.
Beda lib. Angl.
lib. 4. cap. 6.
Edrik his raigne.
His death.

Ceadwalla and
Mollo invade
Kent.

Mollo burned to
death.

11.
An. Do. 693.
Wigfred his
meanes of at-
taining the
Kingdome.

His bounty to
the Church.
Beda lib. Angl.
lib. 4. c. 26.
lib. 5. cap. 5.
His raigne and
death.

12.
An. Do. 726.
Edbert a venous
prince.
His raigne.

Two blazing
Stars.

His Buriall.

13.
An. Do. 749.
Egberts his
raigne.

His death.

His buriall.

14.

Aldrick the last
of lineall succe-
ssion.

All the Kings of
Kent after Aldrick
vsurp.

15.
An. Do. 794.

His imptison-
ment.

Hirelessement.

His bounty to
the Church.
Beda lib. Angl.
lib. 4. c. 26.
lib. 5. cap. 5.
His raigne and
death.

12.
An. Do. 726.
Edbert a venous
prince.
His raigne.

Two blazing
Stars.

His Buriall.

13.
An. Do. 749.
Egberts his
raigne.

His death.

His buriall.

The Inhabitants
drad into a
wood.

The diuers opi-
nions of *Ella* and
his continuance.

death of his brother *Ethelbert*, obtained the kingdome of Kent, the yeere of Christs Incarnation 760. no other glory attending his affaires (saith *Malmesbury*) besides his vnfortunate fight at *Osteford* against *Offa* King of the *Mercians*, wherein it seemed some honor (though with his ouerthrow) to withstand so puissant and impugnable an enemy. Hee is the last King of Kent that held the scepter in a lineall succession: the rest that followed, both good and enioied it by tyrannie and vsurpation. This King is said to raigne thirtie foure yeeres, and to die in the yeere of grace, seuen hundred ninety three.

Ethilbert, surnamed *Pren*, vsurped the Title and Authoritie ouer the *Kentish* Dominions, when that Prouince was sore oppressed with the inuasion of the *Mercian* *Kenulfe*, whose warres against Kent, by succession from *Offa*, were continued with such rigour and valour, that the Country lay desolate where hee had bene, and the people distressed whither he came. This *Pren*, *Kenulfe* tooke prisoner, and lead away with him into *Mercia*: but at the dedicatio of a Church that he had then founded at *Winchcombe*, in presence of ten *Dukes* and thirtie *Bishops*, he released him at the *High Altar*, without either intreatie or ranome of redemption. The King returning againe into Kent, could not there bee receiued, his place either being supplied by another, or himselfe so disliked, as not worthy any longer to raigne: and hauing had experience of the worlds mutabilities, is left againe to his pri-

uate fortunes, from whence hee had stepped, hauing held his estate but for three yeeres continuance. *Cuthred*, saith *Malmesbury*, was made King of Kent by *Kenulfe* King of *Mercia*, when hee had ouercome and captiued *Ethelbert*: notwithstanding hee is accounted for an *Vsurper*, and bare the title of King the terme of eight yeeres, without any other act worthy of remembrance, inheriting his predecessors euill happe and calamitie, through factions and ciuill discords.

Baldred, after the death of this *Cuthred*, tooke vpon him the princely dignitie of Kent, about the yeere of Christs Natuitie 805. But now the heauenlie prouidence determining to bring againe together that which the *Saxons* had diuided, raised from exile little *Egbert*, to make him the Great Monarch of the *English-men*. His first wars were against *Bernulf* King of *Mercia*, and his second against this *Baldred*, King of Kent, whom in Battle he vanquished, and forced him out of his Kingdome, after he had fate on that princelie Throne the space of eightene yeeres. This *Baldred* is said to haue fled ouer *Thames*, and to leaue Kent to the will of his Conquerour, whither againe he neuer returned, neither yet was heard of after his ouerthrow. This Kingdome then that was ceteris by *Hengist*, the yeere of mans happinesse 455. continued her government 372. and ended her glorie in the yeere 827. being made a Prouince vnto the *West-Saxons*.

His raigne.

16.
An. Do. 797.
His raigne.

17.
An. Do. 805.
Baldred tooke
vpon him the
kingdome of
Kent.

Egbert, Monarch
of the English-
men.

This kingdome
beginning, con-
tinuance, and
end.

SOUTH SAXONS KINGDOME. THE CIRCVIT AND CONTIN- VANCE, THEIR KINGS, SVCCES- SIONS, ISSVES AND RAIGNES.



CHAPTER VI.



HE Kingdome of the South-Saxons, containing the Countries of *Sussex* and *Surrey*, had on the East side Kent; on the South, the *Sea* and *Ile of Wight*; vpon the West, *Hantsire*, and the North side inuerged with the riuer *Thames*. This Kingdome was erected by *Ella* a *Saxon* Captaine, that in the second yeere of *Hengists* entrance, as some say, brought a supply of his Saxons into *Britaine*, with whom came his three Sonnes, *Kymen*, *Plenching*, and *Cissa*, these landing at a place which from *Kymen* was afterwards called *Kymenishore*, and discomfiting the Inhabitants, that made resistance, became himselfe King of those Southerne parts. But doubtlesse there are many opinions of this mans first entrance and new erected estate: for some (as *M. Saule* in his Table) set it in the second yeere of *Hengists* first arriuall, Anno 452.

Others in the second of *Anselmus*, and no lesse then thirty yeeres after that, Anno 482. *Harrison* will haue it forty three yeeres after the Saxons first entrance, and fourth yeere after King *Hengist* his death, Anno 492. And *M. Ferrers* in his Succession of the *English Monarks*, placeth it in the three and twentieth yeere of King *Hengists* Kingdome, and in the fifth after his owne arriuall, the yeere of our Redemption 488. Of such vncertaintie is the beginning of this South-Saxons Kingdome, whose Continuance and Successions are nothing clearer; in so much that *Malmesbury* making feuerall Chapters vpon the other fix, omitteth only this of the South-Saxons: and therefore as wee finde them, let vs haue leaue to relate them, and for the present to leaue *Ella* as hee was King, till wee come to a fit place where more shall be spoken of him as hee was Monarch; whose raigne is set by *Stow* to bee thirty six yeeres; by *Sir Henry Saule*, twenty foure; and by *M. Henry Ferrers*, thirty two, and to haue died in the yeere 514.

Cissa the third and youngest sonne of King *Ella*, then

Malmesbury
omitteth this
Kingdome.

Ella his raigne
and death.

2.

An. Do. 514. Cissa succeeded. then onely living at his fathers death, succeeded him in the kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, (leaving the Monarchie to *Cherdike* king of the *West-Saxons*, who had planted his kingdom between him and the *Britaines*, having taken the charge of warre against them, for maintenance whereof, *Cissa* yielded him a yearly contribution) and living himselfe in long rest and peace, founded *Chichester* and *Chisbury*, the one a Citie for resort of his people, the other a place of repose for himselfe; which last he fortified about with a strong Trench, for a further defense against all dangers. Of any other his actions, little is recorded by Writers: onely in this they concur, that hee was a man of great age and small acts, some affirming that hee reigned the space of feventy fix yeeres.

Edithwac (by some called *Ethelwolf* and *Athelwald*) succeeded King *Cissa* in the kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, and was the first *Christian* of that Nation, conuicted by *Bishop Wilfride*, as some conceiue out of *Beda*: yet *Beda* saith expressly, that the King was baptized before *Wilfrides* coming. And the History of *S. Withune* saith, it was done by *S. Berinus*, *Bishop* of *Dorchester*, who usually preaching the Gospel in the kingdom of the *Mercians*, in the Citie of *Oxford*, and presence of *Wulpherus* King of *Mercia*, it hapned that King *Athelwald*, then a Pagan, was present, who by the instigation of *Wulpherus*, and instruction of *Berinus*, received the lauer of Baptisme, whom also *Wulpherus* received at the Font for his God-sonne, and in signe of that adoption gave unto him two Prouinces, to be annexed to his former kingdom, that is to say, the Ile of *Wight*, and the Prouince of *Atannes* in the west of *England*; at which time also *Berinus* by King *Athelwalds* permission, baptized the chiefe Dukes and Nobles of that Prouince. His Queene *Etha* was baptized in her owne Ile, the Prouince of the *Victians*, being the daughter of *Eanfride*, who was brother to *Eanheres*, and both of them *Christians*. But

it is generally held, that King *Edithwac* gaue vnto *Wilfride* the Peninsula (as the *Latines* speake) of *Seolefca*, now *Selsey* in the West, with the demaynes of eightie seven Tenements, wherein he built the *Monasterie*; that bare the same name, and was his owne *Episcopall* See. Against this *Edithwac*, *Ceadwald* a valiant young Prince, of the Blood-royall of the *West-Saxons*, being banished his Countrey, making head with the assistance of friends and followers, entred his Territories with an impetuous incursion, and slew the King as he made resistance, when hee had reigned twentie fix yeeres: in whose raigne and Countrey raged such an extreme Famine, that both men and women in great flockes and companies cast themselves from the Rockes into the Sea.

(4) *Berthun* and *Anthun*, two Dukes of the *South-Saxons*, maintained the Warres and defence of their Countrey against *Ceadwald*, and by manly valour forced him to retire. These Captaines betwixt them held the dominion of that Prouince, vntill such time as *Ceadwald* had gotten the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*; who bearing in mind the remembrance of his former proceedings, and thinking to enlarge his owne Kingdom with the subiection of the *South-Saxons*, entred againe that Prouince, and in Battell slew Duke *Berthun*, harrying the Countrey miserably before him. Which State, vnable to withstand the *West-Saxons* puissance, was by *Iue*, the next King succeeding, made a subiected Prouince, their Government thence forward resting vnder his Successors, after it had stood one hundred and thirteene yeeres: and ended in the yeere of Christ 601. by ordinary computation. But whofoeuer shall compare the times of the foresaid Kings, *Wulpherus* and *Athelwald* together, will easily finde, that it is not easie to finde the certaine concurrence of times, in affairs so clouded in obscuritie, and so farre remote from our present times.

Beda locutus, *Suffice* in *Suffice*.

Cap. 15.

His raigne and death.

Beda hist. lib. 4. cap. 13.

Ceadwald diuinae backe.

Beda hist. lib. 4. cap. 13.

The continuance and end of this Kingdom.



THE KINGDOME OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, THE CIRCVIT THEREOF, AND SVCCESION OF THEIR KINGS VNTO EGBERT; WITH THEIR ISSVES AND RAIGNES.



CHAPTER VII.

The *West-Saxons* were the first that brought the Monarchie to a Monarchie. The Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, though in time later then the two former, yet in circuit and fame surmounted them both; whose Monarch was the Maull that first brake the Scepters of the other fix Kingdoms in funder, and made one Crowne of these their feuerall Diadems, more glorious then they

all, and that first worne vpon *Egbert* the *West-Saxons* heads, and the Scepter swaied in his Imperiall hand, vntill whose time and person wee will continue the succession of their Kings, beginning with *Cherdik* that first made it a Kingdom, and briefly their Acts, whilst it is stood in the *Saxons* Heptarchie.

This *Cherdik* is said to haue brought a second supply of *Saxons* forces into *Britaine*, in the yeere of our Lord 495. and fifth of the Monarchie of King *Ella*: his landing being at a place on that occasion called *Chederik-shore*, who with his sonne *Kenrik* was encountered

Florant. Wig.

An. Do. 495.

The time when *Cherdik* entred into *Britaine*.

An. Do. 508.

The circuit of this kingdom.

The first Kings raigne, issue, and death.

An. Do. 535.

Kenrik his battell.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

An. Do. 561.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

Kenrik in *Oxford*.

countred by the *Britaines*, vnder the conduct of *Natanleah* a *British* Prince, whose Countrey was then called after his name; whom he slew in Battell, with five thousand more of his *Britaines*: the fortune of which field gaue resolutions and hopes of better successe; it was fought neere vnto a Brooke vpon that euent called *Cherdiks-ford*, now by contraction *Chard-ford*. Hereupon establishing his new erected Kingdom, (which contained *Cornwall*, *Devonshire*, *Dorsetshire*, *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire*, *Hantsire*, and *Barkshire*;) he enlarged the same with the conquest of the Ile of *Wight*, the gouernment whereof was by him giuen to *Stasse* and *Withgar* his Nephewes, which later slew the *Britaines* then inhabiting, and named the place of his victory *Withgarburg*, assuming the name of King, and was buried at his Citie *Withgar*, in the same Ile. About seven yeeres after *Cherdiks* entrance, *Portia* *Saxon*, with his two Sonnes, *Megla* and *Beda*, landed in the West, at the place from him called *Portsmouth*, whose aid with *Ken* and *Ulfes*, alsit *Cherdik* in his Conquests. His raigne is set to be thirty three yeeres; and his death in the yeere of grace five hundred thirtie five: hauing had two sonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwolf*, the one of which died before his Father; and the other succeeded him in his Kingdom. *Chelwolf* had issue *Cuthgils*, whose sonne was *Kenfrida*, and his sonne *Kenfrid*, the Father of King *Eskwin*, who was the Successor of King *Kenwald*, and predecessor of King *Kenwin* in the Kingdom of the *West-Saxons*.

Kenrik, the eldest Sonne of King *Cherdik*, hauing formerly made proofe of his prowess in the assistance of his Father, was after his death alio verie fortunate in obtaining two victories ouer the *Britaines*; the one at *Searesberige*, and the other at *Beranbrige*; whose raigne beginning Anno 534. continued twenty fix yeeres; ending in the yeere of our Redemption, five hundred sixty. He had issue three Sonnes, of which *Chelanin* the eldest succeeded him in his kingdom; *Cuthwolfe* the second alsit his Brother in his Warres, and was partaker with him of his victories, who died Anno 672. leaving issue one onely Sonne, named *Chell*, or *Cearlike*, who proued nothing so vertuous and dutifull a subiect as his Father had bene: for he rose in rebellion against his Vncle, and by strong hand expelled him his kingdom.

The third Sonne of King *Kenrik* was *Cuth*, famous in his issue, though mentionlesse for action in himselfe: for hee had three Sonnes, of which *Chelwolfe* the eldest, was King of the *West-Saxons* (as shalbe declared) *Chell* the second, was father to *Kingils* the sixt (and first *Christian*) King of the *West-Saxons*, and Grandfather to *Kenwald* and *Kenwin*, the seventh and ninth Kings of that Kingdom: and *Ched* the youngest, was father of *Kenbert*, Grandfather to *Chelwald* the most renowned King of the *West-Saxons*; of whom we are presentie to speake, and of them all in the succession of the *English* *Saxons* Monarchs: and now to returne againe to the issue of King *Kenrik*.

Chelanin his first Sonne, entred vpon the gouernment ouer the *West-Saxons* Anno 561. and euen at the first began to disturbe the quiet peace of his neighbour Prouinces, taking aduantage at the young yeeres of *Ethelbert*, who was made King of *Kent* in the same yeere that *Chelanin* was, whom he discomfited, and slew his two Captaines, Duke *Osiane* and Duke *Cnebba*, at *Wibbandune*, as we haue said. Other Victories he obtained ouer the *Britaines*, both at *Bedford*, *Deorham*, *Glocester*, *Cirencester*, and *Bathancester*. But the fortunes of warres being alwaies variable, at length his successe altered, and at *VVannes ditche* in *Wiltshire* hee was ouerthrowne, and dispossessed of his kingdom by *Cearik* his brother *Cuthwolfs* Sonne, when he had reigned thirty three yeeres. Hee had issue, *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*: the former ferued valiantly in the warres vnder his father at *Wimbleton* in *Surrey*, where King *Ethelbert* of *Kent* was chased, and his soldiers slaine: and with the like valour and victorie hee fought at *Fethunlegh* against the *Britaines*, notwithstanding that therein he lost his life, the yeere of our

Lord 585. and the five and twentieth of his fathers raigne. *Cuthwin* his younger brother suruiued his father, but succeeded not in his Kingdom, being then (by reason of his young yeeres) vnable to recover his right. He had two sonnes, *Kenbald* and *Cuth*, the latter of which was father to *Chelwald*, whose son *Kenred* had issue, *Iue* the eleuenth King of the *West-Saxons*, and *Ingils* his brother, whose sonne was *Foppa* the father of *Eafa*, whose sonne was *Altemund*, the father of *Egbert* the eighteenth King of the *West-Saxons*, who reduced the *Saxons* diuided *Heptarchie* into an absolute Monarchie.

Cearik the sonne of *Cuthwolfe*, who was brother to this last King, succeeded in the kingdom by the election of his Vncle, and was the fourth King of the *West-Saxons*. He began his raigne in the yeere of our Redemption 592. and continued it the terme of fix yeeres, without any memorable act by him achieved besides his Treason spoken of before.

Chelwolfe the sonne of *Cuth*, the sonne of *Kenrik*, and Cosen-german to *Cearik* the preceding King, began his raigne ouer the *West-Saxons*, the yeere 598. on whose first entrance, this prouince of the *West-Saxons* was invaded both by the *Britaines*, and also by the *Scots* and *Picts*: and the *East-Angles* likewise molested his peace, vnder the conduct of *Redwald* at that time Monarch of the *Englihmens*. But hee wading thorow these troubles, harried the Prouince of the *South-Saxons* with inuasions and calamities, in the prosecution whereof he died, leaving the pursuit of his warres and possession of his kingdom to *Kingils* his Nephew, that immediately succeeded him, after he had reigned the space of fourteene yeeres.

Ingils the Sonne of *Chel*, who was Brother to King *Chelwolfe*, succeeding his Vncle in the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*, in the yeere six hundred and twelve, in his third yeere associated vnto him in his Gouernment *Quinchelme* his Sonne, who ioyntly managed the *West-Saxons* affaires both of warre and peace. And fighting with victorie against the *Britaines* at *Beandune*, they there slew of them one thousand forty six persons, and after that against *Penda* King of *Mercia*, neere vnto *Cirencester*, about the fifth yeere of his raigne, where lastly they came to a conclusion of peace. This King at the preaching of *Berinus* (an *Italian* *Diuine*, afterward reputed for a *Saint*) and by the persuasions of *Osvald* the most Christian King of *Northumberland*, (who was a suter to become his Son in Law, by the marriage of *Kingburg* his daughter, and was made his Godfather by receiving him at the Font) received the Word of Life, and became the first *Christian* King of all the *West-Saxons*; in witness whereof, he gaue the City *Dorchester*, neere vnto *Oxford*, to his Conuerter, who therein erected his *Episcopall* See. He reigned the space of thirty one yeeres, some say but seven and twenty, and had issue (besides *Quinchelme*, who raigned with him, and died before him) *Kenwin* and *Kenwald*, that succeeded him; and *Kingburg* his Daughter married to *Osvald*, as is said. *Quinchelme* had a Sonne named *Cuthred*, that was baptized with his Father at *Dorchester*, and is said by *Stowe*, to haue reigned after the death of *Kingils*: but I take it rather to be *Kenwin*, whom some suppose to be his Fathers Associate the terme of foure yeeres, but neuer sole King himselfe.

Kenwald, whom *Beda* calleth *Senwalch*, succeeded his Father *Kingils* in the kingdom of the *West-Saxons*. His beginnings by *Matthew* of *VVestminster* are compared to be with the worst, and his endings with the best of those Kings. At his first entrance he fought with victorie against the *Britaines* at *Pennum*, whereof he became most insolent, and refused not onely to receive the *Christian* Faith, but also put from him his lawfull wife *Senburg*, the sister of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, whereby hee became hateful to his owne subiects, and sore assaulted by the *Mercian* King, who followed the reuenge so farre, that he forced *Kenwald* out of his kingdom, who being driuen to extremity, sought succour at the mercie of *Anna* the *Christian* King

An. Do. 592. *Cearik* the fourth King of the *West-Saxons*.

His raigne continuance.

Chelwolfe when he began to raigne.

West-Saxons invaded by three sundry Enemies. *Ien* *Stunung*. His death.

An. Do. 611.

Kingils his coming to the Kingdom. *Quinchelme* his associate. *Wid* *Maintinbury*. *Marianus*. *Florant. Wig.* Their victorie ouer the *Britains*.

Kingils converted to Christianity, the first of all the *West-Saxons* Kings. *Beda* hist. lib. 3. cap. 7. *Osvald* a witness at his baptizing. His gift to *Kingils*.

An. Do. 643.

Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 7. *Kenwald* refused the Christian faith.

He is driuen out of his Kingdom.

A Law against
the Saxon
Queenes.

After.

Will. Malmesb.
The prodigies
that happened
in this Kings
time.

whereby was procured the murder of her Husband, the *West-Saxons* ordained a Law, to the great prejudice of all their *Queenes* succeeding; that none of them should haue either title, maiestic, or place of royalty; which was feuerely executed for many yeeres after.

In the daies of this *Brithrik*, many prodigies appeared, and more perhaps then will be beleued. For it is reported, that in his third yeere a shower of bloud rained from heauen, and bloody crosses fell vpon mens garments as they walked abroad. And in his

tenth yeere were seene fiery Dragons flying in the ayre. Which wonders, some tooke to be prefiges of the miseries following, both by the Inuasions of the Pagan *Danes*, that in these times were first seene to arrive in this *Iland*; and the extreme Famine that afterwards happened: howloever, sure it is that the Hierarchy now beganne to set in the West, and the rising Monarchy to appeare in King *Egbert*, whose acts and issue shall be further rehearsed, when wee shall come to the time of his succedion among the *English Monarchs*.

Math. Wijn.
Hear. Hunt.
The Pagan Danes
invasions this land
in this Kings
time.



THE EAST-SAXONS KINGDOME. THE CIRCVIT, SVCCESIONS OF THEIR KINGS, THEIR ISSVES, AND KING- DOMES CONTINVANCE.



CHAPTER VIII.

The site of this
Kingdome.



He site of the *East-Saxons* Kingdome, was the Country of *Essex*, *Middlesex*, and part of *Hartfordshire*, and the Circuit so far as the Diocesse of *London* now extendeth. It was bounded on the *East* with the *Ocean*; on the *South* with the *Thames*; on the *West* with the *Colne*; and on the *North* with the *Riuer Stouere*. The Kings thereof claime their descent from *Prince Woden*, not as all the rest of the *Saxon* Kings, but onely by a collateral line; and *Erchemwine* became the first King, which neuertheless he held as *Feodarie* to the Kings of *Kent*. For which cause, it seemeth that *Malmesbury* mentioneth him not in the Catalogue of those Kings, but maketh his sonne *Sledda* the first, and tenth in descent from *Woden*.

The descent of
these Kings.

An. Do. 527.

Malmesb. de Gest.
Angl. cap. 6.

1.
Erchemwine the
first King of the
East-Saxons.

His descent.

His death.

2.
An. Do. 587.
Sledda the second
King.
His marriage.

Erchemwine, is said to bee the Sonne of *Offa*, the Sonne of *Beda*, the sonne of *Sigefret*, the son of *Snappa*, the sonne of *Amppig*, the sonne of *Supig*, the sonne of *Seaxnod*, from whom all these Kings fetch their originall: His Kingdome began about the yeere of grace 527. and in the fiftenth of *Eke* the second King of *Kent*, and his raigne long, but yet without any memorabile acts; dying in the yeere 586. and leauing his sonne to succed in his place.

Sledda the sonne of *Erchemwine*, succedding in the *East-Saxons* Kingdome, raigned peaceably without mention of any warres; for hauing married *Ricula* the daughter of *Imerik* King of *Kent*, was thereby the more fauoured of them, and feared of others; and nothing left (besides his quiet raigne) to be recorded to posterities; neither are many yeeres of successions numbred, but as they are gathered from the Computations of other princes, with whom they either li-

ued, or were linked in action. This *Sledda* died about the yeere of our Redemption 596. and left issue by his wife *Queene Ricula*, *Sebert*, who succedded him in the Kingdome, and *Segebold* his brother whose Sons afterward were Kings of that *Prouince*.

Sebert the sonne of *Sledda* and of *Queene Ricula*, beganne his Raigne in the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation 596. and in the thirte fix yeere of the raigne of King *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, his mothers brother, at that time Monarch of the *English-men*; who in *Seberts* chiefe citie *London*, a Princelie Mart Towne, (saith *Beda*) of many people arising thither both by sea and land; new built a Church, making it the Cathedral of *Bishop Mitletus*, and so wrought with King *Sebert*, that hee conuerted him to Christianity; and alsit him in that *Foundation*, where formerly (say some) had stood the Temple of *Diana*. This Church these new Conuers and *Saxon* Kings, either new reared or enlarged for the honour and seruice of God, and dedicated vnder the name of *Saint Paul*: which worke *Ethelbert* further confirmed with sufficient maintenance, as by this his Charter is seene, containing these words: *Ethelbert Rex, Deo inspirante, pro anime sue remedio, dedit Episcopo Mitelo terram qua appellatur Tillingham, ad Monasterium sine Solutum silicet S. Pauli. Et ego Rex Ethelbert in a primiter concedo tibi Praefati Mitelo potestatem eius habendi & possidendi, ut in perpetuum in Monasterio utilitate permanent, &c.* And that this was the Temple of *Diana*, some haue further confirmed vnto vs by the incredible number of Oxe-heads there digged vp in the daies of King *Edward* the First, when the east-end of that Church was enlarged; which were supposed to be of those Beasts that were there sacrificed to this Goddess *Diana*. These Kings likewise founded the Church of *S. Peter* in the West of *London*, at a place called *Thorney*, where sometimes stood the Temple of *Apollo*, as *Sulcardus* affirmeth; which being over-

His death.

His issue.

3.
An. Do. 596.
Sebert the time
when he began
to raigne.

Beda Hist. Eccl.
Angl. lib. 4. cap. 5.

Sebert conuerted
to Christianity
by Ethelbert.

S. Pauls Church
built.

S. Pauls Church
before the time
of the Temple
of Diana.
S. Peter's Church
in Cornhill built
before the time
of the Temple
of Apollo.
Sulcardus.

Stone.

The. Walsingham.

4.
Three Kings
ioynly sway the
Kingdome.
Enemies to Chri-
tianitie.
Beda Hist. Eccl.
Angl. lib. 4. cap. 5.
They are put
from the Com-
munion.
Wicfred fled into
France.

Red. Cpt.
The three Kings
thine.

5.
An. Do. 623.
Sigbert the
little.
Math. Walsingham.
The time when
he began to
raigne.
His successor.

Beda Hist. Angl.
lib. 4. cap. 13.
Sigbert his de-
cent.
He reared the
Christian faith.

He was baptized
by Bishop Finan.

Ricke Cpt. Hall.
His death.

His issue.

7.
An. Do. 661.
Beda Hist. Angl.
lib. 4. cap. 13.
Sigbert bap-
tized.

8.
An. Do. 664.
When Sigbert
began to raigne.

Beda Hist. Angl.
lib. 4. cap. 13.

Reclaimed by
the King of
Wine.

His Wife.

9.
An. Do. 664.
The Calmberg.

throwne by an Earth-quake, King *Lucius* new built for the celebration of Gods seruice; and that againe being decayed, those Kings restored it to a greater beautie, where *Sebert*, after thirteene yeeres raigne, (as some write) with *Ethelgoda* his Queene were buried: whose bodies in the daies of *Richard* the Second (saith *Walsingham*) were translated from the old Church to the new, and there interred: Hee had issue by the said Queene, *Sered*, *Seward*, and *Sigbert*, whose liues and deaths were as followeth.

Sered, *Seward*, and *Sigbert*, the sonnes of King *Sebert*, raigned as it seemeth, together in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*; all three wicked irreligious men, and deadly enemies to the Christian Profession. These contumeliously presuming to the Lords Table, and holy Sacrament of his Body and blood, were prohibited by *Bishop Mitletus*, because they were Idolaters and unbaptized: which repulse they tooke so offensively, that they expelled *Mitletus*, who therupon fled into France. But their impietie was not long viuewarded: for fighting against *Kingils*, and *Quichelinus* his sonne, (Kings of the *West-Saxons*) were by them overcome, and in battle slaine about the yeere of Grace 623, as by the learned *Sir Henry Sauleis* calculated, whose account for these times I altogether follow.

Sigbert the little, the sonne of *Seward*, the second sonne of King *Sebert*, entred his raigne ouer the kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, the yeere of Christ 623, of whose affaires, little matter is left for vs to relate, sauing that hee hauing both a Brother and a Sonne, yet his Kingdome was succedded by neither, but by one *Sigbert*, his Cosen-German once remoued.

Sigbert, the sonne of *Segebold*, the brother of *Sebert*, the sonne of King *Sledda*, and of *Ricula* his Queene, succedded his kinsman in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*. This *Sigbert* reduced againe his Prouince vnto the embracing of the Christian Faith, being daily instigated thereunto by *Oswe* King of *Northumberland*, and receiued Baptisme himselfe at the hands of *Bishop Finnan*, and at the place called *The Wall*, procured vertuous *Cedda* to be his asister for the plantation of the Gospel in his Kingdome. He was murdered by two of his kinsmen, who, as *Beda* saith, were Brethren, no other cause mouing them, but his ouermuch lenitie and clemencie. He raigned by the foresaid account, sixteene yeeres, leauing issue a young sonne named *Selred*, that succedded *Seofrid* in that Kingdome.

Swithelme succedded his brother in the Prouince of the *East-Saxons*, nothing being mentioned of his life or raigne, besides his Baptisme by *Bishop Cedda*, and that his God-father at the Font-stone was *Edelwald* King of the *East-Angles*.

Sighere, the sonne of *Sigbert* the little, entred his raigne ouer the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, the yeere of our Lord 664, and was the eighth King of that Prouince, in part whereof *Sebba* his nephew raigned, with better commendations then *Sighere* at his beginning had done; for *Beda* reporteth, that vpon a great mortallitie and plague, to appease the wrath of his Gods, *Sighere* became an Apostate, and forsooke the faith of Christ, whereas *Sebba* continued constant with those in that Prouince vnder his Iurisdiction: yet by the diligent care of *Wulfere* King of the *Mercians*, *Sighere* and his people were reclaimed, throwing downe the Temples and Altars erected to Idolatrie, and opening againe the Christian Churches for the Saints assemblies, that so (saith hee) they might rather die in hope of the Resurrection, then wallow in sinne, and liue in Idolatrie. His wife was *Ofwith* the daughter of *Edelfrith*, King of *Northumberland*, whom *Capgrave* maketh a Saint, and *Abbeffe* of *Berking* neere *London*, euen in the daies of her husband.

Sebba, the Brother of *Segebold* the little, and Sonne of *Seward*, (as we haue said) succedded as sole King in the Prouince of the *East-Saxons*, and with much

equitie and administration of Iustice raigned therein thirty yeeres: towards the end whereof, the better to prepare his mind for contemplation, he relinquished his Princely Robes, and put on the Habit of Religious Profession in the Monastery of *S. Pauls in London*; as *Radulphus de Diceto*, with others affirme. Wherein this penitent King liuing a while in fasting and prayers, died the yeere of Christ 693, whose body was intombed in a Coffin of Gray Marble, the Couer copped, and as yet standing in the North wall of the Chancell of the same Church.

A miracle thereof *Beda* reporteth, needlesse either then to be wrought, or now of vs repeated, were it not to point at the blindness wherein cun good men were then led; and thus it is: They hauing prepared a Tombe-stone, to lay his body in, found it too thort by the quantitie of an hands bredth, and heuing it longer, yet would not serue: therefore they minding to bow vp the knees, laid the body therein, and suddenly it lengthened of it selfe with more then was sufficient. But surely howsoeuer this tombe was then set on this Monkish center, it is now since shrunke againe in the standing, and exceeds not in measure fife foot in length. His wife (but vnnamed) hee likewise instigated to leaue the momentanie pleasures of princely State, for that which is permanent: which thing with much adoe hee lastly obtained, leauing her to follow him in his vertuous deuotions, and his two sonnes to succed him in his kingdome.

Sigherd, the Sonne of King *Sebba*, whom *Beda* maketh a Monke with his Father, followed him also in the succedion of the *East-Saxons* Kingdome; the time of whose entrance is set in the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation 694, and his death in 701. no other mention being made either of Acts, Wife, or Issue.

Seofrid, the Sonne of King *Sebba*, and Brother to King *Sigherd*, either ioynly raigned with him, or successiely after him, of whom I finde nothing mentioned worthily inscribing, hauing had neither Wife nor issue that are recorded.

Ofsa, the Sonne of *Sighere*, and of Queene *Ofwith* his Wife, a man noted for his comely feature and sweet countenance, succedded King *Seofrid* in the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, the yeere of grace 701. Hee both enlarged with buildings, and enriched with lands the goodly and beautiful Church of *Westminster*, but after hee had ruled eight yeeres, being moued with a supposed religious deuotion, hee abandoned *Kineth* with his wife (the daughter of *Penda* the *Mercian* King) his lands, kinne, and Country, and with *Kenred* King of *Mercia*, and *Edwine* Bishop of *Worcester*, went to *Rome*, where hee was shorne a Monke, and in that habit died, leauing his Cosen *Selred* to succed in his kingdome. His wife *Kineth* after his departure, (with the like penance) vowed her selfe a veiled Nunne in the Abbey of *Kinberg*, whereof his sister was *Abbeffe*, who had been wife to *Alfrith* King of *Northumberland*.

Selred, the Sonne of *Sigbert* the Good, who was murdered for his ouermuch clemencie, attained to the Kingdome of the *East-Saxons*, in the yeere of grace 709. His raigne was long, though his acts are little spoken of, either that others worthier affaires filled the pens of those Story-writers, or that his time was so peaceable and vnactiuelly spent, that it ministred not matter whereof to indite. Hee raigned 38. yeeres, and died Anno 746. without relation either of Wife or Children.

Swithred, after the slaughter of *Selred*, was made King of the *East-Saxons*, which title hee retained, vntill that *Egbert* King of the *West-Saxons*, taking Armes against him, expelled him out of that Kingdome; as also the same yeere hee did *Baldred*, King of *Kent*, which was in the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation 827. and made it a Prouince annexed vnto the *West-Saxons*, after it had stood in state of a Kingdome 281. yeeres.

Sebba his raigne
for thirty yeeres.

R. d. de Diceto.

His latter end,
his death.

Sebba his Coffin
in Pauls.

Beda Hist. Angl.
lib. 4. cap. 13.
A miracle.

His Wife.
An. Do. 694.



11.
Seofrid the sonne
of King Sebba.

12.
An. Do. 701.



Rich. Cpt.
Beda Hist. Eccl.
Angl. lib. 5. c. 20.
His latter end.
His Wife.

13.
An. Do. 709.
R. Grincast.
Selred the sonne
of Sigbert the
Good.

His raigne and
death.
Hew. Hunting.

14.
An. Do. 747.
Swithred King of
the East-Saxons.

West-Saxons
took a King-
dome 281. yeeres.

THE KINGDOME OF NORTHVMBERLAND, CIRCVIT AND CONTI-

NVANCE, WITH THE SVCCESIONS AND ISSVES

OF THOSE KINGS, VNTO THE LAST

SVBVERSION THEREOF

By KING EGBERT.



CHAPTER IX.

Northumberland
now diuided at
first.



His Kingdome of Northumberland consisted at first of two distinct Provinces, whereof the one was called *Deira*, and the other *Bernicia*, and were governed sometimes by their Kings feuerally, and sometimes vnder one, as

successors of warre, or other casualties incident did afford. The royall descents of whole Kings are brought by *Florentius* both from the Fourth and Fifth Sonnes of Prince *Woden*, after this manner. *Ella*, vnder whom the Kingdome of *Deira* beganne, was the sonne of *Ist*, who was the sonne of *Wulfre*, the sonne of *Wigils*, the sonne of *Wesforwalcha*, the sonne of *Seomel*, the sonne of *Suarta*, the sonne of *Sepugell*, the sonne of *Seabald*, the sonne of *Siggeat*, the sonne of *Suebad*, the sonne of *Siggar*, the sonne of *Waeleg*, the fourth sonne of *Woden*. And the descent of *Ida*, the theraier of the *Bernicians* kingdome, is brought from *Bealdeg* the fifth sonne of *Woden*; for *Bealdeg* was father to *Brand*, whose sonnes were *Beorn* and *Freodegar*, the latter of which twaine was the progenitor of *Cherdik* the first West-Saxon King: and his brother *Beorn* begat another *Beorn* also, and hee *Wegbrand* the father of *Ingelbrand*, whose sonne was *Alysa*, the father of *Angeneal*, and this mans sonne *Ingeneat*, the father of *Ethelwight*, whose sonne *Oefa* begat *Eppa* the father of this *Ida*, the first King of *Bernicia*.

The time when
this Province be-
came a King-
dome.
Hil. Malmsb.

This Province
diuided into two
Kingdomes.

Deira & Bernicia.

fourteene yeeres: and *Ella* by *Matthew of Westmister* is said to succeed him for thirty yeeres. The issue of *Ida* legitimate, as *Huntington* recordeth, were *Adda*, *Bealrik*, *Ibedrik*, *Ethelrik*, *Ofmer*, and *Theodred*; illegitimate, *Oga*, *Ecce*, *Oswald*, *Ailrik*, *Sagoe*, and *Sogother*. These (saith *Matthew of Westmister*) arrived at *Flemisburke* with forty Ships, and assisted their Father in manie of his enterprises. The issue of *Ella*, by *Florentius* his record, were *Acce*, Wife of *Ethelfrid*, King of *Bernicia*, and mother to the most Christian *Oswald*, Monarch of the *Englishmen*, and *Edwine* the Monarch and first Christian King of *Northumberland*. *Ida* is said to beginne his raigne Anno 547. And *Ella* in the yeere 559. No other particulars ascribed vnto either, besides the building of *Bamburge* Castell.

With *Ella* reigned the two sonnes of *Ida*, namely *Adda* and *Theodrik*, with three others, *Elappa*, *Theodwald*, and *Frethulfe*, sprung from *Eoppa* the father of *Ida*, all five his substitutes ouer the *Bernicians*: but because there is no other mention of them besides their names and raignes, I will leaue as I finde them, and proceed to the more worthy recitall.

2. *Adda* reigned 7. yeeres
3. *Elappa* reigned 5. yeeres
4. *Theodwald* reigned 1. yeere
5. *Frethulfe* reigned 7. yeeres
6. *Theodrik* reigned 7. yeeres

Theodrik the sonne of King *Ida*, hauing outrun his youth in pernicious obliquitie, attained in his old yeeres to the government of both the Provinces, and whole Kingdome of *Northumberland*, wherein his time was so spent (saith *Malmsbury*) that had not his sonne in the glasse of his owne worths shewed the face of his fathers remembrance, his acts and raigne might easily haue bene forgotten. His issue were *Ethelfrid* that succeeded him, and *Theobald* slaine in Battle against the *Scots*. He reigned five yeeres, and died, An. 593.

Ethelfrid, a man very valiant, and thirstie for renowne, succeeded his father in the *Northumbrians* Kingdome. Him *Beda* compares to King *Saul* in *Israel*, excepting only in the knowledge of Gods true Religion: to whom (saith he) might be applied the saying of *Iacob* touching *Beniamin*, that like a rauening Wolfe he deuoured his prey in the morning, and diuided the spoile thereof in the evening. For he made greater Conquests ouer the daily afflicted *Brittaines*, then all the Kings of the *Angles* had done; and peopling their possessions with his Saxons, held the right owners vnder subiection and tribute. This his prosperitie, *Edanaden* King of the *Scots* greatly enuid, and attempting to cropp it, and to plant himselfe vpon the

Ida his raigne
at *Malmsbury*.
Ella his raigne.
Ida his issue
legitimate and il-
legitimate.

They arrive at
Flemisburke with
forty ships.
Ella his issue.

Bamburge Castell
built by *Ida* and
Ella.

An. Do. 589.
Ethelric youth
obscurely speak.

Beda bish. l. c. 33.
His raigne and
death.

An. Do. 593.
Beda bish. eccles.
Angl. l. c. 34.
Ethelfrid very
thirstie of fame.

A greater Con-
queror then all
the rest.

Of *Edm.*
Marston.
Edanaden enui-
eth *Ethelfrid*.

Edanaden ouer-
throwne.

Theobald slaine.

Ethelfred proud
of his victorie.
* 193. ch. 11.

The description
of *Bangor* Mona-
stie.

Edanaden Clari-
valentine.
Bangor Monaste-
rie first in the
world.

Beda bish. eccles.
Angl. l. c. 34.
Her Monaste-
rie diuided into seuen
portions.

Lured by the la-
bour of their
hands.
The prisoner and
Edelfrid enqui-
reth the cause
of their praying.

He himselfe a great
number.

Ethelfrid in feare
of *Edwine*.

Edwine forced
into exile.

Succoured by
Redwald.

Henry Hunt,
Ethelfrid slaine.
His raigne.
Edwine,
Edelfrid,
Edelfrid.

An. Do. 617.
Beda bish. eccles.
Angl. l. c. 34.
The storie of *Ed-
win* and *Ban-
tham*.

the root of like honour, hee assembled a great and strong Armie against him, and at the place called *Deg-fallen* strooke Battle with him, wherein notwithstanding he was ouerthrowne, and his *Scots* discomfited, yet with such losse to King *Ethelfrid*, that *Theobald* his brother, with the part of the Armie whereof he was General, were all vanquished and destroyed. This battle went so fore against the *Scottish* *Brittaines*, that (saith *Beda*) no King of that Nation durst attempt to meet the *English* in the Field for a long time after. And the fortune of the day did so much augment both his fame, and also his haughty spirit, that presently hee reformed his power against the *Brittaines*, that were at *Cair-legion*, where of them hee made a most lamentable slaughter, and that not only of the Souldiers prepared for fight, but also of those religious and harmlesse *Monks*, there assembled for prayer.

These *Monks* were of the Monastery of *Bangor* in *North-wales*, famous for antiquity, forme of discipline and spacious circuit. It was situated in the fruitful valley now called the *English* *Malor*; and vpon the Bankes of the Riuer *Dee*, where it extended it selfe as in the circuit of a walled Citie, containing within it the quantitie of a mile and a halfe of ground: two of whole Gates may at this day easilie be discerned, the one of them called *Port Hogen*, lying by North; and the other *Port Clais*, situate on the South; the Riuer *Dee* hauing now changed his Channell, runneth thorow the middelt betwixt both the Gates, which stand asunder five hundred paces. This Monasterie, saith *Clarivalentine*, was the Mother of all others in the World; who in memory of the *Seuen Churches of Asia*, did distribute into seuen portions their *Monks*, every one numbering three hundred soules, and all of them (as *Beda* saith) liuing by the labour of their own hands. Many of these assembling at *Cair-legion*, to assist their Brethren *Brittaines* with their supplications vnto God against this *Ethelfrid*, furnished the *Wilde*, and his fierce Souldiers the Infidell *Saxons*; with three daies fasts spent their time in continual praiers. But King *Ethelfrid* beholding their maner, demanded the cause; and understanding that they called for assistance of their God against him and his Army, let first vpon their Guarder *Broccmal*, a man of Armes, who to saue his own life, left all theirs to the sword, where in perished one thousand and two hundred Christian *Monks*, besides the discomfiture of the *Brittaines* Host. Many of these were interred in their owne Monasteries, whose bodies, saith *Leyland*, haue been found in the memory of man, in the rotten weedes wherein they were slaine. But as his fame increased daily abroad, so were his feares augmented continually at home. For *Edwine* the sonne of *Ella*, and third King of *Deira*, a gallant young Prince, and newly seated in his Fathers Kingdome, wrought many suspitions in *Ethelfrids* head; and though he was brother to his Wife *Acce*, yet the neerenesse of that alliance, no whit diminished his ielous conceits, whom therefore by priuie conspiracies and apparant pursuits hee so daily molested, that he was forced to saue his life by auoiding the Country, and tossed in exile from place to place, was lastly receiued and succoured by *Redwald*, King of the *East-Angles*, who in his quarrell forthwith assembled his forces, and meeting *Ethelfrid* in the field, slew him neere the Riuer *Idle*, after hee had reigned twenty three yeeres, in the yeere of Christ his Incarnation 617. He had issue by his Wife *Acce*, (the daughter of *Ella*) *Eanfrit* King of *Bernicia*, *Oslaf*, and *Oswald* King of *Northumberland*, *Oslake*, and *Offa*, with two Daughters canonized for Saints, *Oswith* and *Edba* the Nunne; as also by his Concubine, *Ofry*, the tenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

Edwine thus raised by the helpe of King *Redwald*, returned to his Country, and was of the Inhabitants made King of *Northumberland*, and afterward Monarch of the *Englishmen*, as in their succession shall be declared. *Beda* (somewhat too much addicted to fabulous miracles) of him reporteth this storie: That whilst hee lay banished in King *Redwalds* Court,

Ethelfrid instigated his receiuer, by promises to take away his life; or if he refused, threatened him warres: for feare whereof, *Redwald*, partly inclining to this wicked purpose, revealed the same to the Queene his wife; which a friend of *Edwins* hearing, told him of his danger, and wished him to flee. *Edwine* thus perplexed, with troubled thoughts in the dead of the night, fate solitary vnder a tree in dumps, musing what was best to be done; to suspect and flee from *Redwald*, that had honoured him so much, he held it a wrong; and to thinke himselfe safe in other Provinces against so powerfull pursuers, he thought it was vaine. Thus distracted in casting what way might be safest, suddenly approached a man vnto him, vterly vnknowne, who after salutation, demanded the cause why hee fate at so vnseasonable a time, in so vncomely a place, and pensiu manner? *Edwine* thinking him to be his death-man, resolutely answered; It nothing concerned him at all, either to aske, or to know his estate. Oh *Edwine* (saith he) thinke not but that I know thy sorrow, and the cause of thy sitting thus vpon that stony thy death is pretended, and euen at hand: but what wouldst thou giue to rid thee of that danger, and to make King *Redwald* thy assured preseruer? Any thing, quoth *Edwine*, which is in my power. But what shall be his reward (saith the other) that shall let thee vpon the throne of thy Kingdome, and that with such glory, as none of thy Progenitors euer attained vnto? I would bee thankful to that man, said *Edwine*, in all things, and at all times, as reason required, and of right I ought. But tell me *Edwine*, said he, what if the same man shew thee a more safe way to preserve the life of thy soule, then either thou at this present knowest, or any of thy Parents euer heard of; wilt thou consent and embrace his counsell? Yea, said *Edwine*, God forbid that I should not bee ruled by him, that thus should free me from this present danger, let me vpon the throne of a Kingdome, and after these great fauours, should also teach mee the way to an eternall life. Vpon this answer, laying his right hand on *Edwins* head, he said vnto him; When these things shall in order come to passe, then call to minde this time, and what thou hast promised, and so vanished from his presence. The young Prince thus left betwixt hope and despair, his friend that had forewarned him of his death, came hastily to him with a more cheerful countenance, Come in *Edwine* (quoth he) and successe thy cares, for the Queene hath not onely changed *Redwalds* mind to saue thy life, but hee also hath granted to maintain thy right against *Ethelfrid* thine enemy. Which shortly hee did, and slew him, as we haue said.

Edwine thus placed vpon the Princely Throne, his first Wife *Queenburg* being dead in his exile, receiued in marriage *Ethelburga*, furnished *Tace*, (a fit name for a woman) the Daughter of King *Ethelbert*, and Sister to *Edwald* King of *Kent*, a most chaste and vertuous Christian Lady, whose teacher was *Paulinus*, and both of them Gods instruments for the Conuersion of the *Northumbrians* to the imbracement of Christian Religion. But because we shall haue occasion to speake of this *Edwine* as he was Monarch of the *Englishmen*, we will reuerse his *Acts*, *Issues*, and *Raigne*, to bee further related in the course of his Succession. Hee was slaine in battell against *Cadwall* King of the *Brittaines* and *Penda* King of the *Mercians*, when he had prosperously reigned seuentene yeeres, the twelfth of *October*, Anno 633. and was buried in *Saint Peters* Church at *Streaneshall*, after called *Whithy*. Vpon whose death, the Kingdome of *Northumberland* was againe diuided.

Ostrieke the Sonne of *Alfred* (*Edwines* Vncle) succeeding in the Province of *Deira*, and *Eanfrit* the Sonne of *Ethelfrid* the *Wilde*, in the Province of the *Bernicians*; these, with the rest of *Ethelfrids* Children, for the continuance of *Edwins* Raigne, had in banishment bene preferred among the *Scots* and *Red-shanks*, and there had receiued the Sacrament of Baptisme: but after the death of their Enemy, these

His life in danger.

Edwine in doubt
what to doe.

One vnknowne
came to him, de-
manding the
cause of his
sorrow.

Edwine his an-
swer.

The man shew-
eth him his
griefe vntold
him.

He demandeth
what he would
giue to be eased.

Edwine his
answer.

He promiseth to
show him how to
saue his soule.

He suddenly van-
isheth away.

Edwines friend
bringeth him
good newes.

His wife a chaste
Christian Lady.

His death.

His raigne.
His place of
buriall.

An. Do. 633.
Ostrieke King of
Deira.

Eanfrit King of
the *Bernicians*.

They renounce the profession of Christ. Beda hyst. eccl. lib. 3. cap. 1. Cedwalla Gude instrument to punish them.

*Cedwalla.

The British Kings tyrannic.

9. An. Do. 634. Oswald.

His conquest of the Brittain.

Oswald the ninth from Hengist.

Hector Bone. His care of his people for religion. His death.

Raigne.

Buriall.

Wife.

10. An. Do. 643. Oswy the illegitimate of Ethelfrid.

Reda hyst. eccl. lib. 3. cap. 1.

The tenth Monarch of the Englishmen.

His wife.

Issue.

Death.

Reda lib. 4. ca. 5.

11. An. Do. 671. Reda hyst. lib. 3. cap. 14. Ethelfrid.

Reda hyst. lib. 4. ca. 21.

Reda hyst. Angl. lib. 4. cap. 16.

Princes returned to their owne Country, and former superstitions, renouncing againe the profession of Christ. Yet this their Apostasie (saith Beda) remained not long unpunished: For Cadwallader King of the Brittaines, with wicked force, but with worthy vengeance, slew them both the next Sommer ensuing. Oftrike unprepared, and his whole Army perished in the Suburbs of their owne Citie, he miserably slew, and possessing the Province of the Northumbrians, not as a King or Conqueror, but rather like an outrageous Tyrant, destroyed and rent in tragickall manner, all things before him. Eanfled unadvisedly with twelve chosen persons comming to Cadwallader to intreat upon peace, were cruelly put to death. This yeere (saith he) continueth unhappy and hatefull even unto this day, as well for the Apostasie of these English Kings, as also for the Brittain Kings furious tyranny. Wherefore the Historiographers of that time have thought it best, that the memory of these Apostasie Kings being utterly forgotten, the selfsame yeere should be assigned to the Raigne of the next following King, Oswald, a man dearly beloved of God.

Oswald, the sonne of Wild Ethelfrid, and brother to King Eanfled, beganne his raigne ouer the Northumbrians Anno 634. having first embraced Christianity, and received Baptisme in Scotland, wherein hee was secured all the raigne of King Edwin, and had withall learned some experience in warre. Hee comming unlooked for with a small Armie, but fenced (saith Beda) with the Faith of Christ, obtained against Cedwall King of the Brittaines a great victorie: the manner whereof, with his other acts achieved, wee will further declare in his succession among the Monarches of the Englishmen, whereof hee was the ninth from Hengist.

He sent for Aidan, a Scottish Divine, to teach his people the Doctrine of Christ, enlarged his Kingdome, and reconciled the Deirians and Bernicians, who were at mortall enmitie. He was slaine, and cruelly rent in peeces by the vnmerefull Pagan Penda the Mercian, at Oswaldstree in Shropshire, quinto Augusti, the yeere of our Lord 642. when hee had raigned nine yeeres, and was buried at Bradney in Lincolnshire. His wife was Kneburg, the daughter of Kingils King of the West-Saxons; and his sonne Ethelwald, young at his death, and therefore defeated of his Kingdome by Oswy his Vncle, the Naturall Sonne of King Ethelfrid the Wild. Notwithstanding when Oswy King of Deira was murdered by this Oswy of Bernicia, and he not past sixteen yeeres of age, entred by force vpon Deira, and kept the same Province by strong hand so long as hee liued; and dying, left it to his colen Alsfred, the Naturall Sonne of the said King Oswy.

Oswy the illegitimate sonne of Ethelfrid the wild, at thirty yeeres of age succeeded King Oswald his brother in the Kingdome of the Bernicians; at whose entrance, Oswyne the sonne of Oftrike, that had denied the Faith, and was slaine of King Cedwall, raigned in Deira. This Oswyne was slaine by King Oswy: after whose death, seizing all Northumberland, he spread his terror further into other parts, and was the tenth Monarch of the Englishmen, as in his succession we will further speake. His wife was Eanfled, daughter to Edwin King of Northumberland, by whom he had many children. His raigne was 28. yeeres, and death the fifteenth day of Februarie, in the yeere of grace 670. and of his age 58.

Egfrid, the eldest sonne of King Oswy by Queene Eanfled, had bene Hostage in the Kingdome of Mercia, and after his father was made King of Northumberland, in the yeere of Christ 671. Hee warred, but with great losse, against Edilred King of Mercia, neere unto the Riuer of Trent, wherein his younger brother Elfwyne was unfortunately slaine, to the great griefe of both the Kings, the one being his owne brother, and the other his brother in law by marriage: whereupon a peace and reconciliation was made. But Egfrid being by nature of a disquiet disposition, invaded the Irish, and destroyed those harmlesse and filly people, which (as Beda saith) had bene great friends to the English. Their resistance consisted chiefly in cur-

ses and imprecations for reuenge, which though they could not open heauen, yet (saith hee) it is to be believed, that for their cause he was cut off the next yeere ensuing by the Picts or Red-shankes, against whom he prepared, contrary to the advice of his Counsell, and by them was slaine among the strait and waste mountains. 20. May the yeere of mans felicitie 685. and of his age fortie, after hee had raigned fifteen yeeres. His wife was Ethelred the daughter of Anna King of the East-Angles: shee was both Widow and Virgin; first married to Tonbert a Noble man that ruled the Girwy, a people inhabiting the Fenny Countries of Norfolk, Lincolne, Huntingdon, and Cambridge-shires; and after him also in virginitie continued twelue yeeres with her husband King Egfrid, contrarie to his minde, and the Apostles precept, that forbiddeth such defrauding either in man or woman, except it be with consent for a time, and to the preparatio of praier; affirming elsewhere, that Marriage is honourable, and the bed thereof undefiled, wherein the woman doth redeeme her transgression, through faith, loue, holinesse, and modestie, by bearing of children. This notwithstanding, she obtained licence to depart his Court, and got her to Coldingham Abby, where shee was professed a Nunne vnder Ebba the daughter of King Ethelfrid. Then went she to Ely, and new built a Monasterie, whereof shee was made Abbess, and wherein with great reuerence shee was intombd: whose vertues and remembrance remained to posterities by the name of S. Andrie, the being canonized among the Catalogue of English Saints.

Alsfred, the illegitimate sonne of King Oswy, in the raigne of his halfe-brother King Egfrid, whether willingly, or by violence constrained, liued like a banished man in Ireland, where applying himselfe to studie, hee became an excellent Philosopher, and (as Beda saith) was very conuerfant and learned in the Holy Scriptures, and therefore was made King ouer the Northumbrians: where with great widome, though not with so large bounds as others had enioied, hee worthily did recouer the decayed estate of that Province, ruling the same twenty yeeres and odd months, and departed this life, Anno 705. His Wife was Kneburg, the daughter of Penda King of the Mercians; and by her he had issue only one sonne, that succeeded him in his Kingdome.

Oswald, a child of eight yeeres in age, for the hopes conceiued from the vertues of his father, was made King ouer the Northumbrians; whose steps hee no wayes trod in, but rather in filchy abuse of his person and place, wallowed in all voluptuous pleasures and sensuall delight, violating the bodies of vailed Nunnes, and other religious holy women: wherein when he had spent eleuen yeeres more to his age, his kinsmen Kenred and Oftrike conspired against him, and in battle by his slaughter made an end of his impious life. His wife was Cuthburga, the sister of Inas King of the West-Saxons, as by the time may be gathered, from the computation of Marianne, and the Annales of the English-Saxons; who vpon a loathing wearinesse of wedlocke, sued out a diuorce from her husband, and built a Nunnery at Winburne in Dorsetshire, where in a religious habit shee ended her life, and hee by Kenred and Oftrike, leauing his Kingdome to them that wrought his death.

Kenred, the sonne of Cuthwyne, whose father was Leolwald the sonne of Egwald, and his father Adelst, the sonne of Oga, the naturall sonne of Ida, the first King of Deira, after the death of Ofred raigned two yeeres, no other remembrance left of him, besides the murder of his Soueraigne Lord and King.

Oftrike, after the death of Kenred, obtained the Kingdome of Northumberland, and raigned therein the space of eleuen yeeres, leauing to the world his name stained with blood in the murder of young Ofred, no other mention of parentage, wife, or issue of him remaining; for want whereof, hee adopted Ceolnulp, brother to his predecessor Kenred, and died lamented the yeere of Grace seuen hundred twentie nine.

Ceolnulp,

16. An. Do. 729. Ceolnulp.

His raigne.

A Monke.

His death.

Raigne.

Wife, who was both a Widow and a Virgin.

Reda hyst. lib. 4. ca. 19.

2. Cor. 7. 5.

Heb. 13. 4.

1. Tim. 2. 15.

17. An. Do. 738. Egbert.

His raigne.

Simon Dunelm.

Diuers Kings vnder his name.

Math. 23. 12. A great Philosopher.

Reda 4. 16.

His raigne.

Wife.

Reda hyst. lib. 4. ca. 21.

13. An. Do. 705. Ofred.

Reda hyst. lib. 4. ca. 19. Will. Malms.

His wickedness.

Raigne.

Wife, who became a Nunne.

Marianne Secul.

14. An. Do. 716. Kenred.

His raigne.

15. An. Do. 718. Oftrike.

His raigne.

His adopted sonne.

His death.

18. An. Do. 758. Ofswulf.

Simon Dunelm.

How slaine.

His raigne.

Death.

19. An. Do. 759. Edilwald or Will.

Will. Malms.

His raigne.

His death.

Ceolnulp, the brother of Kenred, after the death of King Oftrike, was made King of the Northumbrians; which Province hee gouerned with great peace and victorie the space of eight yeeres: but then forsaking the Royall Estate and Robes of Maiestie, put on the habit of a Monke in the Ile of Lindesferne or Holy Land. These were the daies (saith Beda) wherein the acceptable time of peace and quietnesse was embraced among the Northumbrians, who now laid their armour aside, and applied themselves to the reading of holy Scriptures, more desirous to be professed in religious houses, then to exercise feats of warre, or of Armes. For not only Priests and Lay men vowed and performed Pilgrimages to Rome, but Kings, Queenes and Bishops also did the like: so great (so blinde I might say) a deuotion was in their hearts, and so holy a reuerence held they of the place. Vnto this King Ceolnulp, the said Venerable Beda (a Priest in the Monasterie of Peter and Paul at Werimouth neere vnto Durham) a great Clerke, and Writer of the English Historie, dedicated the same his Worke, which he continued till the yeere seuen hundred thirty one, and from the first entrance of the Saxons, containing 285. yeeres, according to his owne account.

Egbert, the sonne of Eata, who was brother to King Kenred, succeeded his vncle Ceolnulp in the Kingdome of Northumberland, and ruled the same with the like peace and pietie, the time of twenty yeeres; and then following his example, also forooke the world, and wore himselfe a Monke, as diuers other Kings in those daies had done, whereof Simon Dunelmensis writeth, and noteth their number to bee eight: as Inas King of the West-Saxons, Ethelred and Kenred Kings of Mercia, Sigebert King of the East-Angles, Sebbi and Offa Kings of the East-Saxons, and Ceolnulp and this Egbert Kings of the Northumbrians. These forsaking the world (as they tooke it) left the Charge that God vpon them had imposed, whose authoritie in earth they swaied, and wherein they might much more haue aduanced Gods glory and Christs Gospel, then for a more easie and priuate life, not warranted by his word, but rather disliked, and perhaps foreshewed by those heauenly creatures the Sunne and Moone, which in those daies were fearfully darkned, and for a time seemed to haue lost their light: for Anno 733. 18. Calend. Septemb. the Sunne suffred so great an Eclipse, that the earth seemed to be ouer-shadowed as with sack-cloth. And Anno 756. 8. Calend. Decemb. the Moone being in her full, appeared both darke and bloody; for a Starre (though there be none lower then the Moone) seemed to follow her, and to deprive her of light: but passing before her, shee againe recouered her former brightnesse. This King Egbert had a brother that bore the same name, and was installed Arch-bishop of Yorke, where he erected a beautiful Librarie (a worke well befitting a Noble Prelate) and plentifully stored it with an infinite number of learned bookes. His sonne was Ofswulf, that succeeded in the Kingdome.

Ofswulf, when his father Egbert had put off the Robes of Maiestie, and clad himselfe with a Monkes Cowle, ascended the Throne of Northumberland, and fate therein only one yeere: for before hee had made attempt of any memorable act, hee was traiterously murdered by his own seruants at Mikilwong-ton, the ninth Kalends of August, leauing the Crown vndisposed of vntill the Nones of the same month in the next yeere.

Edilwald or Mollo was then made King of Northumberland, and with great valiancie defended his subiects. Some say, that at the end of six yeeres hee reigned his gouernment; yet others affirme his raig to be eleuen yeeres, and lastly that hee was slaine by Alured his Successour.

Alured, the murderer of his Lord and Master, beganne his raigne ouer the kingdome of Northumberland, the yeere of Christs Incarnation seuen hundred sixty sixe, and continued the same with such dislikes, that hee lastly was expelled out of the Province by his own subiects, & enforced to abandon the same. He was the son of Tanwin, the son of Bichenom, the son of Bofa, the son of Alirick, the naturall son of Ida, the first King of Bernicia. And the sonnes of this Alured were Ofred, afterwards King of Northumberland, and Alnnud, slaine by the Danes, and canonized a Saint.

Ethelred, the sonne of Mollo, was aduanced to the Regiment of Northumberland, and in the fifth yeere of his raigne, was driuen out of the same by Edelbald and Herebert, two Dukes that warred against him; who hauing discomfited and slaine his Generall and fouldiers in a fierce battell, so weakened the hopes of King Ethelred, that he fled his Country, and left the Kingdome in a miserable estate, through the dissensions of those ambitious Princes.

Alfwald the brother of the foresaid King Alured, aspiring to the Soueraignty of the Northumbrians, ruled the same in great Iustice, to his worthy commendations: notwithstanding the wickednes of his people was such, that without all guilt hee was traiterously murdered by the conspiracie of Siga, 23. Sept. the yeere of Christs Incarnation, seuen hundred eighty eight, after hee had raigned eleuen yeeres, and his body buried at Hexham. His sonnes were Alfus and Alfwyn, both slaine by King Ethelred.

Oswald the sonne of King Alured, tooke vpon him the Rule of Northumberland, the yeere of grace seuen hundred eighty nine, and the same yeere finished his gouernment thereof, being expelled by his subiects, and deprived of all kingly authority.

Ethelred the sonne of Mollo, reuoked from exile wherein he had liued the space of twelue yeeres, was againe restored to the Crowne; but he minding the injuries that his Lords had formerly done him, sought the reuenge by their deaths, as also to establish his Throne the surer, slew Alfus and Alfwyn, the sons of Alfwald, as wee haue said, the right heires to the Crowne, and inticing Ethelred the former deposed King into his danger, commanded him to be put to death at Cuthburga, the fourteenth of September, and yeere of Christ seuen hundred ninety two. And to strengthen himselfe the more against all his opposites, the same yeere he married Lady Elsted, the second Daughter to great Offa King of Mercia, forsaking his former Wife without any iust cause giuen on her part.

These things fate so neere the hearts of his subiects, that after seuen yeeres from his second establishment, they rebelliously rose in Armes, and at Cobre miserably slew him the eighteenth day of Aprill, the yeere of Christ leif 794.

After whose death, the Northumbrians were fore molested with many intruders, or rather Tyrants, that banded for the soueraignty the space of thirty yeeres. The first whereof was Ofswald, that held the title of King only twenty eight daies, & then was forced to faue his life by flight vnto the King of the Picts. Next, Ardlwisa Duke, reuoked from exile: then Alfwold, Eandred, Ethelred, Readulph, Osbert, and Elle, slaine by the Danes in Yorke at a place, first Elle his slaughter called to this day Elle-Croffe, and the Kingdome yeelded to the protection of Egbert King of the West-Saxons, who was now become Englands first absolute Monarch, (as holding all the rest of the Kings no longer for his Associates, but his subiects) in the yeere nine hundred twentie fix, after it had stood in forme of a Kingdome three hundred twenty nine yeeres, and was made a Province, and ioined with the rest vnto the English Monarchie.

20. An. Do. 785. Alured.

Simon Dunelm.

His death.

21. An. Do. 774. Ethelred.

Matib. West.

His issue.

22. An. Do. 778. Alfwald.

His death.

His raigne.

His issue.

23. An. Do. 789. Ofred.

His raigne.

An. Do. 794. Ethelred.

Will. Malms.

Matib. West.

Henry Hunt.

Simon Dun.

Randel, hidden in Palsbro.

His raigne.

His death.

24. Ofswald King twenty daies.

Ofswald King twenty daies.

The continuance of this kingdome.



THE CIRCVIT AND SVCCESSORS OF THE MERCIAN KINGDOME, VN- TILL IT WAS SVBIJECTED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.



CHAPTER X.



His Kingdome of Mercia contained more Counties, and the skirts of that royall Tent were spread with a wider compasse then any of the rest in the Saxons Heptarchie: for in the middelt of the Iland this Kingdome was seated, and from the verge of

Northumberland touched some part of Middlesex, which was the possession of the East-Saxons: the North thereof was bounded with Humber and Mersey; the East was inclosed with the German Ocean; the West extended to Seuerne and Dee; and the South part neerly touched the River of Thames; containing the Counties now known by these names, of Cheshire, Darby-shire, Nottingham, Stafford, and Shrop-shire; Northampton, Leicesters, Lincoln, Huntingdon, and Rutland-shires; Warwick, Worcester, Oxford, and Gloucesters-shires; Buckingham, Bedford, and part of Hertford-shire. The first raiser of that Title and name of a Kingdome, was Crida, the sonne of Kemwald, who was the sonne of Cnebba, the sonne of Ichell, the sonne of Eomer, the sonne of Engengate, the sonne of Offa, the sonne of Weremund, the sonne of Wihleg, the sonne of Waga, the sonne of Wethelgate, the third of the five sonnes of Prince Woden. This man, without more fame of his further acts, is said to have reigned the space of ten yeeres, and to haue died Anno 594. His issue was Wibba that succeeded him in his Kingdome, and a daughter named Quenburge, matched in marriage with Edwin afterwards King of Northumberland, with whom she lived in the Court of King Redwald in the time of his troubles, and died before him in that his banishment. She bore him two sonnes, Osfrid and Edfride, as in the succession of Edwin's Monarchy shall be shewed: notwithstanding Beda reporteth this Quenburge to be daughter of Ceorle the third King of Mercia, and grand-child to this first Crida.

Wibba, the sonne of King Crida, not onely held what his Father had gotten, but also enlarged his dominions by intrusion vpon the weak Britanes. His issue was Penda, Kemwald, and Eoppa, all three Progenitors of Kings afterwards in that kingdome, with a daughter named Sexburg, married to Kemwald, King of the West-Saxons, whom he without iust cause diuorced from him; for which cause great troubles afterwards ensued, as in the reignes of those Kings we haue said. He in great honour reigned twenty yeeres, and giuing place vnto nature, left his kingdome to be inioied by another.

Ceorl, not the son, but the Nephew of King Wibba, succeeded in the dominions of the Mercians, about the yeere of grace six hundredth and fourteenth. He was sonne to Kinemund, the brother of Wibba, the younger sonne of King Crida, who was the first King of that kingdome. His reign is set to be ten yeeres, without mention either of A or Issue.

Penda, the sonne of Wibba, beganne his reign over the Mercians the yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred twenty six, & continued the same the space of thirty yeeres. He was a man violent in action, and merciless in condition, cruell and vsatiare of blood: he shooke the Cities, and disturbed the borders of the Saxon-Kings, more then any other in that Heptarchie before him had done. Against Kingils and Quincheline, Kings together of the West-Saxons, he ioined battell neere vnto the Citie Cirencester, where both the parties fought it out to the vtmost, with the effusion of much Saxons blood: but those comming to concord, he with Cadwalla King of the Britanes, slew in battell Edwine and Oswald, Kings of Northumberland, Sigebert, Egfrid, and Anna, Kings of the East-Angles, and forced Kemwald King of the West-Saxons out of his Country, in quarrell of his Sister. Of these his prosperities he became so proud, that hee thought nothing impossible for his achievement; and therefore threatening the destruction of the Northumbres, prepared his Army for that expedition. Osfrid then reigning King of that Country, proffered great summes of mony, and most precious Jewels to purchase his peace: which being refused, and the battell ioined, more by the hand of God, then power of man, this Tyrant was slaine, and his whole Army discomfited. His Wife was Kingwith, and issue by her Penda, who after him was King: Vulfere and Ethelred, both Monarchs of the English; Aethelhel, a man famous for his great holinesse, and Aethelwald that gouerned some part of Mercia, whose Wife was Edburge, the foundresse of Minster in Tanet, and daughter to Egbert King of Kent; by whom he had issue Mercin, a man of noted deuotion, Milburie, and Mildgith, both holy Virgins, and Mildrith also Abbess of Tanet, all foure canonized for Saints. The daughters of King Penda, were Kineburg, the Wife of Alkfrid, King of Northumberland, afterward a Potestesse in Kinesburg Abby, and Kinewith, who married Offa King of the East-Angles, and became also a Nunne with her sister Kineburg.

Penda, the sonne of King Penda, in the daies of his father, and with his permission, had gouerned the middle part of Mercia, and after his death, by the gift of Osfrid of Northumberland, all the South of that kingdome

kingdome from the Riuer Trent, vpon coposition to marrie his daughter, and to embrace Christianity; which thing this Penda performed, and was the first Christian King of the Mercians. His Baptisme received, to witnesse the first fruits of his profession, hee laid the foundation of a faire Church at Medeshamsted, now called Peterborough, but liued not to finish the same, for that he was slaine by the treason of Alkfred his wife in the celebration of Easter, (as Beda saith) hauing had no issue by her. But Robert de Swynham (an Author of good antiquity, who saw the stones of that foundation to be so huge, as that eight yoke of Oxen could hardly draw one of them) saith, that Penda was brought to his end by the practise of his Mother, and not of his Wife; as in these his words is manifest. Penda (saith he) laid the foundation of a Monastery at Medeshamsted, in the Girutans or Een-Country, which he could not finish, for that by the wicked practise of his Mother, hee was made away. Whereby this blot is taken from this Christian Lady, and brands the face of her that most deserueth it. This King reigning as substitute to King Osfrid of Northumberland aforesaid, by some is not accounted for a Mercian King, his regiment resting vnder the command of another.

Vulfere, the Brother of murdered Penda, set vp by the Mercians against King Osfrid, procured a Prince most valiant and fortunate. For hee expelled the Northumbrians Lieutenants forth of those dominions; fought victoriously against Kemwald King of the West-Saxons; conquered the Isle of Wight, and attained to be sole Monarch of the Englishmen: whereof more shall be said when wee come to the times and successions of their reignes.

This Vulfere is said to reigne in great honour for seuentene yeeres, and his body to bee buried in the Monasterie of Peterborough, which he had founded. His Queene Ermenheld after his death, became a Nunne at Ely, vnder her Mother Sexburg, and there died. His children were Kenred, Vulfald, and Kinf, with a daughter, named Wereburg, a Nunne in the Monastery of Ely.

Ethelred the third sonne of King Penda, in the Enage of yong Kenred the sonne of Vulfere, (who in his tender yeeres rather desired a priuate life then any publike authority in the Common-weale) succeeded his brother both in the Kingdome of Mercia, and Monarchy of the Englishmen. But when hee had reigned thirty yeeres, gaue ouer the Crowne to his Nephew the third Kenred, and became a Monke in the Monastery of Bradney in Lincoln-shire, where hee died Anno 716. His Wife was Osfride, Daughter to Osfrid King of Northumberland; and issue, Ethelred, that succeeded Kenred in the Mercian kingdome.

Kenred the sonne of Vulfere, (his Vncle Ethelred changing his Princely Crown for a Monks Coule) beganne his Raigne ouer the Mercians, and his Monarchy ouer the English, Anno 704. wherein he reigned the space of foure yeeres, and then with like deuotion of those times, addicted to an easie and quiet Religion, abandoned both Crowne and Country, and went to Rome, where of Pope Constantine hee received the tonsure and habit of a Monke at the Apostles Tombs, and entering a Monastery, therein spent other foure yeeres of his life to the day of his death, which was Anno 708. hauing had neither wife nor issue to reuiue his name, or to rule his kingdome.

Ethelred receiving the resignation of Kenred his Cousin-german when he went to Rome, and of sufficient yeeres and discretion to haue succeeded Ethelred his Father, what time the said Kenred was ordained King, reigned with great valour ouer the Mercians, and was likewise Monarch ouer the Englishmen. His peace was disquieted by Inas & his West-Saxons, who for seuen yeeres continuance invaded his kingdome. His Wife was Wereburg, saith Mariannus and Florentius the Monke, who alcribe to her a long life, and to die without Children. This Ethelred reigned the space of eight yeeres, and died the yeere of grace seuen hundred and fiftenth: whose body was buried in the Cathedrall Church of Lechfeld.

Ethelbald, after the death of Ethelred, was made King of the Mercians, and Monarch of the English, the yeere of Christs Incarnation seuen hundred sixtenth. He was a Prince giuen to peace, but withall a most lasciuious Adulterer: insomuch that Boniface Archbishop of Mentz wrote his Epistle vnto him in reprehension of the same, which took such effect, that in repentance of his foule facts, hee founded the Monasterie of Crowland, driuing in mighty Piles of Oake into that moorish ground, whereon hee laid a great and goodly building of stone. He was the son of Alwy, the elder sonne of Eoppa, the second sonne of King Wibba, the brother of King Penda: and reigned fortie two yeeres, in the end whereof he was slaine in a battell fought against Cuthred King of the West-Saxons, at Secondone; three miles from Tamworth, the yeere of Christs Incarnation hundred fiftie five, and was buried at Repton in Darby-shire, hauing had neither Wife nor Children.

Offa slaying Bernred the murderer of King Ethelbald, entered vpon the gouernment of the Mercians, and the Monarchy of the Saxons, Anno 758. He enlarged his dominion vpon the Britanes, ouercame the Kentish in a battell, put to flight the Northumbrians, and vanquished the West-Saxons: the East-Angles also he seized vpon, after hee had murdered Ethelbert their King. He reigned thirty nine yeeres, and died at Ostry, the nine and twenty day of Iuly, the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred ninetie foure, and was buried without the Town of Bedford, in a Chapell, now swallowed vp by the Riuer Ouse. He was the son of Thingfrid, the sonne of Eanulfe, whose Father Osfrid was the sonne of Eoppa, the brother of King Penda, and son of King Wibba, whose Father was Crida, the first King of the Mercians. His Wife was Quendred, and children many; of whom, and of them we will further speake when we come to the time of his Monarchy.

Esfride, the sonne of great Offa, was by him made King at his returne from Rome, being the only issue of his parents, and heire apparant to the Saxons Monarchy, vpon which hee entered the day after his fathers death, and liued himselfe but a hundred and fortie daies after, deceasing the fiftenth of December, in the yeere of our Lord God seuen hundred ninetie six, hauing had neither wife nor issue that wee reade of, and his body honourably interred in the Church of the Monasterie of Saint Albanes, founded by Offa.

Kenwolve, the cosen (a farre off) to King Esfrid deceased, and both of them remoued in blood no lesse then six descents from Wibba the second Mercian King, was the sonne of Cuthbert, (as the Monke of Worcester deriues him) the sonne of Basfa, the sonne of Kenwolve, the sonne of Kentwin, the sonne of Kenwall, the sonne of Wibba aforesaid, and succeeded King Esfrid in his Dominions. But of this Mercian Monarch more shall be written in the succession and time of that his gouernment. Hee reigned two and twentie yeeres, and deceased the yeere of our Lord eight hundred and ninetene, and his bodie interred in the Monasterie of Winchcombe in the Countie of Gloucester, being of his owne foundation. His wife was Quene Esfride, the daughter (as some suppose) of Offa, who had bene betrothed to Ethelbert King of the East-Angles, slaine by her father; by whom he had issue, Kenelm, Quendred, and Burgemild, of whom more followeth.

Kenelm, the sonne of King Kenwolve, a child of seuen yeeres old, succeeded in the Kingdome of Mercia, but not in the Monarchie, as his fathers had done, Egbert the West-Saxon at that time being grown great in his fortunes. This yong King Kenelm reigned only five moneths, and then by the ambitious desire of Quendred his sister, who seeking the gouernment by the shedding of his guiltlesse blood, instigated one Askerth his Instructor, by promises of great preferments and rich rewards, to make him away, who only stood (as he thought) in her way to the Crowne. This wicked practise was forthwith as impiously performed: for hauing him forth vnder pretence of hunting

L. p. 175. An. 820.

ting, he flew the innocent King, whose vertuous inclination promised great hopes, and whose harmlesse yeeres had not attained to any worldly guile. His bodie hee secretly buried vnder a bush, and (if we beleue the *Golden Legend*, where his life is described) was thus found out: A white Dove (which belike had scene the deed done) and had got it ingrossed in a scrole of parchment, posted therewith to *S. Peter in Rome*, and vpon the *High Altar* laid it to bee read, where in the *Saxon* characters thus it was found: In Cleac kon had Kenelme Kinbapne lies vnder the thorne, hee was beheaded; that is, *At Cleac in a Cow pasture Kenelme the Kings child lieth beheaded under a thorne*. But most true it is, that an obscure sepulcher the body had at the first, and howsoever found out, was afterwards with great honour and ceremonie translated to the *Monastrie of Wincheombe*, which his father had founded. The murderesse *Queendrid*, for grieue and shame of so wicked an act, ended her life, without the attaining of her ambitious desire, and hath left her name indelebly stained with his innocent blood.

15. An. Do. 820. L. p. 175. An. 820. L. p. 175.

His raigme.

His issue.

16. An. Do. 821. L. p. 175. An. 821. L. p. 175.



Simon Duclos, 1711. Malmesbury.

His death. His issue. His issue.

17. An. Do. 824. L. p. 175. An. 824. L. p. 175.

His issue.

VVithlafe, the sonne of *Oswald*, the sonne of *Osther*, of the *Mercian* blood-royall, intruding himselfe (as it seemeth) into the government of *Mercia*, was vnspectedly vanquished by *Egbert* the *Monarch* that had assumed from *Bernulfe* that Kingdome before: him hee made his *Substitute* and *Tributarie*, who so continued to *Egbert* and his sonne the time of thirteen yeeres, leauing no other relation off his acts. His issue was *Wigmund*, the husband of *Lady Elfred*, the daughter of *Ceolwulfe* King of *Mercia*, the parents of *Wyssan* the Martyr, and of *Lady Edburg*, married to one *Ethelstan* Earle in the Prouince of *Lincolne*.

Bernulfe vpon the like composition of Tribute, and in the like termes of subiection to the *West-Saxons* soueraintie, held the kingdome of *Mercia* as a Substitute, and without any notable reports of his Acts, so reigned the space of thirteen yeeres. At this time the Sea-rouers out of *Denmarke*, that had often infested this *Iland* with their many Inuasions, got the head so strong, and wing so farre, even to the middle part thereof, (as this of *Mercia* was) that they filled with terror the hearts of the Inhabitants, and stained the soile with the blood of their sides, which in a most barbarous crueltie daily they shed; whose rage was so great, and mindes so vnstable, that *Bernulfe* was enforced to forsake the Country, and in a more private estate to secure his owne life. He had a sonne named *Berefred*, who was the causer of *Saint Wyssans* martyrdome.

Burdred, the last *Mercian* King, was thereunto deputed by *Ethelwulfe* the *West-Saxon* Monarch, as a shield of defence against the raging *Danes*, that made desolations where they came. In continuall impliments against them he spent his time, and that with such noble resolutions and manhood, that *Ethelwulfe* held him worthy of his alliance, and made him his sonne in law, by giuing him *Lady Ethelswith* his daughter to Wife, the marriage being solemnized at *Chipham* in *Wiltshire*, with great estate. This *Burdred* with *Ethelwulfe*, wared against the *Brittaines* with victorie, and he with *Alured* compelled the *Danes* vnder the conduct of *Hunger* and *Vbba*, to dislodge from *Nottingham*, and depart the Prouince. Yet lastly, after twenty two yeeres raigme, hee was so ouerlaid with their daily supplies, that three of their Kings (as our Writers terme them) whose names were *Godrun*, *Eske*, and *Ammon*, wintred at *Ripidon*, and sore wasted his Kingdome.

King *Burdred* at that time distressed, and himselfe not able to withstand their rage, with his wife *Queene Ethelswith* fled the Realme, and the same yeere in *Rome* ended his life, and was buried in the Church of our Lady belonging to the *English College* there erected. His *Queene* in the habit of a *Nunne*, fifteen yeeres after his death, died at *Padua* in *Italie*, and was there honourably buried, the yeere of our Lord eight hundred eighty nine. And now the fatal circle of this Kingdome drawne to the full compass, staid the hand of all glorious motion from proceeding any further, and with the lot of the rest fell vnder the government of the *West-Saxons*, after one yeere vsurpation of the *Danes*, when it had stood in state of a kingdome the space of two hundred and two yeeres, and ended in title and regall authority, the yeere of *Christs Incarnation* eight hundred eighty six.

18. An. Do. 826. Wuthlafe.

His issue. Job. Cap. 19.

19. An. Do. 839. Bernulfe.



Will. Malmsbury, 1193. The first King of the East-Angles, who was married to the daughter of the King of the West-Saxons.

20. An. Do. 852.



Matth. West. The Dane depart the Prouince. They returne with 3. Kings. Repton.

Burdred and his wife flee the land.

Hee buried at Rome.

His wife at Padua.

The kingdome of Mercia brought in subiection to the West-Saxons.

THE KINGDOME OF THE EAST-ANGLE, THE CIRCVIT OF THAT PROVINCE, WITH THE SVCCESION AND ACTS OF THEIR KINGS, SO LONG AS IT STOOD IN THAT REGALL ESTATE, AND VNTILL IT WAS VNITED TO THE WEST-SAXONS.



CHAPTER XI.



He Counties (as we now call them) that were subiect to this *East-Angles* Kingdome, were *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, *Cambridge-shire*, and the Ile of *Ely*. The bounds whereof were limited in this manner: the East and North sides were confined by the *Oce*, the West, with *Saint Edmunds Ditch*, and the South altogether with *Essex*, and some part of *Hertfordshire*.

The first raiser of the title and State of this Kingdome, was a *Saxon* Captaine named *Vffa*, about the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation five hundred seuentie yeere, whose renowne was such, that he gaue name not onely to that his aspired Dominion, but also from him, the Subjects thereof were a long time after called *Vffians*: though lastly, it was reduced into the name and Kingdome of the *East-Angles*. This *Vffa* (as *Florentius* the Monke of *Worcester* hath laid downe) was the sonne of *Withelin*, and he the sonne of *Hripus*, the sonne of *Rothmund*, the sonne of *Trigils*, the sonne of *Titmon*, the sonne of *Cafer*, the second sonne of *Prince woden*. His raigme is accounted only seven yeeres, without any mention of further matter, worthy the recording, and his death to haue hapned in the yeere five hundred eighty one.

Titulus, the second King of the *East-Angles*, and onely sonne of *Vffa* that is read of, beganne his raigme the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation, five hundred eighty three, & continued the same for the space of twenty yeeres. And although the Writers of these times haue made no further mention of his Acts, yet may we well suppose that his daies were not altogether so quietly spent, both in the infancy of that newly erected kingdom, and when such wars were commenced for the obtaining the whole *Iland*. His issue was *Redwald*, that immediately succeeded him, & from whom other Kings of that kingdom were lineally descended.

Redwald, the greatest of all the *East-Angles* Kings, succeeded his father *Titulus* in the Dominions of the *East-Angles*, and *Ethelbert* of *Kent* in the Monarchie of the *Saxons*. He received and succoured in his Court *Edwyne* with his wife in their Exiles, and assisted him against *Ethelfrid* King of *Northumberland*, that sought his life, as before we haue shewed, and

hereafter in the succession of his Monarchy we shall haue further occasion. Hee reigned Monarch eight yeeres, and King of the *East-Angles* thirty one (by the account and computation of the Table annexed to *Malmesbury*, and others of our *English* Writers) and died the yeere of our Saluation six hundred twenty three.

Erpenwald, the younger sonne of King *Redwald*, (Reynhere his elder brother being slaine in battle by *Ethelfred*, in the quarrell of distressed *Edwyne*) succeeded his Father in the Kingdom of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of our Lord God six hundred twenty four. He was the first King of that Prouince, that publicly professed the Christian Faith, which hee received at the friendly motion and zealous exhortation of King *Edwyne* of *Northumberland*, but so much to the discontentment & grudge of the people, as thereupon they presently entered into conspiracy to practise his death, which a *Paga* *Ruffian* named *Richebert*, not long after most traitorously executed. His raigme is placed in the foresaid Table of our Writers, (as it is compared with the other Kings of those times) to extend twelue yeeres; after whose death, those people returned to their wonted *Idolatry*, and for three yeeres continuance embraced their former *Genitility*, from which they were reclaimed by *Sigebert* his brother in law, who succeeded him in his Throne, hee hauing no issue, to whom it might be left.

Sigebert, the sonne of the second wife to *Redwald*, and by her born to a former husband, whose name is vnkowne, was greatly mistrusted by his Father in law, King *Redwald*, that hee went about to aspire his Crowne: the motives of which suspition, notwithstanding all the endeauours of innocent *Sigebert*, were still followed with an enuious eye, and his subiectiue semblances, as notes of popularity, were euer conceived to aime at the supreme authority: which blot of ialousie, when it could no otherwise be wiped out, hee abandoned the Court of the King, and Country of his birth, and in *France* as an exile, at the time of *Redwald* the Father, and likewise the raigme of *Erpenwald* the sonne, spent his time in study of good Literature, & contemplatiue exercises, where learning the truth of *Christs* Doctrine, and hauing received the lauer of *Baptisme*, after the death of this said *Erpenwald* his allied Brother, returned, and was made King of the *East-Angles*.

This man (saith *Beda*) following the examples of *K k k 3* France

See more of him in Chap. 18. His raigme.

4. An. Do. 624. The fourth King of this Kingdom.

The first of this Prouince that publicly professed Chrit. Matth. West. Beda hist. l. 1. c. 15. The people reject Chrit.

The King slaine by a Traitor. His raigme.

John Stow.

The Subjects reclaimed by Sigebert.

5. An. Do. 636. The fifth King.

Sigebert suspected of treason against Redwald.

He goeth into exile.

Beda hist. Ang. l. 3. c. 10.

Sigebert with the assistance of a Bishop doth promote religion and learning.

Mr. Caines and Mr. Key.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 19.

Granteester.

Beda maketh mention of Granteester, but not of a Schoole there.

The Priories of England, about all other in Europe.

Sigebert resigneth to Egrike, and lieth in a Monastierie.

He is constrained to returne againe, and is slaine in battle.

His raigne.

6. An. Do. 638. The sixth King. Penda a cruell King of Mercia. Egrike and Sigebert both slaine by Penda. His raigne.

7. An. D. 642. The seventh King. Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 18. Alamestide gegis Regum Angl.

France, brought the light of the Gospell into his Dominions, and by the assistance of Felix Bishop of Dunwich, for a more firme plantation thereof, built a Schoole for the education of children, appointing them Schoole-masters and Teachers after the manner of the *Kentish-men*; who are supposed to haue at that time the Liberal Sciences professed among them, in their *Metropolitane City Canterbury*, which was the paterne (saith that Country *Petrumbulator*) that this Sigebert followed in the erection of his; but whether at *Cambridge* or elsewhere, hee leaueeth for *Dofor Caius of Cambridge*, and *M. Key of Oxford*, to be disputed of. And indeed Beda assigneth not the place for this foundation, nor once nameth *Cambridge*, vntlesse you will say, that out of the ruines of *Granteester*, an ancient Citie decayed in his daies, the same arose, and whereof hee maketh mention in his fourth Booke, vpon this occasion as followeth.

Queene Etheldred (saith he) that had been a Virgin, wife to Egfrid King of *Northumberland* the tearme of twelue yeeres, and *Abbesse of Ely* for seuen more, for her reputed holinesse after her death and buriall, was thought worthy by *Queene Sexburg* her sister (who had bene wife to *Ercombert King of Kent*, and succeeded her *Abbesse* in the same Monastierie) to be remooued out of her wooden Tombe & meane place of buriall, into the Church and richer Monument: but for want of stone, which was scarce in those parts, certaine brethren were sent to find out some for that vie, who comming to *Granteester*, a little Citie left desolate and vninhabited, found by the walles a Tomb of white marble verie faire, and covered with a like stone. This they thought to be found not without miracle, and therefore most fit to intombe her corps, which accordingly they did. But that this had bene the place of Sigeberts Schoole, hee mentioneth not. But whether by him or no, wee know it now the other *Uniuersity of England*, a seed-plot of all diuine and humane *Literature*, and one of those springs whence issue the wholesome waters that doe bedewe both the Church & Common-wealth, both, famous for the *Arts, for Buildings, and Reuenues*, as their like is not to be found in *Europe* (saith *Peter Martyr*) and that most truly. But to returne: Sigebert being wearied with the weighty affairs of this world, laid the burden thereof vpon Egrike his kinsman, and shored himselfe a *Monk* in the Abby of *Cumbeburge*, which himselfe had built, & wherein he liued, vntill that wicked Penda, the *Mercian King*, with his heathenish cruelty molested the peace of the *East-Angles*, who after long resistance, finding themselves too weak, besought Sigebert, for the better incouragement of their souldiers, to shew himselfe in field; which when he refused, by constraint (saith Beda) they drew him forth, where in the midst of them hee was slaine in battle, vying no other weapon for defence, sauing only a white wand; when hee had raigned onely three yeeres, and left no issue to successe him, that is any where recorded.

Egrike, cousin to King Sigebert, and by him made King, as wee haue said, was fore molested by the continuall inuasions of Penda, the cruell King of *Mercia*; who lastlie in a late battle flew him with Sigebert, about the yeere of Christs incarnation fixe hūdrē fifty two. And when himselfe had raigned 4. yeeres, deceased, without mentio either of wife or child, that is read of, further to reuie his memory to posterities.

Anna succeeded King Egrike in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of grace fix hundred fortie two, as the next in blood to *Erpimwald*, being the sonne of *Guudo*, saith Beda, the sonne of *Eni*, saith *Alamestide*, who was brother to great *Redwald*; and both of them the sons of *Titus*, the second King of that Prouince. This King, as the other two former had done, felt the fury of raging Penda, with his mercelless *Mercians*, that fore assaulted his Territories with rapine and spoile. To withstand whole further proceedings, King Anna drew the strength of this *East-Angles* against them, and encountred Penda in a great and mortall battle, wherein they were all discomfited

and himselfe among them slaine, when hee had raigned in continuall trouble the space of thirteene yeeres. His issue were many, and those of great holinesse or sanctity of life. Whereof *Ferminus* the eldest, and heire apparent, was slaine by Penda in the same battle with his Father, and was with him buried in *Blidriburgh*, now *Bilbrough*, but afterwards remooued to *S. Edmondsburie*. His other sonne was *Erkenwald*, Abbat of *Cherside*, and Bishoppe of *London*, that lieth buried in the South Ile, about the Quire in *S. Pauls Church*, where to this day remaineth a memoriall of him. His daughters were these; *Etheldrid* the eldest, was first married vnto a Nobleman, whom Beda nameth *Tenbert*, Governour of the Fenny Countreies of *Northfolke*, *Huntington*, *Lincolne*, and *Cambridge-shires*: and after his death remaining a virgin, she was married to *Egfrid King of Northumberland*, with whom likewise she liued in perfect virginity the space of twelue yeeres, notwithstanding his intractable and allurements to the contrary. From whom, lastlie, she was released, and had licence to depart his Court, vnto the Abbey of *Coldinghithe*, where first she was vailed a Nunne vnder *Abbesse Ethba*, and thence departing, she liued at *Ely*, and became her selfe *Abbesse* thereof, wherein lastlie she died, and was interred; remembered vnto posterities by the name of *S. Andrie*. His second daughter was *Sexburg*, who married *Ercombert*, King of *Kent*, vnto whom the bare two sons, and two daughters, as we in that Kingdome succession haue shewed: after whose death, she tooke the habit of a Nunne, and succeeded her sister *Etheldrid*, *Abbesse of Ely*, wherein she died and was interred; and their youngest filter *Withgith*, was likewise a *Menchion* with them in the same Monastierie, and all of them canonized for Saints. *Ethilburg* his third daughter was made *Abbesse of Berking*, neere *London*, built by her brother Bishop *Erkinwald*, wherein she liued, and lastlie died. A naturall daughter likewise he had, whose name was *Edelburg*, that with *Sedrid* the daughter of his wife, were both of them professed Nunnies, and succeeded each other *Abbesse* in the Monastierie of *S. Briges in France*. Such a reputed holinesse was it held in those daies, not only to be separated from the accompanying with men, wherunto women by God were created, but also to abandon the Country of their nativity, and as strangers in forraine Lands, to spend the continuance of their liues.

Ethelherd, the brother of *Anna*, the yeere of Christs Incarnation fix hundred fifty four, was made King of the *East-Angles*: the which it seemeth he had attempted in the raigne of his brother, for that hee had assisted Penda in his warres against him; and was the motiue (saith Beda) of the warres against *Offin* King of *Northumberland*, wherein siding with the heathen Penda, he was worthily slaine, the fifteenth day of *November*, when hee had raigned onely two yeeres, leaving his name to the blot of infamy, and his Crowne to be possessed by his younger brother. His wife was *Herefrith* sister of *Hilda*, the famous learned *Abbesse of Streanhsale*, and great grand-child to *Edwyne* King of *Northumberland*, who bare vnto him *Aldufe*, *Elfwolfe*, and *Beorne*, all three succeeding *Ethilwald* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*.

Edwald the brother of *Ethelherd* entred his gouernment of the *East-Angles* the yeere of our Lord six hundred fifty sixe, and continued the same the space of nine yeeres, without either mention of any other memorable act: from whom (as is supposed) issued *Ethelred* that succeeded King after *Beorne*.

Aldufe, the eldest sonne of *Ethelherd* and *Queene Herefrith*, after the death of his vnkle King *Edwald*, obtained the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, and therein raigned without any honour or honourable action by him performed: onely his name and time of his raigne, which was ninetene yeeres, is left of him by Writers: and affordeth no further relation of vs here to be inferred, besides his Coine here set.

Elfwolf the sonne of King *Ethelherd*, and brother to this last mentioned *Aldufe*, began his raigne ouer the

Anna slaine in battle by Penda. Anna his issue. His raigne. Ferminus the eldest apparant.

Erkenwald Abbat of Cherside, and Bishop of London.

Etheldrid Abbess of Ely.

Sexburg Abbess of Ely, her sister. Withgith a Menchion in Ely Abbey.

Ethilburg Abbess of Berking.

Edelburg Abbess of S. Briges in France.

Ethelherd deceased by Offa King of Mercia.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 19.

His raigne.

Herefrith the wife of Ethelherd.

Their children.

An. Do. 618. Ethelherd the eighth King.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 19.

His raigne.

Herefrith the wife of Ethelherd.

Their children.

An. Do. 618.

An. Do. 618.

His raigne.

An. Do. 714. Ethelherd the twelfth King.

An. D. 714. Ethelherd the thirteenth King.

He raigned two and fifty yeeres.

His raigne.

His wife Leofrun.

His children.

An. D. 749. Ethelherd the fourteenth King.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

His children.

the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, the yeere of Christs Incarnation, six hundred eighty three, and continued in the same, the time of seuen yeeres, without record of any memorable *Act, Wife, or Issue*, to reuie his name.

Beorne, the youngest sonne of King *Ethelherd*, succeeded his brother King *Elfwolfe* in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*: no further mention being made of him, his wife, nor Issue, which areal together perished, and laid long since in their graues of obliuion. *Ethelred*, after the death of his cousin *Beorne*, succeeded him in the Kingdome of the *East-Angles*, as is supposed) from King *Edelwald* the brother of *Ethelherd*, and of *Anna*, both of them Kings in that Prouince. His raigne by writers is said to bee fiftie two yeeres, which notwithstanding was passed ouer without any memorable note: for albeit that his gouernment was long, and the declining *Heptarchie* not vnlike to haue ministred matters of remembrance to posterities, yet is the same passed ouer by the silence of four Writers, and no further mention made of him, besides the education of his younger sonne *Ethelbert*, who proved a most worthy King. His wife, and the mother of this vertuous sonne, was *Leofrun*, saith the Writer of his life, without further mention of her parentage, or other issue. This King deceased the yeere after Christs nativity, seuen hundred forty eight, the same yeere that *Ethelbert* entred his Kingdome of *Kent*.

Ethelbert, the sonne of King *Ethelred*, after his Fathers death was ordained King of the *East-Angles*, whose daies of youth were spent in learning and deeds of charity, and the whole time of his gouernment in continuall tranquillity; for hee is recorded to be a Prince religious and charitable, sober, profound and wife in counsell. This King being incited by *Offa* the *Mercian* (that still thirsted after greatness) to marie *Elfwolfe* his daughter, a Lady of great beautie, came vpon that purpose to *Offa* his Court, then seated at *Sutton Wallis* in the County of *Hereford*, and was by him there cruelly murdered at the instigation of *Quendrid* his vnkle (intended) mother in law, no other occasion ministred, but the greatnes of his Port, that much in her eyes over-heighted her husbands. His *Bride-bed* the graue was first at *Morden*, north from *Sutton* vpon the Riuer *Lug*. But afterwards vpon repentance, *Offa* remooued it vnto *Hereford*; ouer whom, *Milfrid* an vnder King of the *Mercians* built a most faire Church in memoriall of him, which yet beares his name, and is the Cathedral of that See. His Bride, Lady *Elfwolfe*, much lamenting his contriued murder, withdrew her self to *Croyland* in the *Fennes*, and there vowed chastitie all the daies of her life; notwithstanding some affirme that shee was wife to King *Kenwolfe*, the successor of her brother *Egfrid*. This King raigned the space of forty fve yeeres, as is set in the Table of our English Writers, and died the yeere of Christs incarnation seuen hundred ninety three, the eighteenth day of *May*, and his Kingdome intruded vpon by the *Mercians*, hauing had neither wife nor children, that *Historians* make mention of: after whose death the Kingdome of the *East-Angles* was brought to decay, both by the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons*, and them of *Kent*; so that by means of their violence, that Prouince was destitute of her owne Gouernours, the space of seuentie seuen yeeres, vntill lastly the assaults of the *Danes*, a new-come *Guest* and most dangerous Enemy, caused the other Kings

to stand vpon their Guards, and rather to defend what they already had gotten, then to seeke enlargement, to the hazard of all: at which time, it is said one *Offa*, to whom the right of that Crowne belonged, vpon a religious deuotion, tooke his pilgrimage to the Sepulchre of Christs, and visiting in his way a kinsman of his, whose name was *Alkmund*, at the Citie *Norherberge* in *Saxonia*, there made his will, wherein hee adopted young *Edmund* his heire, the son of *Alkmund*, and accomplishing his volage, in his return died at the Port *Saint George*, from whence hee sent young *Edmund* his Ring, and therewith ordained him King of the *East-Angles*. *Alkmund* a Prince of great power in those parts, maintained his sons rightfull election, and with a sufficient power sent him to claime the kingdome. These landing in the East of *England*, at a place called *Maydenborne*, built a roiall Tower, which hee named, and to this day is called, *Hunstantone*, situated vpon the North-west point of *Norfolke*, that beareth likewise his owne name.

Edmund thus arrived, was as willingly recciued and by the *East-Angles* made their king, in whose time *Hungar* and *Hubba*, two *Danish* Captains, with an innumerable multitude of *Heathen Danes*, entred the Land at the mouth of *Humber*, and from thence inuaded *Nottingham*, *Torke* and *Northumberland*, where (without respect of age or sex) they laid all wast, and left the Land whence they departed like to a desolate Wildernesse. From thence they came with the like furie into *Edmunds* territories, and sacked *Thetford* a frequent City in those daies; but hee not able to withstand their violence, fled into his Castle at *Framingham*, wherein hee was of them besieged, and lastlie, taken (saith *Abba Floriacensis*) in a village then called *Heglsdunne*, of a wood bearing the same name, or rather yielded himselfe to their torments, to saue more Christian blood, for it is recorded, that because of his most constant Faith and Profession, those *Pagans* first beat him with bats, then scourged him with whips, hee still calling vpon the name of *Iesus* for rage whereof, they bound him to a stake, and with their arrowes shot him to death, and cutting off his head, contemptuously threw it into a bush, after hee had raigned ouer the *East-Angles* the space of sixteene yeeres, hauing had neither wife nor issue that is read of. His body and head, after the *Danes* were departed, were buried at the same roiall Towne, as *Abbo* terms it, where *Sigebert* the *East-Anglean* King, and one of his predecessors, at his establishing of Christianity, built a Church, and where afterwards (in honour of him) was built another most sparious, and of a wonderful frame of Timber, and the name of the Towne, vpon the occasion of his buriall, called vnto this day, *Saint Edmundsbury*. This Church and place, *Suenus* the *Pagan Danish* King in impiety and fury burned to ashes. But when his sonne *Canute* had made conquest of this Land, and gotten possession of the *English Crowne*, terrified and affrighted (as saith the Legend) by a vision of the seeming *Saint Edmund*, in a religious deuotion to expiate his Fathers sacrilege, built it anew most sumptuously, enriched this place with Charters & Gifts, and offered his owne Crowne vpon the Martyrs Tombe. After the death of this *Edmund* the *East-Angles* Country was possessed by the *Danes*, & so continued about some fifty yeeres, vntill that *Edward* surnamed the *Elder*, expelled these *Danes*, and joined that kingdome a Prouince to the *West-Saxons*, after it had stood three hundred fifty three yeeres,

Offa heire to the Crowne, adopted Edmund the sonne of Alkmund.

15. An. Do. 870. Edmund the fifteenth King. The Danes inuasion. Polidor. Virg.

Fabian.

Edmund taken of the Danes, and put to death for the faith of Christ.

Alme. His raigne.

A Church at S. Edmundsbury built in honor of Edmund. This Church razed to the ground by Suenus a Danish King.

Reerified and richly endowed by Canutus his sonne.

The Danes expelled hence by Edward.



A CATALOGVE OF SVCH BRITISH PRINCES AS WITHSTOOD THE SAXONS IN THEIR CONQUESTS FROM VORTIGERNE THEIR FIRST MAINTAINER, VNTO CADWALLADER THEIR LAST RESISTER.

CHAPTER XII.



Hitherto the Saxons Heptarchy.

The British Opposers.

Resisters of the Saxons.

Now as we haue spoken of euery feuerall Saxon King, that attained vnto, and held possession of any part in the East & South of this Iland, vntill such time as their Crownes were worn by their Conquerors, and the seuend diuided Heptarchy, vnted into an absolute Monarchy: so by order of History it is required, that their opposers (the Britains) so long as they kept their ground, and stood in defence of their owne rightful inheritance, should be shewed: who with as great a disdain, and valorous resistance, vnderwent the yoke of the Saxons subiections, as their ancient Ancestors had endeauoured to cleere themselves from the chaines of the Romans captivity. And vntill God and destinie withdrew from them the hand of defence, they mated the Saxons in all their designs. For albeit that the Romans had robbed the Land of her strength, and the aspired Vortigern, called in these Strangers for his defence: yet their purposes being wisely perceiued, the execution thereof was as presently practised, and as eagerly pursued, whilest the pillars (that supported the frame of their gouernment) stood vpon their owne Bases. But the ground-work failing, and those props not many, the waight of all, fell vpon some few, whose acts and manly resistance (Christ assisting) shall further bee related, as time shall bring them to the yeeres of their adventures, and carry our History thorow the affaires of their times. Meane while, as we haue recorded the names of their Ancestors, and worthy fore-runners, the resisters of the Romans: so now if you

please, behold the Catalogue of their Kings, from the foresaid Vortigern (the first subdued by these Saxons) vnto Cadwallader the last of those British Princes, who left to them his Land, and went himself to Rome: whose times & stories, according to those Guides that lead vs, wee will declare, referring the credit thereof to our British Historians; against whom howeuer some exceptions are, and may be iustly taken, yet are they not altogether to be cast off, in the affaires of these ensuing Princes, especially Gyltas and Ninus, who liued in, and presently after the times of those resisters. Neither is it to be doubted, but that many others there were of that Nation, no lesse carefull for transferring the remembrance of their Ancestors actions to posteritie, (no Nation liuing being more zealously deuoted in that kinde,) though their writings haue in Times ruines bene buried, and their remembrances preferred onely by perpetuall traditions. and although wee haue shewed the ancient Coines of the Britains, and obserued a series thorow the Romanes succession: yet be not offended, that I leaue onely Blanks for these latter Princes, as also the first Saxons, wanting the Monies of their owne feuerall Mintes.

Such therefore as I haue found of any Kings stamp, raigning whilest the Land was diuided and enioied amongst them, I haue in the margin of their remembrances affixed, with the Armes attributed to euery feuerall kingdom: and hence will obserue the same order, without any inuention or fained inscription: which howeuer wee want to furnish their successions, yet this am I sure of, no Nation in Europe can shew the like, or can come to so true a series of their Soueraignes Coines, as England is able at this day to doe.

Vortigern the first and Cadwallader the last resister of the Saxons.

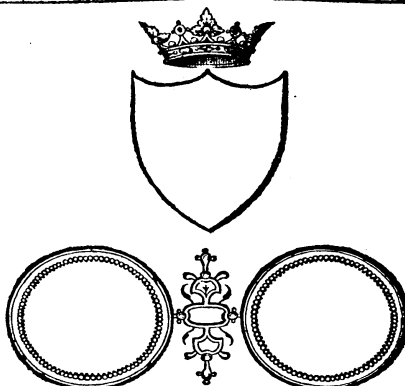
Saxons haue concealed all victories against themselves.

The causes of Vortigerns feare, and his sending for the Saxons.

Idol lib. cap. 14.

A succession Series of Great Britains Coins.

VORTIGERN. 1.



Vortigern among the many molestations of the Scots and Picts, was ordained the supreme Gouernor of

these affaires; and to that end, with the Britains full consent was elected their King. For as touching that Monkish

2. An Do. 454. Vortigern the first resister of the Saxons.

Vortigern how he maintained warre against the Saxons, and the feare of the Saxons.

Monkish Constantine, the sonne of Constantine, who is said to be the brother of Aldricus, King of Little Britaine in France, sent for and made King by these Britains, whose simplicitie this Vortigern is said to abuse, and lastly to cause his murder and death; I rather thinke the storie to be the same that happened about fortie yeeres before, in the daies of Honorius the Emperour; when Constantine among other Conspirators, was raised vpon a hopefull expectation conceived in his name.

This Constantine indeed had a sonne that bare his name, a man of a soft spirit, and no deepe reach, and therefore in his youth was made a Monke. But his Father risen to his aspiring honour, created him first his Caesar, and next Augustus, till Fortune turned those smiles into frownes, and stained their purple robes in both their owne bloods. For not only the same names indueth this doubt, but the place, which was Winchester, and Abbey Amphibius, where this Imperiall Monke was thorne, doth not a little confirme the same; the remains of which Colledge, by that strong and thicke wall standing to this day at the West gate of that Cathedrall Church, doth not a little confirme. But wanting better directions to our proceedings, we must follow for these times men of latter yeeres, and not without some suspect of vncertainty. The rather, for that the Saxons as then the chiefe Actors in this Land, haue purposely concealed all Victors and victories against themselves; neither but sparingly haue recorded their owne.

This Vortigern, howeuer attaining the Crowne, was ouer-awed (saith Ninus) by the Picts & Scots, stood in feare of the Roman forces, and dread much the returne of Aurelius Ambrosius, with his brother Vter, surnamed Pendragon: and therefore wanting strength of his owne to maintaine his standing, sent for the Saxons, as wee haue said. He (saith the British Story) was Earle of Cornwall, of an honourable Familie and noble descent, his

Lady euery way answerable to both; by whom hee had three sonnes, Vortimer, Catigern, and Pascentius. His second wife, or rather Concubine, (hauing cast off this first) was Rowena, the daughter of Hengist, which Pagan marriage procured not only the bane of the Land; but so ruined the Church of Christianity, that a Prouinciall Councell of the Britains was assembled in Ann. 470. to repaire those things that this marriage had decreed.

By this Heathen Damosell he had a daughter, who (against the law of God and Nature) was his third wife, that Kings (as he pretended, to excuse his incest) might be descended from the right issue of Kings, vpon whom he begot his sad lamenting sonne Faustulus, a vertuous Impe of those impious parents, that spent his life in a solitarie place neere to the Riuer Llynterrenny, as wee haue said; who abandoning the companie of men, among those mountaines seru'd God in continual teares and prayers, for remission of the fault committed in his incestuous generation, for the recalling of his parents to a better life, and for the restitution of his Country to her former libertie.

This Vortigern raigned first sixteen yeeres, and then deposed for his fauours to the Saxons, was retained in durance all the raigne of Vortimer his sonne, after whose death reestablished, but oppressed by his Saxons, and pursued by Aurelius, he withdrew himselfe into Wales, and among those vast mountaines built a Castle by Merlins direction, wherof we haue spoken, and more we would speake, were those fantastike fictions vnderfet with any props of likelihood or truth, which Rand, of Chester in his daies vtterly reiecteth.

In this Castle, Vortigern with his incestuous wife, after hee had secondly raigned the space of six yeeres, was consumed to ashes, by the iust reuenging hand of God, by fire from heauen, as some haue written; or else kindled by Aurelius and Vter, as his Ministers to execute his wrath.

Vortigern his children by his first wife. Rand. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 6. His second wife a Heathen.

His third wife was his owne daughter.

Faustulus the sonne of Vortigern by his third wife.

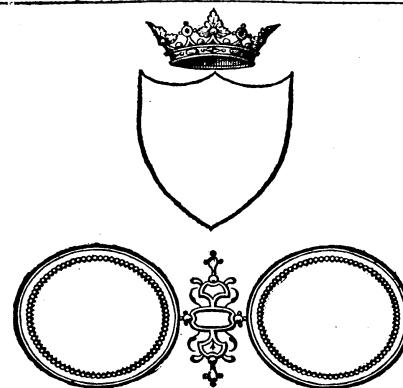
Vortigern how long he raigned, Fabian, Chro. Vortigern deposed and imprisoned.

He fled into Wales.

Polychr. lib. 5. ca. 1.

Vortigern and his wife destroyed by fire from heauen. Henr. Hunt. Rand. Hist. lib. 5. ca. 1.

VORTIMER. 2.



Vortimer, the eldest son of King Vortigern, through the abuse of his fathers gouernment, for which he was deposed by his owne subiects, was erected King of the Britains the yeere from Christs birth 454. a man of great valour, which altogether hee employed for the redresse of his Countrey, according to the testimonie of William Malmesbury, whose words are these: Vortimer (saith hee) thinking not good to dissemble the matter, for that hee saw himselfe and Countrey daily surpris'd by the craft of the English, set his full purpose to driue them out, and from the seventh yeere after their first entrance, for twenty yeeres continuance fought many Battles with them, and some of them with great success in open field; in the first whereof, they departed with like fortune, and losse of the Generals brethren Horsa and

Catigern: in the other three the Britains went away with victorie, and so long until Vortimer was taken away by fatal death.

Huntington, Monmouth, Randalphus, and Fabian, name both the places and success of those Battles: The first was in Kent, and vpon the Plaine neere vnto Ailsford, where the memoriall of Catigern to this day remaineth; & Horsa doth as yet reliue of Horsa there interred. The second Battle was fought likewise in Kent at Crocanford, now Craford, where many perished as well Britains as Saxons. The third was at Wep-peds Fleet, with great losse to the Britains: and the fourth vpon Calmore, where many of the Saxons, after long and fore fight, were slaine, and more drowned in flight, and lastly driuen into the Ile of Thanet, their first

The place of the first battle. Bede lib. 5. ca. 15.

The place of the second battle.

The place of the third battle.

The place of the fourth battle.

The Saxons quite dispossessed.

Portimer made away by Rowena.

Portimer the continuance of his name. Fairfax, Chron. p. 5. cap. 89.

Portimer re-established King.

Ninius.

first assigned habitation, (if not over the Seas) so that small hoped for them so long as this valiant *Portimer* lived, who had now dispossessed them of all their footing in the Continent, and often assailed them in the *Ile of Tannet* likewise, as *Fabian* confidently affirmeth.

But destiny going forward for the downfall of *Britaine*, remoued these rubbes out of her way : for *Rowena*, the mother of the *Britaines* mischief, and the maintainer of the *Saxons* residence, found the means to make this worthy *Portimer* away, and by poison caused the end of his life, after hee had valiantly raigned the space of foure yeeres ; all which time, by the testimonie of an old Chronicle that *Fabian* had scene, *Portimer* the father remained in durance, and vnder assigned Keepers in the Citie *Caelegion*, now *Chester*, and so demeaned himselfe towards his sonne (then his Soueraigne) in dutifull obedience and faithfull counsell, that hee wonne againe the hearts of the *Britaines*, and was againe re-established their King.

It is recorded by *Ninius*, that after his last victorie over the *Saxons*, he caused his Monument to be ere-

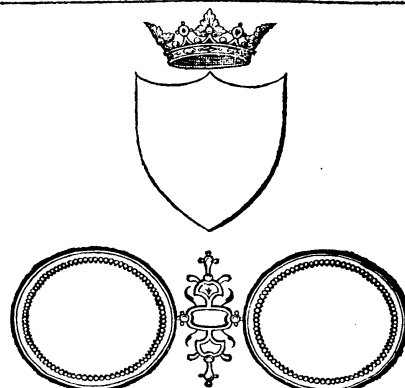
cted at the entrance into *Tanet*, and in the same place of that great ouerthrow, which by the said Author is called *Lapis Tituli*, of vs the *Stonar*, where for certaine it seemes hath been an haue. In this Monument hee commanded his body to be buried, to the further terror of the *Saxons*, that in beholding this his Trophy, their spirits might be daunted at the remembrance of their great ouerthrow. As *Scipio Africanus* conceived the like, who commanded his Sepulchre to be so set, that it might ouerlook *Africa*, supposing that his very Tombe would be a terror to the *Carthaginians*. But how that desire of *Portimer* was performed, I finde not, but rather the contrary: for an old Manuscript I haue, that confidently affirmeth him to be buried in *London* : yet others from *Ninius* the disciple of *Elmodogus*, hold the place to bee *Lincolne*. But howeuer his graue is forgotten, yet let this be remembered, that *Sigebertus* hath written of him, that is, *After he had vanquished the Saxons* (saith he) *whose drift was not only to ouer-runne the Land with violence, but also to erect their owne Lawes without clemencie, he restored the Christian Religion then forely decayed, and new built the Churches that those enemies had destroyed.*

Portimer his monument the Stonar.

Portimer supposed to be buried in London.

Sigebertus.

AVRELIVS AMBROSIVS. 3.



3. An. Do. 466. The third victorie of the Saxons.

G. frid. Mon.

P. A. Hist. lib. 1. cap. 16.

Geoffrey Chaucer, Polych.

Avrelivs Ambrosius, verily defended of that *Constantine* who in the fourth Consulship of *Theodosius* the younger, was elected here in *Britaine*, onely in hope of his luckienam, succeeded *Portimer* the Father in the Government of *Britaine*, and *Portimer* the sonne, in affection and defence of his Country. He with *Vter* (saith *Geoffrey Monmouth*) when their brother *Constantine* was murdered by *Portimer*, fled into *France*, where they remained the yeeres of his first raigne; whose returne (as we haue heard from *Ninius*) he greatly feared, and whose force at his last he felt to his smart. For hauing againe resumed his Crowne, he liued in his old sinnes, and suffered the *Saxons* to be Lords of his Land: to prevent which (saith *Beda* from *Gylgas*) the *Britaines* by little and little beganne to take strength, and with some courage to come forth of their Caves, who with one uniforme consent, called to God for his heauenly helpe. They had (saith he) for their Captaine a Roman called *Ambrosius Aurelianus*, a gentle natured man, which onely of all the blood of the Romans remained then a line, his parents being slaine, which bore the name of King of the Country. This man being their Leader, prouoked the *Victors* to the fight, and through Gods assistance achieved the victory. From that day forward now the *Britaines*, now the *Saxons* did preuaile, until the yeere that *Bathe* was besieged, which was fortie foure yeeres after their first coming into the Land.

His first expedition (as our British Historians report) was against *Portimer*, and his Castle in *Wales*, wherein that incestuous King was consumed to ashes

by lightning from heauen, as we haue said: and then following the *Saxons*, made toward *Yorke*, & at *Maesbel* beyond *Humber*, encountering *Hengist*, became his Victor: vnto whose mercy (say they) his sonne *Occa* yielded himselfe, and obtained in free gift the Country in *Gallaway* in *Scotland* for him and his *Saxons*. But these his affaires thus prospering against the common Enemy, was enuied at by *Pascentius*, the youngest son of King *Portimer*, who not able either to mate the *Saxons*, or after his Brethrens deaths to recouer the Kingdom to himselfe, ambitiously fought to prefer his base humor before the recovery of his Countries libertie, which then lay gored in her owne blood. For hauing gotten the aid of *Gillmare* King of *Ireland*, whether hee had fled vpon the death of his Father, and now returned into the west of *Wales*, first indamaged the Citie of *S. Davids*, and thence proceeded with fire and sword. *Aurelius* then sicke in the Citie of *Winchester*, sent his brother *Vter* to withstand his force, who slew both *Pascentius* and the Irish King his partaker, in a set & fore battell fought betwixt them. But before this battell, *Pascentius* had sent a *Saxon*, whose name was *Eopa*, in shew a *Britaine*, and in habit a Physitian, to minister poison in stead of physicke, which according was effected with *Ambrosius* his death.

Vnto this *Aurelius Ambrosius* is ascribed the erection of that rare and admirable monument, now called *Stonhenge*, in the same place where the *Britaines* had been treacherously slaughtered and interred, whose manner

Hecker Socius.

Aurelius Ambrosius erected Stonhenge.

The description of the Monument of Stonhenge.

manner and forme in our draught of *Wiltshire* wee haue inserted. The matter being Stones of a great and huge bignesse, so that some of them containe twelue tunne in waight, and twenty eight foote or more in length, their breadth seuen, and compasse fixteene. These are set in the ground of a good depth, and stand in a round circle by two and two, hauing a third stone somewhat of lesse quantitie laid gate-wise ouerthwart on their toppes, fastned with tenons and mortaises, the one into the other; which to some seeme so dangerous, as they may not safely be passed vnder, the rather for that many of them are fallen downe, and the rest suspected of no sure foundation: notwithstanding, at my being there, I neither saw cause of such feare, nor vncertaintie in accounting of their numbers, as is said to be. The stones are gray, but not marbled, wherein great holes are beaten euen by force of weather, that serue for *Raues* and other birds to build in, and bring forth their young. The ground-plot containeth about three hundred foot in compasse, in forme almost round, or rather like vnto a horse-shoe, with an entrance in vpon the east-side. Three rowes of stones seeme formerly to haue bene pitched, the largest outwards, and the least inwards; many whereof are now fallen downe: but those that stand, shew so faire an aspect, and that so farre off, that they seeme to the beholders to be some Fortresse or strong Castle. A Trench also is about them, which hath bene much deeper; and vpon the plaines adjoining, many round copped hills, without any such trench, (as it were cast vp out of the earth) stand like great hay-cocks in a plaine meadow: In these, and thereabouts, by digging haue bene found peeces of ancient fashioned armour, with the bones of men, whose bodies were thus couered with earth that was brought thither by their wel-willers and friends, euen in their head-peeces; a token of loue that then was vfed, as some imagine.

This Trophy, *Aurelius Ambrosius* (in memoriall of the *Britaines* massacre) erected, and is worthily ac-

counted for one of the Wonders of this Island, and are in the verities of *Alexander Netham* called *The Giantes Daunce*, wherein this *Ambrosius* was interred after hee had raigned thirtie two yeeres, and whereof the towne *Ambresbury* beares the name. Others report, that the *Britaines* erected this most lately Sepulchre ouer the body of *Ambrosius* there slaine by the sword of his enemies; that his Countries loue, in such a costly peece of worke, might remaine vnto posterities in this, the Altar of his vertue and manhood: for *Paulus Diaconus* saith, that this man, in succouring his decayed Countrey, tooke vpon him the Imperiall Robe, and against the violent rage of those German enemies, oft times ouerthrew their puissant armies, but was lastly slaine by them vpon the Plaines of *Salesburie*. I cannot with silence let passe the ridiculous reports of the bringing of the Stones out of *Africke* into *Ireland*, and from thence, vnder the conduct of *Vter* the brother of *Ambrosius*, vnto this Plain, by the industrious means of *Merlin*, surnamed *Ambrose*, borne in the ancient City *Merdyhn*, and as *Humfrey Lluyd* saith, of a noble virgin, whose father, for his skill in the *Mathematicks*, and wonderfull knowledge in all other kinde of learning, was by the rude common people reputed to be the sonne of an *Incubus*, or a male Diuell, which in the similitude and likeness of men doe vse carnally to companie with women. But how this may agree with his diuine mouth, that telles vs the *Spirits* haue neither flesh nor bones, and the whole Scriptures, that man is carnally begotten, conceived and born, I leaue for others further to dispute. Only I know, that such begettings as *Merlines* is reported to be, without father, and *Simon Magus* also, that before him would needs be the sonne of a *Virgin*, doe not a little contradict our *Christian Profession*, who acknowledge onely the conception of *Christ* to be conceived without the seed of man, or of sinne. But to our purpose: *Ambrosius Aurelius* (by *Panninius* accounted the last Emperour of the British blood) is said to raigne in *Britaine* thirty two yeeres, and to die in that of *Christs* Incarnation foure hundred ninety seuen.

Paulus Diacon.

G. fr. Monmouth. Gual. Camb. Geruaf. Dore.

Breuiary of Britaine.

Luke 24 39.

Clement in his Recognitions.

Aurelius Ambrosius, the continuance of his raigne.

VTER PENDRAGON. 4.



An. Do. 498.

M. W. G. M. G. M.

Vter, surnamed *Pendragon*, the brother of *Ambrosius*, succeeded him both in valour, and in the Government of *Britaine*. His entrance was with troubles against the *Saxons*, who vnder the leading of *Eske* and *Ossa*, the sonnes of King *Hengist*, had passed with spoile to the Citie *Yorke*, whither this new-made Generall presently repaired, and giuing them battell, with the discomfiture of the whole Army, tooke both the brethren prisoners, and committed them to safe custodie.

But the *Britaines* (saith *Boetius*) becomming disloyal to their Prince, seldome assited him with preuenting counsell: and the Prince enamored vpon the

Duke of *Cornwall* Wife, consulted more with *Merline* to transforme himselfe from himselfe, then to giue direction against the common enemy. For comming to *Tindagell* Castle in *Cornwall*, possessed by *Gorlois*, Duke of that Prouince, beheld (in his eye) the *Pendragon* of Nature, which was Lady *Igen*, his Dutches and wife. *Vter*, whose thoughts till then had bin free, and from his childhood had euer followed *Stars* in the field, was now surprised so far with her loue, that his Shield and Armes were both neglected and vnworne, and all his thoughts set on worke to purchase his most wished desire; which lastly, by *Merline* and *Magick* was effected, and that after this manner (if we will

Alex. Netham. Vter Pendragon in loue with Lady Igen.

Geoffrey Monmouth.

The like tresses
of his my selfe
lay in a coffin
digged vp in an
old house nere
Pavil in London,
very beautifull
in shew, but be-
ing touched, was
nothing but dust.

Lady of passing beautie lay likewise by him, whose tresses of haire finely platted, and in colour like the gold, seemed perfect and whole vntill it was touched, but then (bewraying what all beauties are) shewed it selfe to be dust. *Giraldus Cambrensis*, a worthy Author and an eye-witnesse, is the reporter of this finding of

Arthurs bones; and the Crosse of Lead, with the Inscription, as it was found and taken off the stone, was kept in the Treasurie or Reuester of *Glastenburie* Church, saith *Stowe*, till the suppression thereof in the raigne of King *Henry* the eight, whose forme and rude letters we haue here expresse to thy sight.

John Stow.

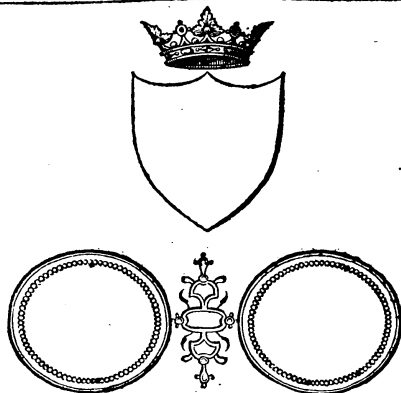


Arthurs bones
intombed.

The bones of King *Arthur*, and of Queene *Guinevere* his wife, by the direction of *Henry de Blays*, Nephew to King *Henry* the second, and Abbat of *Glastenbury*, at that present were translated into the great new Church, and there in a faire Tombe of Marble, his body was laid and his *Queenes* at his feet; which

noble Monument among the fatal ouerthrowes of infinite more, was altogether rated at the dispose of some then in Commission, whose too forward zeale, and ouer haustie actions in these behalves, hath left vnto vs a want of many truths, and cause to with that some of their employments had bin better spent.

CONSTANTINE 6.



An. D. 542.
Brute booke.

Constantine the sonne of *Cador* Duke of *Cornwall*, and cosen to King *Arthur* by his alliance in marriage, at his death was appointed by him to succeed in his Dominions, and most ioyfully receiued of the Commons, as the man, in the opinion of this worthy elector and themselves, accounted most fit to defend the Land from the many oppressions of the *Saxons*, who now beganne to spreade the wing as farre as to *Ynne* in the North, and to set downe the limits of their

seuerall Kingdomes; which notwithstanding, these strangers daily enlarged vpon the home-bred Inhabitants, the ciuill warres of the *Britaines* giuing way to the same, and that not onely among themselves, but by the *Picts* also, in the behalfe of the two sonnes of *Mordred*, that sought to dispossesse him of the *Crown*. In which quarrel many battles were fought, but with such successe to the attemptors, that these two Competitors were forced for refuge into *London* and *Winchester*,

Gylde,
Abbot *Justit*.

In this Booke De
scribes Briton
howe they were
ruled.

chryser, whither *Constantine* pursued them, they taking *Sanctuarie* in the Churches, and not farre from the *Altars* he slew them: for which decde, the Priest *Gyldeas*, that flourished in those daies, in his *inuestiue* reprehensions thus writeth: *Britaine* hath Kings (saith hee) but they are Tyrants: Iudges it hath, but they are wicked, pillaging and harming the innocent people; reuenging and defending, but whom? Such as be guilty and robbers. They haue many wines, yet breake they wedlocke; many times swearing, yet perjure themselves; vowing, but for the most part with dissembling lies; waruing, but still maintaining vniust and ciuill broiles; abroad pursuing theenes, and yet at home chryst them, euen at their owne Tables, and sometimes also reward them. They giue large almes indeed, yet heape they vniustnes high as the Mountaine. They sit in the Seat of sentence, yet seldome seeke the rule of right iudgement, despising the humble and innocent persons, and extolling vp to Heauen proud and bloudie Murderers, Theenes, and Adulterers, yea and if he would permit them, the very enemies of God. Many they keepe in prison, and load them with irons, more to serue their owne purposes, then for any guilt in the person, taking solemn Oaths before & vpon the Altars, and yet despise they the Altars, as altogether vile, and but filthie stones.

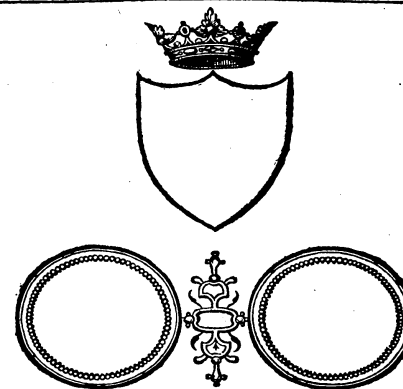
Of this hainous and wicked offense, *Constantine* the tyrannicall whelpe of the *Lionesse* of *Deuon-shire* is not ignorant, who this yeere, after the receiuing of his dreadfull

Oath, whereby he bound himselfe, that in no wise he should hurt his Subiects, (God first, and then his Oath, with the company of Saints, and his owne mother being present) did notwithstanding in the reuerend laps of both his Mothers, the Church, and her by nature, and that vnder the vesture of an holy Abbat, deuoure with sword and spear, in stead of teeth, the tender sides and the entrails of two children of noble and Kingly race, and likewise of their two Gouernours, yea and that (as I said) before the sacred Altars; the Armes of which Persons so slaine, not stretched forth to defend themselves with weapons (which few in those daies handled more valiantly then they) but stretched forth to God, and to his Altar, in the day of Iudgement shall set up the reuerend ensignes of their patience and faith at the Gates of the Citie of Christ, which so haue covered the seat of the Celestiall Sacrifice, as it wore with the red Mantle of their cluttered blood.

These things hee did not after any good deeds done by him deserving praise: for many yeeres before ouercome with the often and changeable filths of adulterie, and forsaking his lawfull wife (contrary to the law of God) being not loosed from the snarles of his former sinnes, hee increaseth the new with the old. Thus far *Gyldeas*, for this time, and for the raigne of *Constantine*, whose life being no better, was cut off in battell by *Aurelius Conanus*, when he had reigned fully three yeeres, and without issue was buried at *Stonhenge*.

Constantines
raignes conti-
nuance.

AVRELIVS CONANVS. 7.



7.
An. D. 545.
An. D. 545.

Aurelius Conanus, the Nephew of King *Arthur*, after he had slaine his Cosen *Constantine* in battell, was made King ouer the *Britaines* in the yeere after Christis Natiuitie five hundred fortie five. He was of disposition free and liberal, but therewithall of a light credit, and very suspicious, cherishing them that accused others, without respect of right or wrong, putting some to death, and retaining others in perpetuall prison, among whom his own Vncle was one, whose two sons he caused to be slaine, no causes objected, but that these three were in truth betwixt him & the Crowne: for which, and other the like impious parts, the said *Gyldeas* continueth the tenor of his vehement reprehension in this manner. And thou *Lions whelpe* (as speaks the Prophet) *Aurelius Conanus*, what dost thou? art thou not swallowed up in the filthy mire of murdering thy Kinsmen, of committing fornications and adulteries, like to the others before mentioned, if not more deadly, as it were with the waues and surges of the drenching Seas, ouerwhelming thee with her vnumersfull rage? dost thou not in hating the peace of thy Country, as a deadly Serpent, and thirring after ciuill warres and spoiles (often times vniust-

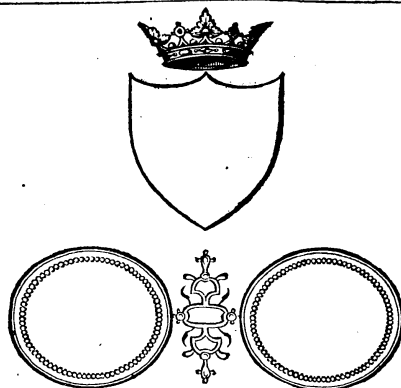
ly gotten) shut up against thy soule the Gates of celestially peace? Thou being left alone, as a withering tree in the middle of a field, call to remembrance (I pray thee) the vaine youthfull fantasie, and ouer timely deaths of thy Fathers and thy Brethren: shalt thou being set apart, and chosen forth of all thy lineage for thy godly deserts, be reserved to live an hundred yeeres, or remaine on earth till thou bee as old as Methuselah? nothing lesse. And thus with exhortations for his amendment, turneth his speech to his Successor.

The raigne of this King, among the vncertainties of other proceedings, is ranged by our owne Historians, as vncertainly. For some hold him to rule onely two yeeres, and no more, being then cut off by the iust reuenging hand of God for his sinnes: others allow three yeeres for his raigne, wherein, as they say, most viciously hee liued: And yet *Matthew of Westminster* will haue him continue in gouernement no lesse then thirty yeeres; and *Iohn Stow* addeth three more: such extremes are wee driven vnto, that haue our relations onclie from them.

Holinsh.
Languet.

Conan the con-
tinuance of his
raigne.

VORTIPORVS. 8.

8.
An.Do. 578.

Vortiporus, after the death of *Aurelius*, succeeded him in the Kingdome of the *Britaines*, which then was much scantled by the intrusions of the *Saxons* whom in many battels (as saith the *British Historians*) he vanquished, and valiantly defended his Land and Subiects, from the danger of them and of their Allies: notwithstanding their reported actions thus honorably achieved, yea and his Parentage with succession of government, may be both suspected and iustly called in question, as by the words of *Gyltas* is manifest; who suffered not this King also to passe vntrouched in his *Inueltine* and lamentable pangsions. And thou (saith he) *Vortiporus* the Tyrant of South-wales, like to the *Panther* in manners and wickednesse, diuersly spotted, as it were with many colours, with thy boarie head in the Throne full of deceipt, craft, and wiles, and defiled even from the lowest part of thy body to the Crowne of thy head,

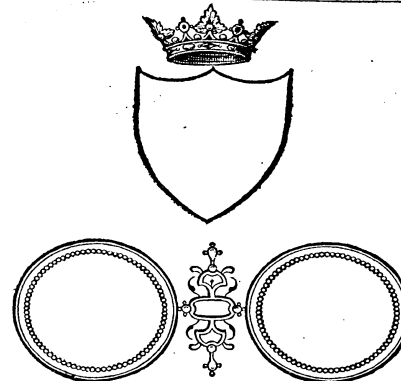
with diuers and sundry murders committed on thine own kin, and filthy adulteries, thus proving the unworthy sonne of a good King, as *Manasse* was to *Ezechias*; how chance it that the violent streames of finnes, which thou swallowed up like pleasant wine, or rather art swallowed up by the (the end of thy life by little & little now drawing neere) cannot yet satisfie thee? what meanest thou, that with fornication, of all evils as it were the full heap, thine own wife being put away, with her death, which thou wroughtest, dost oppress thy soule with a certain burthen that cannot be avoided?

By this testimonie of *Gyltas*, this *Vortiporus* could not be the sonne of bad *Conan*, as *Geffrey Monmouth* and *Matthew of Westminster* affirme him: his Father being compared to godly *Ezechias* King of *Iudah*, and himselfe continuing his gouernment, as is said the space of foure yeeres, ended his life without issue to succeed him.

2. King. 20.1.

Vortiporus, the continuance of his reign.

MALGO CANONVS. 9.

9.
An. D. 581.
21. 22. 23. of the 11th century.

Malgo Canonus, the Nephew of *Aurelius Conanus*, as some write, succeeded *Vortiporus* in the Kingdome of *Britaine*, a man of a most seemly presence, but withall, charged with many vnbecoming and foul finnes, by ancient *Gyltas*, the onely recorder of the Actions in these times; who calleth him the Dragon of the Isles, greater in power then many, but exceeding all in mischiefe and malice; a large giuer, but more lauish and prodigall in all finnes and licentiousnesse: in Armes and dominions more strong and greater then any other *British* Potentate; but stronger in the destruction of his owne soule, in committing the grand abhorred sinne of Sodome.

In his youthfull daies, with sword and fire he brought to destruction his vnkle by the mothers side (being then king) together with many others, and after vpon a shew-seeming remorse of Conscience, vowed the profession and life of a Monke; but returned shortly after to his owne vomit, and became worse then he was before: for despising his first marriage, he became enamored vpon the wife of his brothers sonne, whiles he was living; and after that he had kept her a certaine time, murdered them both. In these finnes he continued the terme of five yeeres, and dying without issue, left his Crowne to another.

By these reprehensions of *Gyltas* it should rather seeme

Malgo Canonus, the continuance of his reign.

seeme that these Princes liued all together at one and the same time, vnto whom hee spake personally, and mouth to mouth, which could not be, if such successions and such yeeres had bene expired, as heere is laid downe. And therefore not without cause some haue affirmed, that these Captaines vsurped authoritie together in diuers parts of the Iland, and not successiuelly one after another; neither indeed as Kings, but rather Tyrants, polluted with these greuous finnes, as you haue heard, and are so termed by their own Historian, that bringeth one more to tyrannize, whom neither *Monmouth* nor hee of *Westminster* hath spoken of, which is *Cuneglasius*, whom hee calleth, a Lion tawney Butcher, a Beave, a Contemner of Religion, an Oppressour of the Clergie, that fought against God with his many greuous finnes, and warred vpon man with his martiall weapons. Hee (saith hee) did put away his lawfull wife, prouoked the godly with many iniuries, was proudly conceited of his owne wisdom, and set his whole hope in vn-

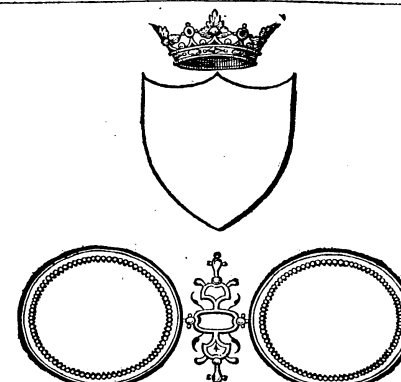
certaine riches. If then the head was so sicke, could the body be found, that (as *Beda* saith) were so fit to breake all orders of truth and iustice, that scant any token or remembrance thereof remained? And for witness against them, calleth their owne Historian *Gyltas*, that accused them of many impieties, and this not the least, that those *Britaines* neglected the preaching of the Gospell to the *Saxons*.

For these finnes assuredly, God gaue their Land to another Nation, and themselves to exile, or to the sword of their enemies. Howbeit, some latter *Britaine* hath rather excused their finnes by the ouerrall zeale of *Gyltas*, whom he tearmeth a *Pulpit-Priest* (but no perfect Historian) that beat down finnes with an ouer-sharpe censure of the sinners, as the manner of many Preachers is at this day. But (saith hee) let the true renowne of the *Britaines* appeare to the world: and surely so shall it doe for me. And againe I returne to my intended purpose.

Beda hist. Angl. lib. 1. cap. 25.

Hum. Lloyd, Bre. Brit.

CARETICVS. 10.

10.
An.Do. 586.

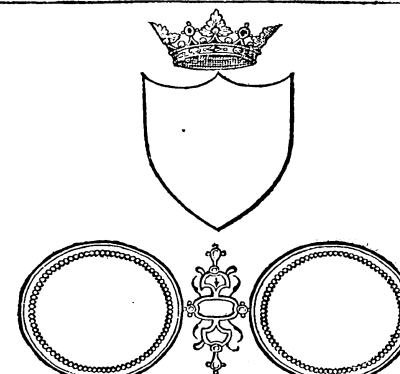
Careticus succeeded *Malgo* in the gouernment of *Britaine*, as destitute of vertue and fluent in vice, as any of these his preceding Kings: for it is recorded that hee was a nourisher of dissensions, and sowed ciuill warres among his subiects; a sinne odible to God and Man, and vnto the vnconstant *Britaines* gaue occasion of his hatred: which when the *Saxons* perceived, was further instigated, and with the assistance of *Gummund* an Arch-pirate, and Captaine of the *Norwegians*, followed against the King, who not able to resist them, fled into the Towne of *Chichester* for safety,

but by the deuice of his pursuers, certaine sparrows being caught, and fire fastned to their feet, were let lie into the Towne, where lighting vpon straw and other matter fit for flaming, burnt in short space the whole Citie, and *Careticus* flying beyond *Seuerne*, secured himselfe among the Mountaines of *Wales*, wherein he died, after he had vnprosperously reigned three yeeres: and from that time forth (saith *Randolphus*) the *Britaines* lost their whole Kingdome in the East part of the Iland, and were confined in the West by the Riuers *Seuerne* and *Dee*.

See Cro.

Careticus, the continuance of his reign. Poly. b. lib. 5. cap. 6.

CADWAN. 11.

11.
An.Do. 163.

Cadwan, after foure and twenty yeeres ciuill dissension maintained among the *Britaines*, cuer since

they had forgone their Country, and betaken themselves to those vast, but securing Mountaines; of a Ruler

12. *Stalmeib.*

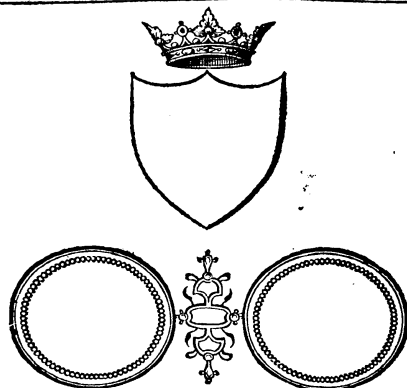
Ruler only of *North-wales*, was made Gouverneur of all those parts, a man deterring well before hee came to that estate, and being risen, maintained himselfe and subiects in great honour and peace. His first affaires against the *Saxons*, was to revenge the deaths of his *Britaines*, and harmelesse *Monkes of Bangor*, slaine (as we haue said) by wild *Ethelfrid*, the mighty King of *Northumberland*, who in Field had assembled all their powers, wherein the fallall end either of the *Britaines* or *Northumbrians* must needs haue ensued, had not the quarrell bene staid by the mediation of

friends. These Kings, then, and there reconciled, embraced peace, with such true friendship, that they continued amitie together so long as they liued.

Harding saith, that this British King *Cadwan*, honorably receiued and worthily cherished *Arca*, whom this King *Ethelfrid* had put from his bed, for the loue he bare vnto his Concubine, but is deceived in making her the mother of *Edwin*, that was his sister, and *Cadwan* to raigne but thirteen yeeres, whereas others allot him two and twentie.

Cadwan, the continuance of his raigne, *John Harding*, *Chro. cap. 99.*
Paulus Diacon.

CADWALLO. 12.

12. *An. Do. 635.*

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 10.

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 1.

Cadwallo or *Cadwallin*, the sonne of *Cadwan*, was made King ouer the *Britaines*, the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation six hundred thirty five. He warred most strongly against the *Saxons*, and either by Conquest or Alliance ioined amitie with *Penda* the cruell King of the *Mericians*, a Pagan Idolater, himselfe by the report of *Beda*, although a Christian in name and profession, yet in minde and manners so rude and outrageous, that hee spared neither womens weaknesse nor childrens innocencie, but put all to death with greivous and bitter torments, to fulfill his cruell and unmercifull tyrannie, waiting a long time, and raging over the Prouinces, purposed to exterminate out of the borders of Britanny the whole Nation of the English, and to extinguish the very name of them. Neither did hee ought esteeme any reverence or honour to the Christian Religion, which those men embraced: so that uen to this day (saith he) the *Britaines* custome is to set light by the Faith or Religion of the Englishmen; neither will they communicate with them more then with Heathens or Pagans. These two cruell Kings slew the most Christian *Edwyn* King of *Northumberland*, with his sonne Prince *Osfride*, in a great and bloody battle at *Hetfield*, the yeere of *Christs* Incarnation six hundred thirty three: and the yeere following, with wicked force (saith *Beda*) but with worthy vengeance, *Cadwallo* the Britaine slew *Osfride* and *Ranfild*, Kings of *Deira* and *Bernicia*, that were become Apostates from their Christian Faiths, and that with crueltie and losse of the *Saxons*, as their owne *Historians* held it fit neither to mention their names in their monthly Calendar, nor register the yeere wherein they were slaine, in account of their government, but assigned it vnto the raigne of their Successour King *Oswald*, which was so observed vnto his daies; so terrible was this worthy *Cadwallo*, and odious the remembrance of this unfortunate Battle. But this cruell Captaine (saith he) enioied not this felicitie long: for the said *Oswald*, to revenge his brothers death, came with a small power, but strongly fenced in the faith of *Christ*, and nere to the River *Denise* gaue him battle, wherein himselfe and late-victorious Host were all slaine and confounded.

But we must remember that *Beda* was a Saxon, in whose behalfe his penne hath somewhat passed the

bounds of equitie (if not veritie) in charging this most valiant Conqueror with tyranny, and his Martiall Sword with crueltie, that was drawne and stricke in defence of his native Country, wherein the *Saxons* claime stood only vpon vniust intrusion. So likewise himselfe being a Monke and Priest, hath euery where blamed the *Britaines* for dissenting from the Roman Church, in celebration of Easter and other Ceremonies, whereas in doctrine they were as sincere, which is the true substance of the Gospell. But the *Britaines* record that this valiant *Cadwallo* died not in *Heuen-seild*, neither by the hand of King *Oswald*, but that he raigned in great honour the space of eight and fortie yeeres, and in peace died 22. of *November*, in the yeere of *Christ* Iesus six hundred seuentie seuen. His body the *Britaines* buried in *S. Martins* Church in *London*, nere *Ludgate*, whose Image great and terrible, triumphantly riding on horsebacke, being artificially cast of Brasse, they placed vpon the same West gate, to the further feare and terror of the *Saxons*, as *Vortimer* before had commanded his at *Stouar*. But this relation, as also that he married the sister of King *Penda*, as my often named Manuscript reporteth, I leaue to the best liking of my Reader.

About this time the most blasphemous doctrine of *Mahomet* began to infect all the Easterne World. For although himselfe liued some nine yeeres before the government of this *Cadwallo*, yet presently after his death his doctrine was more publickly embraced. He was borne in *Arabia*, of a poore and base stocke, and being fatherlesse, was sold for a bondslauue vnto an *Ismaelite*, whose name was *Ademona*, a man of exceeding great riches, and in great trade of merchandizing, and *Mahomet* for his subtiltie in wit, was his fit instrument, and greatly in his fauor. The Master dying, left *Mahomet* his chiefe Factor, who hauing great riches in his keeping, married his Mistresse, and so became heire of all; with whom comforted one *Sergius* a Monke, which for heretie was fled into *Arabia*, who instructed *Mahomet* in the heresie of the *Nestorians*, and now for his wealth and Magickall Arts, wherewith he bewitched the minds of the people, assumed

Geffrey Mon.

Cadwallo or *Cadwallin*, the continuance of his raigne

chap. 12.

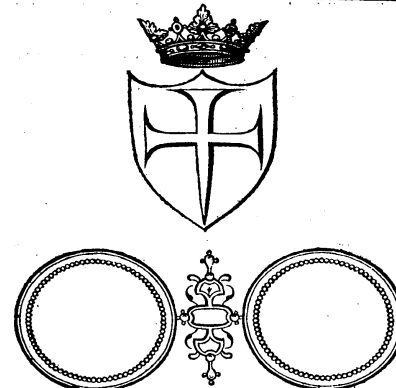
assumed to himselfe the name of the great Prophet of God, and began to be famously published for the doctrine which he taught: the which was none other but a confuled *Chaos* of all the heresies that had been before him: for with the *Sabellians* he denied the Trinitie; with the *Manichies*, he affirmed but two persons to be in the Deity; with *Eunomius*, hee denied the equalitye of the Father and the Sonne; and with *Macdon*, taught that the Holy Ghost was a creature. He borrowed of the *Iepes* Circumcision; of the *Nicholaitans*, pluralities of wiues; and of the *Gentiles*, much

Superstition; and more to cloake his diuellish inuented fantasies, somewhat he tooke from the veritie of the Gospell. Of these compounded he deuised a Law, and wrote this his Religion in the booke called his *Alcoran*; and those his Professors he named *Saracens*, from *Sara* the wife of *Abraham*.

Hee died of the falling sicknesse, which long time hee had dissembled, saying forsooth after his trances, that the Angell *Gabriel* had conference with him, the brightnesse of whose glorie hee could not behold.

An. Do. 625.

CADWALLADER. 13.

13. *An. Do. 685.*

Geffrey Mon.

Cadwallader, the sonne of *Cadwallo*, and last King of the *Britaines*, after the death of his Father, succeeded him in his dominions, and with great valour fought against the *Saxons*, as hee of *Monmouth* affirmeth, of whom heare him speake in his owne words. *Cadwallader* (saith he) raiguing victoriously the time of twelue yeeres, fell lastly into a dangerous sicknesse, with despaire of recovery, and vnable to gouerne. Much debate and strife arose among his great Lords, and others of high estate, inasmuch that they warred each against others, to the no small annoyance and detriment of the whole Country. At which very time likewise, so great a death of corne and victuall raigned, that herbes and roots were the Commons chiefe sustenance: whose third calamitie was mortalitie and pestilence, raigning so sore, and so suddenly, that in their eating, drinking, walking, and speaking, they were surprisid with death, and in such number, that the liuing were scarce able to bury the dead, which miseries lasted no lesse then eleuen yeeres continuance, whereby the Land became desolate, and brought forth no fruit at all, inasmuch that the King and many of his Nobles were driuen to forsake their native Country, and to seeke releefe in forraigne parts. *Cadwallader* repaired to the Court of *Alan* his cosen, the King of *Little Britaine* in *France*, where he was honourably receiued and maintained.

Burnow the Angell of God sheathing his sword from slaughter, and the earth answering man againe with her former abundance, those *Saxons* that were escaped, sent for more of their Nation to their further supplie, who replenished the Cities, and manured the Country, at this day called *Lhogger*, containing all the Land that lay on the East of *Seuerne* and *Deu*, dispossession the poore *Britaines* of their rightful inheritance, and diuiding their Lands vnto their owne use. *Cadwallader* hearing of their daily arriues, and their vniust intrusion vpon his home-bred subiects, minded their redresse by his present returne, and to that end had wrought King *Alan*, for his succour & assistance. But see how it chanced: He being now ready to imbarke his Host, and to hoise vp his sailes for *Britaine*, and in the silent night

much spent in praier & supplication, that God would prosper with good successe these his great affaires, behold an Angell appeared to him, or at leastwise to his seeming he heard a voice, that forbade him the enterprise, declaring that it was not Gods will that hee should vndergoe that Voiage, or that the *Britaines* should rule their Land any longer; but contrariwise bade him to *Rome*, and of *Pope Sergius* receiue the habit of Religion, wherein hee should die, and rest in peace.

This dreame (for I hold it no other) being told vnto *Alan*, search was made into the Bookes of both the *Merlines*, as also into the speech of the *Eagle* at *Shafesbury*, pronounced eight hundred and eighty yeeres before the birth of our Sauour *Christ* (if wee doe beleue these to be true) wherein it was prophesied forsooth, that the *Britaines* should lose their Kingdome, and that the same should be possessed of others, vntill the time that the bones of *Cadwallader* should be brought from *Rome*. By such roiles and illusions in those daies of darknesse, the euil-erring minds of men were content to be led; for not onely *Cadwallader*, a quiet and meeke-spirited man, was possessed with this conceit, that it came vnto him by a diuine providence, but also King *Alan* perswaded him to obey his Oracle; and thereupon preparing for his Pilgrimage, gaue ouer his expedition for *Britaine*, and left his distressed Subiects to bee ouer-runne by strangers, and the Land to bee enioied by a forraigne Nation: and receiuing the habit of seeming Religion at the hands of *Pope Sergius*, died some after in the yeere of our Lord six hundred eighty nine, and there was buried in *S. Peters* Church, being the last King of the *Britaines* blood, after they had held possession thereof the space of one thousand one hundred thirty and seuen yeeres before the Natiuitie of *Christ*, and six hundred eighty eight yeeres after his Birth, as the Chronicle of *Wales*, with other Britaine Writers, haue calculated, though (as is said) after the largest size. But how fouer this sudden alteration was wrought in *Cadwallader*, yet whiles he continued a King in health, hee raigned (saith *Geffrey*) in great magnanimitie, the

D. Powel Chron.
of Wales.

Ca. twallader, the
continuance of
his raigne.

Beda hist.
lib. 4, cap. 16.

Cap. 15.

Beda hist.
lib. 5, cap. 7.

terme of three yeers, and fought many Battles against the Saxons, whose sword was ever sheathed with victory; for Lothaire King of Kent he slew in the Field, and Edithwath also King of the South-Saxons, with the ruine of his Country, as the British Historians report, and would haue it.

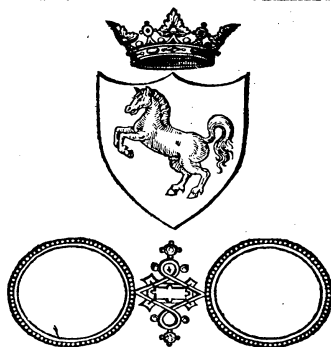
But Beda, vnto whom more credit is heerein to be giuen, telles vs, that Lothaire was slaine by Edrik, his Nephew and Successour, declaring the manner and day of his death; and that Cadwall, a young man of the West-Saxons bloud royall, being banished from among them, fell vpon the South-Saxons, harrying the Country and killing their King. But afterwards lamenting the bloud he had spilt, whereat euē Nature her selfe seemed to bee offended, in great repentance abandoned his Kingdome, and pilgrim-like went vnto Rome, where of Pope Sergius he was baptized vpon Easter Euen, the yeere from Christs Natiuitie six hundred eightie nine. The times thus agreeing, their names to nere, their deuotions alike, Sergius the same ghostly father to both, their sepulchers in one and the

same Church, doe strongly confirme that they both were the same and one only man, as we formerly haue said. But with this man Cadwallader, wherefoeuer he died, lay buried the last bloud of their Kings, their gouernment, and immediatlie the very Name of Britaine, for many hundred yeeres ensuing, as in the sequell of this Historie (Christ assisting) shall bee shewed.

And now at last, according to my first intendment, I am come to speake of the succellion of Great Britaines Monarkes, from which (vpon the fore-shewed occasions of the Islands diuision, the Saxons possessions, and these Britaine Resisters) I haue bene ouerlong staied, and am forced to returne againe to King Hengist, the first of the Saxons, that I may shew their succeeding succellion in this English Monarchy: wherein of necessitie I must desire the patience of my Reader, if some things be againe touched that formerlie haue bene spoken, the Matter of Historie so much requiring, and the Method that to my proceeding I haue herein proposed, enforcing it.



THE SAXONS SVCCESIONS IN THE MONARCHY OF GREAT BRITAIN, WHEREOF HENGIST THE FIRST KING OF KENT BECAME THE FIRST MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.



CHAPTER XIII.



Hengist, a Prince of the English-Saxons, hauing the Command ouer certain forces planted in the Low-countries of Germany, in the yeere of Christs Incarnation foure hundred and fiftie, transported them ouer into Britaine, where the fiftiyeere after his arrival, he began his Kingdome in Kent; & hauing surprised his son in law King Vortigern, slain his Britaines, and seized into his possession the best of the Land, he laid the foundation of a Monarchy, and deserueth to be reputed the first Monarch of the English Nation.

(2) He (as all the Saxon Kings besides) doth claime

his originall from Prince Woden, and his wife Fria, by Wechta the eldest of their teuen sonnes, being the fifth in issue from them; as thus: Himselfe was the sonne of Witigils, who was the sonne of Wutha, and he the sonne of Wechta, the eldest sonne of the Deified Woden.

This Prince held the supreme Scepter of this Iland for thirty foure yeeres continuance, and therein died honorably, faith Marianus Scotus. But Peter de Ikham, Polydore, and others say, that he was slaine in battell, or else taken by Edol, Earle of Gloucester, and beheaded at Conesborow. Hee left issue behind him two sonnes and one daughter, whose names were Hatwaker, Eske, and Rowena.

(3) Hatwaker his eldest sonne, is reported by Petrus Albinus of Wittenberg, a great Genealogist and Histori-

Florus Wigorn.

Hengist, how long he reigned.
Maria Scot.
Peter de Ikham.

Giffrey Mon.
Polydore Virgil.

Petrus Albinus.

Historiographer also) to be Duke of the Saxons in Germany, and there left to gouerne the people at his Fathers departure for Britaine. And if Albinus authority be sufficient, he was the Father of Duke Hatwaker, and grandfather of Hildrik King of the Saxons, ancestor to the valiant Witikindus, the principall progenitor of the most noble Familie of the Dukes of Saxony.

(4) Eske, the second sonne of King Hengist, came ouer with his Father into Britaine, and was his assistant in all his warres, wherein he gaue worthy testimonie of his valour: whose Kingdome of Kent after his death he enioyed, and gaue name to that Countrey Inhabitants, who were from him called Eskings, ouer whom he reigned peaceably twenty yeeres.

(5) Rowena, the daughter of King Hengist, was borne in Germany before her Fathers departure, and afterwards sent for by him into Britaine, to further his designs. At whose surpassing beautie and feature

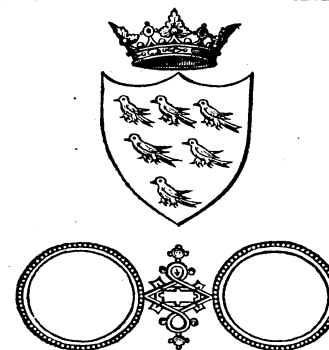
Vortigern so viciously gazed, that he put from him his lawfull and louing wife, to inioy the pleasures of her Paganish bed, and to the great decay of Christianitie, and grieue of the Nobilitie, she became the Kings second wife, and the principall cause of the Lands destruction. By her he had a daughter, who contrary to all lawes either of God or man, was likewise his third wife; by whom he had issue Faustus, that as vertuouly spent the daies of his life, as he was incestuously begot in that wicked bed.

This Rowena, whom some call Ronixa, by Vitarpius is accounted the Niecee, and not the Daughter of Hengist. But seeing his opinion is grounded vpon the youth of Hengist, as not sufficient in yeeres to haue a daughter so marriageable, I rather thinke and hold this bare testimonie vnable to turne the great streame of other Writers out of their vñall course and receiued chancell.

Vitarpius.



ELLA THE FIRST KING OF THE SOVTH-SAXONS, AND SECOND MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.



CHAPTER XIV.



Ella a noble Saxon, being sent for by King Hengist, about the three and twentieth yeere of his raigne, brought a fresh supply of those Germans to the reliefe of his Countrymen, who with his forces landed at the haven now called Shoreham in Suffex, where putting backe the Inhabitants in many skirmishes, lastly chased them into a great wood then called Andredeslege, whence often being assailed by the sudden assaults of the Britaines, wherein, as may be thought, he lost the liues of his two elder sonnes, was so hardly beset, that hee sent for more aid of his Saxons, who came to his supply.

(2) His strength thus augmented, and ambition still increased, he fought three cruell and bloody battels, but the last of them most fatal against the Britaines, in the place then called Macrodes-burne, and besieging the ancient and famous City Anared-Chester situated in the said great forest, and chiefe defensible

fortresse in all those Southern parts, intercepted the Britaines that came to their reliefe, and entering the same by an assault, put to the sword all that were found within it. After which great losse, the Britaines fought rather to provide for their owne safety by flying into desert places, then by making open resistance to procure their owne too apparant destruction.

(3) Ella in this state continued the time of five yeeres before he assumed the name of King, or the limits of that Prouince assigned vnder his gouernment, but then without any shew of resistance laid the foundation of this Kingdome, which was the second of the Saxons; and as Hengist held Kent, so he had Suffex and Surrey for his Possellion, wherein for six yeeres space with Hengist he liued, and that with such approbation of valour as that after his death he became the second Saxon Monarch of the Englishmen, in the yeere of grace 488.

(4) He is said to be the elder sonne of Osa, whose genealogie Florentius of Worcester thus deriueth: Osa (faith he) was the sonne of Ethebert, and he the sonne of Ingengeat, who was the sonne of Angengist, whose father was Alufa, the sonne of Imgebrand, the sonne of

Ella, Monar.

An. Do. 488.

Ell, how long he reigned.

Florus Wigorn.

An. D. 581.
Ell, how long he reigned.

Ell, how long he reigned.

Ell, how long he reigned.

Saxon Monarch.

An. Do. 450.
F. d. s.
M. l. s. b.

of *Wegbrand*, the sonne of *Beorn*, the sonne of *Beornus*, the elder sonne of *Brand*, the sonne of *Bealdeag*, the sixth sonne of prince *Woden* and of Lady *Fria* his wife.

(5) His issue were *Kymen*, *Plenching*, and *Cissa*, three valiant sonnes, that came ouer with him, and assulted him in his enterprises for *Britaine*. From *Kymen*, the port wherein they arriued, was called *Kymeniflore*; by the *Britaines*, *Cuncusshore*, which time and seas hath both shortened, and altered: and now is it called *Shorcham*, a well knowne haven in *Sussex*. This Prince came to his graue before his Father, either by the stroke of warres, or by the course of nature, without further mention of his acts, and his succession, cut off by his death.

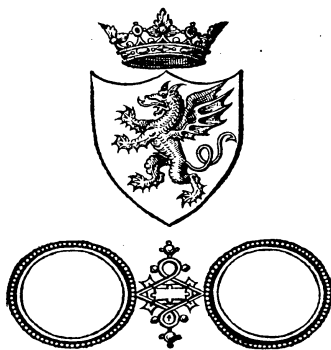
(6) *Plenching* his second sonne, was borne vnto him in the Lowe countries of *Germany*, and with his brethren assisted his Father to the attaining of the *South-Saxons* Crowne; but being cut off by vntimely death, whether by the hand of the enemy, or by natures ap-

pointment, is vncertaine.

(7) The youngest sonne of king *Ella*, was *Cissa*, whom death spared to liue a long life; but fame as sparing to adorne it with memory of his acts: for nothing of him is left memorabell, besides the building of *Chechefer*. Fortune indeed for his fathers Crowne on his head, but kept the Imperiall Diademe in her owne hand, to adorne the head of a worthier bearer, which was *Cherdik* the *West-Saxon*, vnto whom *Cissa* gaue yeerely contribution, to secure him from the *Britaines*, as before and after hath been, and shall bee shewed.

(8) This *Ella* his entrance and erection of his Kingdome, for time is vncertaine; but his raigne therein, as also in his Monarchie, is more certainelie knowne: for hee was King of the *South-Saxons* the space of thirty two yeeres, and Monarch of the *Englismen* six and twenty, dying in the yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred and fouretene, which was the thirty sixth after his first arriual into *Britaine*.

CHERDIK THE FIRST KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.



CHAPTER XV.



He *Saxons* Sunne, thus risen and high ascended vpon the South of *Britaine*, began now to sprede his beames towards the *West*; for *Kent* being quietly possessed by King *Eske*, and *South-Saxia*, with all the subdued, at the dispose of great *Ella*, *Cherdik* a valiant Captaine of the Low Country *Germanys*, thought himselfe as sufficient in warres, and as able to reach at, to weare, and to weld a Crowne of Estate, as either of them that had so done before him: and seeing that *Britaine* was now the seede-plot for *Diadems*, set his affection and preparation that way.

(2) He with his forces entred in the *West* of that Iland, where he in his first battell so danted the Inhabitants, that apparat signes of approaching glory were

added to his aspiring hopes: for therein hee slew *Natanlead*, otherwise called *Nazaleod*, a mighty King of the *Britaines*, whereby an easie entrance was laid open to his desired Empire, and a more easie warre left to his posteritie. This battle chanced about the yeere of Christ Iesus six hundred and eight, and was fought in the region of *Natanlead*, (which Country bare the name of the King) and neere vnto a brooke of water in the *West* of *Hampshire*, which from *Cherdik* began to be called *Cherdiksford*, where now a Towne of the same name standeth, but by contraction and shortness of speech is called *Chardford*.

(3) *Florentius* of *Worcester*, the *Saxons* Genealogist (as I may well terme him) bringeth this *Cherdik* (as he doth the rest of the *Saxon* Kings) from the ancient Prince *Woden*, and that in this manner: *Cherdik* (saith he) was the sonne of *Elisus*, and hee the sonne of *Ella*, the sonne of *Gerisus*, the sonne of *Wigga*, the sonne of *Friathin*, the sonne of *Frodegar*, the brother of *Beorn*, the progenitor of *Ida* the first King of *Bernicia*, and both

both of them the sonnes of *Brand*, the sonne of *Bealdeag*, the fifth sonne of the foresaid *Woden*.

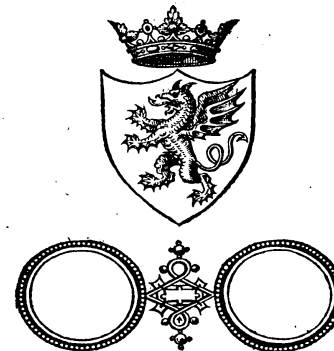
(4) In the feuenth yeere of *Ella* his Monarchie, was his arriage, and six yeeres after hee beganne his Kingdome of the *West-Saxons*, leaving himselfe and foundation thereof betwixt the *Britaines* and the *South-Saxons*, for whose further securitie, *Cissa* King of that Prouince, gaue him an yeerely contribution towards the maintenance of his charge in warre; wherein hee got such reputation, that after the death of *Ella*, and the thirteenth of his owne raigne, hee assumed the Monarchie vnto himselfe, and was both the first King of the *West-Saxons*, and the third Monarch of the *Englismen*, wherein he continued the space of twentie one yeeres, and deceased in the yeere of our Lord five

hundred thirty five, being the three and thirtieth of his Kingdome, and the fortieth after his first arriual.

(5) His issue were two sonnes, *Kenrik* and *Chelwofe*: the one immediately; and the issue of the other collaterally attained to the same possession and title that *Cherdike* heere first laid.

(6) *Chelwofe* his second sonne (for of *Kenrik* the eldest wee are heereafter to speake) hath little mention made among our writers: more then that hee was the Ancestour of *Eskwin* the eight King of the *West-Saxons*, that is to say, the father to *Kenfrid* the father of *Kenfy*; which *Kenfy* had issue the said *Eskwin*, who was the Successor of king *Kenwalk*, and predecessor of King *Kentwin* in the kingdome of the *West-Saxons*.

KENRIK THE SECOND KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND FOVRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.



CHAPTER XVI.



Enrik, the eldest sonne of King *Cherdik* (as is said) being borne in *Germanie*, and following his father into *Britaine*, valiantly serued vnder him, as well in the Battle fought against King *Natanlead*, the first day of his arriage, as in other battles against the *Britaines* in other places; namely, at *Cherdiksford*, *Cherdisley*, and in the Conquest of the *Ile of Wight*. Immediately vpon the death of his Father, he succeeded in his whole dominions, and was ordained the second King of the *West-Saxons*, and the fourth Monarch of the *Englismen*, beginning his raigne ouer both at one and the same time, the yeere of Christs Natuitie six hundred thirty foure.

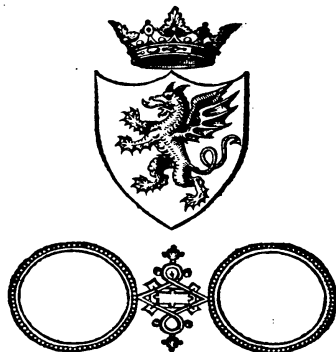
(2) And enlarging his confines vpon the Territories of the *Britaines*, gaue them two great overthrowes; the one at *Saresbery* in *Wiltshire*, and the other at *Banbury* in *Oxfordshire*, which was fought the two and twentieth of his raigne, whereby his fame grew more renowned, and his Kingdome in more quiet after. He raigned the space of twenty six yeeres, and left this life in the yeere of our Lord God five hundred sixty.

(3) He had issue three sonnes, *Chenline*, *Cuthwofe*, and *Cuth*. *Chenline* the first, succeeded his father in the Monarchie, and *West-Saxons* Kingdome.

(4) *Cuthwofe*, the second, assisted his brother in many victories, as presently in his raigne shall follow. And *Cuth*, the third brother, famous in his issue, though mentionlesse for action in himselfe, whereof more largely hath bene spoken in the raigne of *Kenrik*, as he was King only of the *West-Saxons*.



CHEVLIN THE THIRD KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND FIFTH MONARCH OF THE ENG- LISHMEN.



CHAPTER XVII.



Chevlín, the eldest sonne of King *Kenric*, served with great commendations vnder his father, in all his warres against the *Britains*, and is specially mentioned at the Battle of *Banbury* in *Oxfordshire*; and after his fathers death became the third King of

the *West-Saxons*, and the fifth Monarch of the *Englishmen*. Hee much enlarged the bounds of his Kingdom, and increased the power and glorie of the *West-Saxons*.

(2) For continuing the warres where his Father left, did not onely subdue the *Britains* in many Battles, but also set himselfe against his owne Nation the *Saxons*, and fought to impose the scope of his power vpon the South of the River *Thames*: for entering *Kent* (whole King was then a child, by name *Ethelbert*, the sonne of *Imerik*) at *Wiphaun* or *Wilbandun* in *Surry*, in a set and fore Battle, defeated all his forces, whence the young King was chased, and two of his greatest Captaines, bearing the names of *Dukes*, were slaine, as we haue said.

(3) Not long after this victory, he set his minde to enlarge his *West-Saxons* Dominions vpon the possession of the declining *Britains*, and to that end furnished forth a great Band of his Souldiers, whereof he made his brother *Cuthwin* chiefe *Generall*. These marching to *Bedford*, gaue Battle to the *Britains*, where they slew them downe-right, and surprized foure of their chiefe Townes, at that time called *Liganburge*, *Egleborough*, *Benington*, and *Eussham*, which they fortified, to their owne strength, and the *Britains* great losse.

(4) And following the Tract of his fore-going fortunes, about six yeeres after sent forth againe his *Saxons*, vnder the conduct of the forefaid *Cuthwin*, who encountered the *Britains* at *Diorth* or *Deorham*, with such valour and successe, that besides great

slaughter of the *British* Souldiers, three of their Kings, whose names were, *Coimmagill*, *Candidan*, and *Farimnagill*, fell in the Field, with the surprizall of these three Cities, *Glocester*, *Bathe*, and *Cirencester*. Then (saith *Gylas*) euidently appeared the Lands destruction, the sins of the *Britains* being the only cause, when neither Prince nor People, Priest nor Leuite, regarded the Law of the Lord, but disobediently wandered in their owne waies.

(5) But no greater were the finnes of the *Britains*, then the vnassailable desires of the *Saxons* were to conquer: for *Chevlín* about the last of *Malgoe* his gouernment, met the *Britains* at *Fethanleah*, in the face of a Field, which was fought out, to the great slaughters of them both, and with the death of Prince *Cuth*, King *Chevlín* sonne: notwithstanding the victorie fell on his side with great spoiles obtained, and possessions of many Prouinces, which himselfe no long time enioied.

(6) For growne proud through his many prosperous victories against his enemies, and tyrannizing ouer his owne Subiects, the *West-Saxons*, fell into such contempt, that they ioined with the *Britains* for his destruction. The greatest against him, was disloyall *Chell*, or *Cearik*, his nephew, the sonne of *Cuthwin* his most loyall brother, whom both the Nations had collected for *Generall*. Vnder him they mustered and march into *Wiltshire*, and at *Wodnesbeote* (now *Wannes-ditch*) pitch downe their Standards. *Chevlín* that thought hee lead fortune in a leafe, with confident boldnesse built his present proceedings vpon his former successe, and in the face of his enemies displaced his colours. But the Battles ioined, and the Field goared with blood, the day was lost vpon the Kings side, and he in distresse saued himselfe by flight. Heere might you haue scene the world, as it is, vnconstant and variable; for he a *Mars*, that had ouer-borne the *Britains* in so many Battles, and had raised his *Saxons* vnto so great a height, is forced to flee before his conquered Captiues, and to exile himselfe from the sight of his owne Subiects, after he had gloriously reigned thirty one yeeres, or (as some will) thirty three, and as a meane

meane man, died in his banishment, the yeere of grace five hundred ninety two.

(7) He had issue two sonnes, which were *Cuth* and *Cuthwin*, the elder whereof had valiantly serued in his fathers warres, namely at *Wimbledone* in *Surry*, against King *Ethelbert* and his power of *Kentishmen*, in the yeere of Christ five hundred sixty seven; and lastly in the Battle at *Fethanleah*, where the *Britains* received a great ouerthrow. Notwithstanding, as hee was valiantly fighting among the thickest of his enemies, hee was there slaine, in the yeere of our Lord five hundred eighty foure, being the five and twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, and that without issue.

(8) *Cuthwin*, the younger sonne of King *Chevlín*, suruiued his father, but succeeded him not, because of his young yeeres; or else (and that rather) for the hatred that his father had purchased of his Subiects, which they repaid him in his owne expulsion, and in this his sonnes deprivation. But although the wreath of the *West-Saxons* did not adorne this *Cuthwines* head, yet shone it more bright, and stood with greater maiesty vpon the browes of *Ina*, the warlike and zealous King of *West-Saxons*, and of *Egbert* the victorious and first sole absolute Monarch of the *English Empire*: both of them in a right line issued from this *Cuthwin*, as in the seuenth Chapter we haue said.



ETHELBERT THE FIFTH, AND FIRST CHRISTIAN KING OF KENT, AND THE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENG- LISHMEN, HIS WIVES AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XVIII.



He flame of the *West-Saxons* for a time thus quenched, the Lampe of *Kent* began againe to shine, and to assume the Title of the Monarchie, after it had bene suppressed in them through the raignes of these foure last Kings: for young *Egbert* entrance,

with the great losse of his *Kentish*, ouerthrowne by King *Chevlín*, gaue rather inducements to a tributary subiection, then any apparant hopes to purchase an Empire.

(2) But such is the dispose of God in his hidden Counsell, that things of least appearance many times become the greatest in substance, as in this Prince it was euidently scene, who making vse of his owne youth and losse, got thereby experience, both to defend himselfe, and to prouoke others, and with such victories abroad, repaired his losses at home, that as farre as *Humber* he made all subiect to *Kent*.

(3) Thus growne to be the greatest of any *Saxon* before him, hee fought to hold it vp for foraine alliance, and to that end became suter for *Berta* a most vertuous Christian Lady, the daughter of *Chilperik*

King of *France*, vnto whom by her father she was lastlie granted, but with these conditions, that she might reuerue her *Christian Profession*, enioy the presence and the instructions of *Luidhard* her learned Bishop, with the place of his Queene.

(4) These couenants concluded, and many *French* Christians attending her in his Court, by their daily seruice of God, and continuall practise of pietie, drew many of the *English* to fauour their Religion, yea and the King also to bee inclined that way. And as these were working the saluation of *Kent*, behold Gods proceedings for the conuersion of the reft.

(5) It chanced great *Gregory* (then but Arch-deacon of *Rome*) to see certaine youths of this Iland brought to that Citie, to be sold for slaues: His Christian heart pitying at such heathenish tyrannizing, and beholding stedfastly their faces to be faire and Angel-like, demanded of their Merchants, of what Nation they came; who made him answer, that they were *Angles*, and by that name were knowne vnto other Nations. Indeed, said he, and nor without cause, for their resemblance is *Angelicall*, and fit it is that they be made inheritorious with the *Angels* in Heauen. But of what Prouince are they? said *Gregory*. It was replied; Of *Deira*, a Country situated in the Continent of *Britaine*. Now surely, saith he, it is great pity but these people

*Aufine com-
menced Eng-
land.*

*Aufine and his
followers main-
tained in Can-
tury.*

*Beda lib. 1. lib. 2.
cap. 16. Bede lib. 1. cap. 16.*

*Gregory lib. 7.
cap. 28.*

*Canterbury
given to Aufine.*

*161. Lambert
a rabon of Kent.*

*The burial of
the dead granted
within the Citie.*

people should bee taken from *Deira*, the ire of God. And farther asking what was the name of their King, it was answered, that he was called *Ella*; whereunto he alluding, said, that *Alleluia*, to the praise of God, in that Princes Dominions should shortly be sung.

(6) And to that purpose himselfe, being afterwards Pope, sent *Aufine* a Monke, with forty others, for assistance, whereof *Melitus*, *Iustus*, and *Iohn* were chiefe. These landing in *Tanet*, in the month of *Iuly*, about five hundred ninety and six yeeres after the Incarnation of Christ, and one hundred forty and seven after the first marriage of these *Angles* into *Britaine*, had immediately access vnto the presence of King *Ethelbert*, but yet in the open Field, for hee feared to conferre with them in any house, left by force (as hee fondly furnished) he might be overcome.

(7) These preaching vnto him the word of life, his answer was, that presently he could not consent to their Doctrine, neither rashly forsake his ancient and accustom'd Religion. But seeing (said hee) you tell vs strange things, and giue vs faire promises of after life, when this life shall be ended, wee permit you to preach the fame to our people, and to conuert as many as you can; and wee our selues will minister all things behoouefull for your livelihood. Which promise hee instantly performed, and in *Canterbury* his head City, allowed them fit places for residence, and sufficient prouision for their maintenance; wherein these religious men, following in some measure the examples of the Apostles, spent their times in preaching and prayers, watching for the peoples conuersions, and exercising the workes of true piety, as examples and motives vnto others, to embrace the Gospel which they fought to plant.

(8) Neere vnto the East part of the City, stood an ancient Church, built by the *Christian Romans*, whiles they had dwelt in *Britaine*, and by them dedicated to the honour of *S. Martin*, and is so yet called. To this Church the *Christian Queen* *Berta*, with her Communicants the *French*, daily resorted to pray, and vnto these, and in this Church, *Aufine* and his fellows began daily to preach: vnto whose Sermons so many of the *Kentish* also resorted, that a plentiful harvest in short time appeared, vpon the felds-plot of their tillage; for it is reported that ten thousand of the *English* people were baptized there in one day, inasmuch that the King himselfe forooke his *Heathenish Idolatrie*, and likewise received the Sacrament of Baptisme, vnto his situation in *Christ*: in witness whereof, hee gaue the Lordship and Royaltie of his chiefe Citie *Canterbury*, vnto *Aufine*, and resigned his princely Palace therein vnto him, who in the East of this City laid the foundation of that great, and afterwards magnificent Church, dedicated to the seruice and name of *Christ*, which at this day is the Cathedral of that *Metropolitan See*: and *Ethelbert* to giue him more roome, withdrew himselfe vnto *Reculer* in *Tanet*, where he erected a Palace for himselfe and his successeurs, the compass whereof may be traced by an old wal, whose ruines remaine there yet to this day.

(9) *Aufine* thus seated, and in the well deferred fauour of King *Ethelbert*, got one request more, which was this, that whereas by the Law of the *Twelue Tables*, it was forbidden to bury the dead within the walles of any Citie, (the practise whereof, wee daily finde by monuments taken vp in the fields adjoining) it would please him to giue to that use, an old Idol Temple standing without the East Wall of the Citie, wherein the King himselfe had wontedly worshipped his Idols. This obtained, and the Church purged fro that prophane exercise, to the seruice of God, being honored with the name of *S. Pancras*, King *Ethelbert* added thereunto a most faire Monastrie, built vpon his owne cost, and dedicated it vnto the name of *Peter* and *Paul* the Apostles, appointing it to bee the place for the *Kentish* Kings Sepulchers, and *Aufine* likewise meant it for the Burials of his successeurs in that See. But first it became the Monument of his owne name: for in regard of the Procurer, both *Pan-*

cras, *Peter*, and *Paul* were soone swallowed vp, and the whole called only by the name of *S. Aufines*. In this place, eight Kings of *Kent* had their bodies interred, and tenne of their *Arch-bishops* therein laid, vntill that *Cuthbert* the cleuenth in succession, in fauour of *S. Iohn*, a new Church by him erected, procured of King *Egbert* the sonne of *Ercombert*, that the succeeding *Arch-bishops* might be buried there. This Monastrie, as all the rest did, came to her fatal period in the daies of King *Henry* the Eighth, whose vncouered walles stood so long languishing in time and stormes of weather, that daily increased the aspect of her ruines, till now lastly they are made subiect to other publike uses, and the whole tract of that most goodly foundation in the same place no where appearing. Onely *Ethelberts Tower*, in memorie and honour of the man, as yet hath escaped the verdict and sentence of destruction; whose beauty, though much defaced and ouerborne, will witness to succeeding ages the magnificence of the whole, when all stood compleat in their glory together.

(10) These his happie beginnings, *Aufine* signified by Letters to *Rome*, and withall demanded directions, how he might further proceed: which questions, were they not written by the *Venerable Bede*, wee could hardly beleue that such idle conceits should haue place in the minde of a man so well and fruitfully buied: as, *Whether a woman with child might receive the Sacrament of Baptisme, or in her monthly discharge, the holy Communion, or enter the Church: how long after her deliuerance, the husband ought to refrain her Bed: How the Gifts that were offred on the Altar, ought to be distributed: and vnto what degree of consanguinitie Christians might marie: and many others such like*, as though himselfe had neuer read either *Moses* or *Paul*. But of the thing then more needfull, for that at that time it stirred most contention, it seemeth he was sufficiently instructed; neither among his other questions is it once named: and that was, the due time for the celebration of *Easter*: the difference whereof, betwixt the *Britaines* and the *Romans* was such, that it caused Lord-like *Aufine* to prophesie (if not to seeke) their destructions, and they in their opinions, to hold him no better then the Man of Sinne: for thus the *Storie* is reported.

(11) *Aufine*, by the assistance and authoritie of King *Ethelbert*, called an Assemblies of the *British Bishops* and *Doctors*, that had retained the doctrine of the Gospel among them, euen from the first plantation thereof by the Apostles themselves, to be holden in the Borders of the *Pictians* and *West-Saxons*, and at the place vpon that occasion called *Aufines Oake*: thither resorted seven *British Bishops*, and many other well learned men (saith *Beda*) out of their greatest Monastrie at *Bangor*, where at that time *Dimoth* was Abbat. These men now ready to goe to the foreaid Synod, came first to a certaine holy and wise man, which lived thereabout an Anchorite life, to aske his counsell, whether they ought as *Aufine* preaching and exhortation, leane their Traditions or no: The Anchorite replied, If he be a man of God, follow him. But how shall we proue (said they) that hee is a man of God? The Anchorite answered, Our Lord (saith, Take ye on you my Yoke, and learne ye of me, for I am milde and humble of heart. If therefore this *Aufine* be milde and humble of heart, it is like that himselfe beareth the Yoke of *Christ*, and will offer you the same to beare. But if hee be curst and proud, it is certaine that hee is not of God, neither must we much esteeme his words. Then they enquired, how they might know whether this *Aufine* were proud or no? *Prouide* (quoth he) that he and his companie may come first to the place of the Synod or Councell-house: and if hee be so that when you approach neere him, he arise courteously, and salute you, then thinke him to bee the seruant of *Christ*, and so beare him, and obey him: but if when you approach, hee despise you, and will not vouchsafe to rise at your presence, which are the greater number, let him likewise be despised of you. And truly (saith hee) as this Anchorite bade them, so did they: for it happened, that when they came thither, *S. Aufine* was already set in his chaire, and stirred not: which

S. Aufine, natie.

Ethelberts Tower yet standing.

Beda lib. 1. lib. 2. cap. 27.

Aufine's tower on the top of the hill.

Exod. 12.

Exod. 12.

Exod. 12.

Exod. 12.

Exod. 12.

Exod. 12.

Exod. 12.

which when they saw, forthwith waxing wroth, they noted him of pride, and therefore endeuoured to overthrow him, and gain say whatsoeuer he propofed. And so the Synod brake vp without any thing done.

Thus then wee see, that the substance of doctrine was embraced in *Britaine*, before the sending of *Aufine* from *Rome*: only in ceremonies they differed, as the most of Christian Churches, without derogation to the Gospel, at this day doe. And this for the celebration of *Easter*, a matter of no great moment (if we consider our Christian libertie, and the Apostles feare, that the obseruations of daies, months, times, and yeeres, turne the hearts after beggerly rudiments, bring againe into bondage, and make his labours for *Christ* in vaine) yet for the different obseruation only of this Feast from the *Romans*, how oft are the *Britaines* termed by *Beda*, a wicked people, a curst nation, and well deserving those calamities which the Lord did afflict vpon them? This controuersie for *Easters* celebration, thus begun, continued no lesse then ninety yeeres after, and was lastly concluded in manner as followeth.

(12) This variance (saith *Beda*) made not onely the people to doubt and feare, left bearing the name of *Christians*, they did and had runne in vaine, as the Apostles speaketh, but also good *Osby* King of *Northumberland*, and learned Prince *Alkfrid*, with *Queen* *Eanfleda*, were much distracted and perplexed: for by this variance (saith hee) it often times hapned, that in one yeere two *Easters* were kept; for the King breaking vp his Fast, and solemnizing of the Feast, the *Queen* with Prince *Alkfrid*, continued their Fast, and kept that day their *Palme-Sunday*. To conclude which contrarietie, a Synod purposely was called, and the Question disputed by their best Diuines. The place was *Stranalech* or *Whitley*, whereof *Hilda* was Abbess. The chiefe parties for, and against the accustomed time of keeping that feast, were King *Osby* and Prince *Alkfrid* his sonne. The Disputers for *Osby* and the established orders, were *Colman* Arch-bishop of *York*, with his *Scottish Clergie*, and *Hilda* the vertuous and learned Lady Abbess of the place. For *Alkfrid* and the attempted alteration, were *Agilbert* Bishop of the *West-Saxons*, *Wilfrid* Abbat of *Rippon*, with *Iames* and *Romanus*, two learned men, and the reuerend *Cedda* newly consecrated Bishop, appointed Prolocutor of the Assembly.

The Conuocation set, King *Osby* made a solemn Oration, wherein hee urged a necessitie, that those people which serued one God, ought to celebrate his heavenly Sacraments alike, and should keepe one order and rule in the fame: the truth of which seruice, and force of that long vnchristian variance, for the Christian celebration and time of *Easter*, was then presently by those learned men to bee handled, and by best approuements to be determined; whereunto hee requested their vttermost endeuours, and to that purpose commanded his Arch-bishop *Colman* first to speake: whereupon *Colman* with reuerence stood vp and said: *T he Easter which I obserue, I receiued of my Fore-fathers, of whom I was consecrated, and sent hither for your Bishop. They all (you know) were godly men, and obserued the Feast as we doe now: neither thinke you they kept this tradition without sure warrant from greater then themselves, which was Saint Iohn the Euangelist, and the Disciple whom Iesus especially loved, who in the Churches which himselfe planted, celebrated the Feast of Easter, as we doe now. Therefore knowing the man so worthy, and the manner so ancient, I hope you will all con- fesse, it is not safe for vs now to reiect.*

Wilfrid the declaimer, appointed to answer, stood vp and said: *T he Easter which we obserue, wee our selues haue sene obserued in Rome, where the blessed Apostles Peter and Paul liued, preached, suffred, and are buried: and in our travels thorow France and Italie, either for studie or upon pilgrimage, we haue sene the same order kept: and we know by relation, that in Africa, Asia, Egypt and Greece, may thorowout all nations and tongues in the world where Christ hath his Church, that this our time and order*

is obserued. Shall then these obstinate Picts (I meane the Britaines) and these remote lands in the Ocean Sea, as yet not all of them neither, fondly contend in this point against the whole world?

But here *Colman* interrupted him, and said, *I much marvel, brother, that you terme our doings a fond contention, seeing we haue for our warrant an Apostle as Iohn was, who only leaned vpon our Lords breast, and whose life and behaviour all the world acknowledged to bee most wise and discreet.*

God forbid (*Alkfrid* Wilfrid) that I should accuse Iohn: but yet we know that he kept the decrees of *Moses* literally, and according to the *Iewish Lawes*; and so the rest of the Apostles were constrained in some things to doe, for the weakness of them who accounted it a great sin to abrogate those rites that God himselfe had instituted; and for that cause *S. Paul* did circumsise *Timothee*, offred blood-sacrifices in the Temple, shaued his head at *Corinth* with *Aquila* and *Priscilla*: vpon which consideration also *Iames* vnto *Paul*, You see brother how many thousand of the *Iewes* haue receiued the faith, and all of these are yet zealous followers of the Law. But the light of the Gospel now shining thorow the world, it is not lawfull for any Christian to bee circumsised, or to offer up bloody sacrifices of Beasts. Saint Iohn therefore, according to the custome of the Law, in the fourteenth day of the first month, at euen began the celebration of *Easters* Festiuitie, regardlesse whether it fell vpon the Sabbath day, or any other of the weeke. But *S. Peter* preaching the Gospel in *Rome*, remembering that our Lord arose from his graue the first day after the Sabbath, giuing thereby vnto vs certaine assurance of our resurrection, obserued the Feast of Easter according to the Commandement of that Law he looked for, euen as *S. Iohn* did, that is to say the first Sabbath after the full Moone of the first month. Neither doth this new obseruation of the Gospel, and Apostles practise, breake the old Law, but rather fulfilleth it: for the Law commandeth the Feast of *Passeouer* to bee kept from the fourteenth day of that month, to the twentieth and one of the same. And this hath the *Nicene Councell* not newly decreed, but rather confirmed (as the Ecclesiasticall Historie witnesseth) that this is the true obseruation of Easter, and of all Christians after this account is to bee celebrated: and thereupon charged Bishop *Colman*, that hee neither obserued it according to Iohn nor Peter.

To this the Bishop replied, that *Anatholius* for his holiness much commended by the said Ecclesiasticall Historie, and *Columba* a Father of like Antiquitie, by whom miracles were wrought, kept the Feast according as he then did, from whose imitation hee durst not digresse.

Your Fathers, which you pretend to follow, how holy souer they bee (saith *Wilfrid*) and what miracles sene they haue wrought, yet this I answer, that in the day of iudgement many shall say vnto Christ, that they haue prophesied, cast out Diuels, and wrought miracles in his name, to whom our Lord will answer, I know you not. And if your Father *Columba* (yea and our Father, if hee be the true seruant of Christ) were holy and mightie in miracles, yet can hee by no means bee preferred to the most blessed Prince of the Apostles, vnto whom our Lord said, Thou art Peter, and vpon this rocke I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not preuaile against it, and to thee will I giue the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen. Thus said, the King asked *Colman*, whether our Lord indeede spake thus vnto Peter, who answered, He did. But can you (saith hee) giue euidence of so speciall authoritie granted to your Father *Columba*? The Bishop said, No. Then (quoth the King) doe you both agree confidently, that these words were principally spoken vnto Peter, and that vnto him the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen were giuen? They all answered, It is most certaine. Whereupon the King concluded this great controuersie, and said, *T hen will not I gainsay such a Porter as this is, but as farre as I know, and am able, I will conent in all points to obey his ordinance, left perhaps when I come to the Doores of Heauen, I finde none to open vnto mee, hauing his displeasure, which is so cleerly proued to beare the keyes thereof.*

And with this so simple a collection of King *Osby*, concluded this long and great contention for the celebration of Easter; which heere, as borne before the

*Colman's te-
neritie.*

*Wilfrids mode-
ration.*

Act. 15. 20.

Exod. 12.

*Ruffian lib. 10.
cap. 6.*

Colman.

Wilfrid.

Matth. 7.

Matth. 16.

*The Synod mild-
lie dimittid by
King Osby.*

time, I haue inferted, to continue the narration thereof together, & to avoid repetition of the same things, which I seeke purposely to shunne; and so to returne againe to King Ethelbert.

(13) Who now became an instrument himselfe for the conuersions of his Nation the Saxons. The first fruits of his intendements were wrought vpon Sebert King of the East-Angles, his owne sisters sonne, whom not onely hee converted to Christianitie, but therein assisted him in the building of the Cathedrall Church of S. Paul for Miletus his Bishop; as also the Church of S. Peters on the West of London, then called Thorney, with the assistance of a London Citizen, as some haue said; and himself at Rochester, built the Cathedrall Church there, which he dedicated to the Apostle S. Andrew.

(14) This noble King having a care for them that should come after, brought the Lawes of his Country into their owne mother tongue, and left nothing vnattempted, that might aduance the glorious Gospell of Christ, or with honour adorne his owne temporal raigne; and is worthily an example to all succeeding Princes, in all true pietie, and heroical parts of a true Christian King. He died the foure and twentieth day of Februarie, in the yeere of our Lord God six hundred and sixteene, being the one and twentieth of his Christianitie, the three and twentieth of his Monarchie, and the fifty sixth of his Kingdome of Kent, and was buried at Canterbury in the Church of S. Peter and Paul, afterwards called S. Augustines, in the Chapell of S. Martinus.

(15) His first wife was Berta, the daughter of Chilperik King of France, as we haue said, who was the son of King Clotaire, the sonne of Clodoue, the first Christian King of that Country. Shee decaied before the King her husband, and was buried in the Church of S. Peter & Paul and Canterburie, within the Chapell of S. Martinus there.

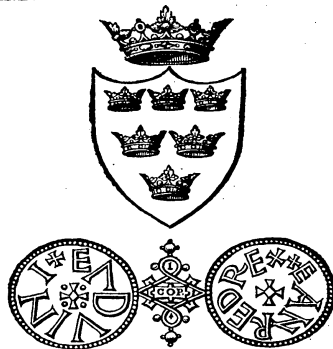
(16) He had a second wife, whose name is not recorded by any Writer, being, as is thought, unworthy of remembrance, because of the vnnatural contract and marriage of Edwald her husbands sonne; a sinne that both Law and Religion doe condemne: and lastly by her conuerted husband was forsaken, without either note of her issue or death.

(17) The issue of King Ethelbert by Queene Berta were Edwald that succeeded him in the Kentish Kingdome, Ethelburg, and Edburge two daughters.

(18) Ethelburg, the elder, was a Lady of passing beautie and pietie, and surnamed Tace, who greatly desired and intended a Virgins life, had not her mind bene auerted by the intreaty of her brother, the persuasions of Bishop Paulinus, and the earnest suit of Edwine King of Northumberland; vnto which Edwine lastly he yielded to bee his wife, in hope of his conuersion, and vnto whom for that purpose Pope Boniface directed his Epistle from Rome, earnestly exhorting her that shee should bee diligent for the Kings saluation: which shee soone after effected, to the great joy of both the Kings, and to the comfort and increase of the Christian Faith thorowout England.

(19) Edburge, another daughter of King Ethelbert, is warranted only by the testimonie of John Capgrave, a great trauelier in Antiquities, and should bee most skilful in his own Country of Kent: notwithstanding he is to be suspected in this, that hee reporteth her to haue bene a Nunne in the Monasterie of Minster in the Ile of Thanet, vnder the Foundresse Domneue, being the daughter of her nephew Ermenred, and that shee succeeded in the government of that house, Mildred the daughter of the same Domneue. Hee reporteth also, that shee died and was buried in the same place, and that her body was from thence remooued by the Arch-bishop Lankfrank, to his Church of S. Gregorie in Canterburie.

REDVVALD THE THIRD KING OF THE EAST-ANGLES, AND SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WIVES AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XIX.

An. D. 616.



Edwald, the sonne of Titulus, and the third King of the East-Angles, had been a substitute vnder Ethelbert King of Kent, and serued a long time as his Vice-roy ouer all his dominions, whereby he gained such reputation to himselfe, that either for

his owne valour, or Edwalds vices, (contemned of the people for his Apostatie, sensle, and incestuous bed) became the seuenth Monarch of the Englishmen, about the yeere of Christ his Incarnation six hundred and sixteene; and the twentieth and fourth of his raigne ouer the East-Angles.

(2) This Redwald (saith Beda) had receiued Baptisme in Kent, but in vaine, and without zeale, as it afterwards appeared. For returning to his Country, through the perswasion of his wife, returned againe

Beda hist. lib. 3. cap. 31.

to

to his superstitious worships; and in one and the same Temple, after the manner of the old Samaritans, hee erected an Altar for the seruice of Christ, and another little Altar for burnt sacrifices to his Idols, which stood vnto the daies of Beda himselfe. But as he was an instigator to the East-Saxons idolatry, so was hee an instrument to the further spreading of Christianitie (though not by her so purposely meant) in fauour the life of Edwine, who afterwards planted the Gospell in all the North parts of the Saxons government.

(3) For Edwine flying the rage of wilde Ethelfrid, was succoured and maintained in the Court of King Redwald, vnto whom lastly, the Northumbrian sent both threats and rewards to haue him deliuered, or else put to death: and surely had not the Queene stood for his life, he had presently died. But shee alleasing the law of humanitie, the trust of a friend, and the royaltie of a Prince, prevailed so farre, that Redwald did not onely saue his life, but assisted him in battell, to the destruction of his enimie, and the gaining of Northumberlands Crowne. For vpon the return of Ethelfrids Ambassadors, vnto whom Redwald had yielded to make Edwine away, he with his power of the East-Angles were at their backes, and as an enimie made towards Northumberland.

(4) Ethelfrid, whose rage and reuenge was ready enough vpon lesser occasions, with such sudden preparation as he was able to make, met the East-Angles almost at Nottingham, and that not farre from the Riuer Idle, where boldly encountering his vnequall enimie, at the first brunt slew Reynhere the sonne of King

Redwald, to the great griefe of him and his whole host: whose reuenge was so violently fought, that they slew King Ethelfrid in the field, and established Edwine to be his successor; which was the second yeere of Redwalds Monarchy.

(5) Wherein he raigned the space of eight yeeres, and was King of the East-Angles thirty one; and decaied in the yeere of our Lord six hundred twentie foure; the eighth of Edwalds King of Kent; the thirteenth of King's King of the West-Saxons, and the eighth of Edwins ouer the Northumbrians.

(6) The Queene and wife of this King is not named by any of our Writers, but that she had been the widow of a Nobleman, defended of the bloud-royall of that Nation, and was a Lady that had deserued great commendations for the many vertues by her possessed, had been a Christian, or a fauor of the Christians, or had not been an vtter enemy to their faith. Notwithstanding by her first husband she had a sonne named Sigebert, that proued a learned and most religious Prince, of whom we haue spoken in Chapter eleuenth.

(7) His issue were Reynhere and Erpenwald. Reynhere the elder, and Prince of the East-Angles, was slaine as you haue heard, in the battell that his father fought against wilde Ethelfrid, neere vnto the Riuer Idle in Nottinghamshire.

(8) Erpenwald the younger succeeded his father Redwald in the Kingdome of the East-Angles, and was the fourth King of that Nation, whose life and raigne we haue declared in the succession of the East-Angles Kings: Chapter 11.

Redwald, his raigne.

EDVINE THE GREAT KING OF NORTHVMBERLAND, AND THE EIGHTH SOLE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XX.

An. Do. 617.



He Monarch reuerted from the East-Angles, was next possessed by the Northumbrians, wherein it was held with greater glorie and for longer time. For Edwine in King Redwalds life growne very potent, after his death became his successor in the English Monarch, and most worthily did adorne the same by

his ciuill iustice and diuine pietie: his exile, visions, and obtaining of the Northumbrians Crowne, we haue already spoken of, and therefore without repetition will passe on to his end.

(2) This Edwine, the sonne of great Ella, the first King of the Deirians, was the third King that possessed the same, the eighth of Bernicia, the second (and first Christian) King of all Northumberland, at the age of twenty three, and in the yeere of Christ six hundred twenty foure, succeeded Redwald in the Monarchy, and was the greatest King of all the Saxons. For

An. Do. 624.

(as

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 9.

Hebrides.

(as Beda saith) hee subdued all the coasts of *Britannia* wherefoeuer any Provinces were inhabited, either of *Englifo* or of *Saxons*, which thing no King of the *Englifo* before him had done; and added the *Meutian Iles* vnto his owne Dominions. The first of them, and next the South, was large and fertile, gaue roome for nine hundred and fixty of his *Englifo* Families, and the second, ground for about three hundred Tene-ments.

Ethelburg
good parte.

(3) His first wife dead, he became suiter for Lady *Ethelburg*, daughter to *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, decaied, and sister to King *Eadwald* then reigning: whole Ambassadors were answered, that it was not lawfull for a *Christian* Virgin to be espoused to a *Pagan*, lest the faith and sacraments of the heavenly King should bee prophaned, by the matching with that earthly King, which knew not to worship God aright. But *Edwine* hearing of the Virgins beautie, integrity, and pietie, was so farre ouergone and rauished therewith, that hee condescended, shee should with her place retain her owne *Christian* Profession, and enioy the *Christian* societie both of her men, woman, Priests, and seruants, to bee her attendants in his Court. These couenants thus confirmed, the Lady accompanied with *Paulinus* the reuerend Bishop, and an honourable retinue, all of them *Christian*, came to King *Edwine* Court, and with great ioy theee was espoused his Queene.

A conspiracie.

(4) The greatnesse and prosperitie of this *Northumbrian* King, was both feared by them a farre, that reigned in no such power, and beheld by his neerer, with an enuious eie: among whom, *Quinchelme* that reigned with his father king ouer the *West-Saxons*, sent a desperate Ruffin, whose name was *Eumerus*, to murder *Edwine* the next yeere of his marriage; who repairing to his Court, then resident neere the riuier *Dereunt*, at the place that is now called *Aldeby* in *Yorkshire*, with a double-edged short sword, the point thereof poisoned, and girt vnder his garment, vpon *Easter* day entered his Palace, as an Ambassador, and with craftie speech retained the Kings attention, where getting occasion, and stepping forward, drew his sword, which one *Lilla* the Kings seruant saw, and wanting wherewith to defend his person, put himselfe betwixt the King and the sword: and throw his bodie so flaine, the same was so farre runne, that it dangerously wounded the King with his point, and with the same sword, before hee could be beaten down by the *Guard*, slew another seruant, whose name was *Forthere*.

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 9.

Bishop Paulinus.

(5) It happened the same night, being holy *Easter* Sunday, that Queene *Ethelburg* was brought to bed of a daughter: for ioy whereof, and her safe deliuerance, the King gaue thanks to his *Idols*; which Bishop *Paulinus*, then in presence, greatly reprovied, and bade *Edwine* to giue thanks vnto God, from whom only all goodnesse came; and spake vnto him of our new birth in *Christ*: at which conference the King much reioiced, and promised that hee would euer after renounce all his *Idols*, and worship that *Christ* whom he preached, if that God would grant him his life, and giue him victorie against that King, who had sent this Manqueller to murder him; in pledge whereof, he assigned *Paulinus* to baptise his daughter, the which vpon *Whitsunday* following was performed in her, by the name of *Eanfled*, and shee the first of the *Northumbrians* which received that Sacrament. At which time also, *Edwine* being recouered of his wound so lately received, made an Armie, and marched forth against the *West-Saxons*, and in battle either slew or tooke prisoners all them that had conspired his death, and as a victorious Conquerour, returned to his Country.

(6) Where continuing in honour, and his affaires prospering to his owne desires, hee was yet in minde distracted, and his thoughts continually perplexed, what God he should worship. The sanctitie of the *Christians* moued him much, and the ancient customes of his Ancestours fate neere his heart, betwixt whom there seemed a combat in himselfe. And in

these dumps sitting one day alone, it chanced Bishop *Paulinus* to haue access to his presence, where laying his right hand vpon the kings head, demanded of him whether hee remembered that signe: whereat *Edwine* suddenly fell at the Bishops feete, whom hee in haste and reuerence presently lifted vp, and spake vnto him as followeth.

Behold O Soueraigne (said he) by the bountifull hand and power of our God, you haue escaped the hand and vengeance of your most hated and dreadful enemy. Behold also, by his most gracious goodnes you haue obtained the souerain- tie of raigne and rule of the Kingdom. Remember now therefore the third thing which you promised him, and de- ferre no longer to accomplish the same by receiving his faith and keeping his Commandements, who hath deliuered you from your temporal aduersities, and exalted you to the ho- nour and Maistie of a King; whose holy will if you hereaf- ter obey, and doe his precept which by mee is preached, hee will also deliuer you from the perpetuall torment of Hell, and make you partaker with him in his heavenly Kingdom and eternall blisse without end.

(7) Whereupon conferring with his Counsell, whereof Bishop *Cosy* was chiefe, for the establishing of the Gospell, and suppressing of Idolatrie, it was then concluded, that the true God should be wor- shipped, and the Altars of their wonted *Idols* ouer- throwne: vnto which action, *Cosy* himselfe became the first man; for mounted on horsebacke in armour, with a girt sword and lance in his hand (all which was vnlawfull for those *Idoll-Priests*) he brake downe their Altars, Grates, and Barres, and destroyed their Temples wherefoeuer he came. Some ruines there- of not farre from *York*, and neere vnto the rising of the riuier *Dereunt*, remained to be seen vnto the daies of *Beda*, and were then called *Gottmund* in *Gaham*. And king *Edwine* himselfe, with all his Nobilitie, and most of the Commons, received the lauer of Baptisme, the eleuenth yeere of his raigne, and of *Christs* Incarna- tion six hundred twenty and seuen, one hundred and eighty yeeres after the *Saxons* entrance into *Britaine*. The king was baptized the twelfth of *April*, being *Easter* Sunday, at the Citie *York*, in the Church of *S. Peters*, built then of wood, and was the kings Ora- torie, which he enclosed about with a deepe founda- tion, and laying the walles with squared stones, made it the Cathedrall Church, and his Conuerter *Paulinus* Arch-bishop of that See.

(8) The Gospell thus established in these *North-erne* parts, spread daily further into other Prouin-ces, and with such fruit of peace, that in the raigne of this *Edwine*, and thorowout his Dominions, a weakie woman with her new-borne babe might haue passed without damage or danger ouer all the Iland, euen from Sea to Sea. And so much did the King tender his Subjects, that his prouident care was extended to the way-faring passengers, for whose vse he enclosed cleere Springs by the waies, where he set great Balens of brasle, both to walke and to bathe in; which either for loue or displeasure of the king, no man defaced, or tooke away.

And so great was the magnificence of this *Monarch*, that (according to *Beda*) he had not only in Battle the Ensignes proper to battle borne before him, but in his ordinarie passages thorow the Cities and Towns of his kingdom, there alwaies went an Ensigne-bearer before him. And (to vse the words of the same venerable Author) he went not in any street, in which there was not borne before him that kinde of Stand-ard which the *Romans* called *Tufa*, and the *Englifo* *Thauf*. That the *Romans* had such an Ensigne, as that which here is called *Tufa*, *Iustus Lipsius* in his Com-mentarie vpon that place in *Vegetius* (lib. 3. cap. 5.) where the feuerall Ensignes of the *Romans* are recited, doth declare, correcting that place of *Vegetius* (where *Rufa* was set for *Tufa*) by this place of *Beda*, and in the same shewing, that *Tufa* signified a Ball, as the Ball (by the example of *Augustus*) was an Ensigne of Monar-chie, or absolute government.

(9) But as the Sunne hath his rising, his height

Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 11.Edwine puts
himselfe in
vnto of co-
uenants.Idolatrie abo-
lished.Beda hist. Angl.
cap. 13.Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 16.Tufa the Rom
Ensigne.
Iustus Lipsius.

and descent, and euer is mouing in the circle of his celestiall orbe; so man hath his birth time, being, and death, and till then is neuer staid in one certaine point. Kings therefore, as they be Kings, are the Suns of their owne world, but as they are men, goe to the shadow of death: neither can the strength of their power, wisdom, or policie, loue or applause, stay the hand heere that holds the fatall knife; for so in this King *Edwine* wee see, raised about hope to attaine the Diademe, and ruling in loue and liking of the people, was notwithstanding cut off in the midst of his glorie and greatnesse of strength.

(10) For *Penda* the stout *Mercian* enuying his peace, and *Cadwallo* the *Britaine* seeking to receiue his right, ioined in friendship against this Monarch, and met him as his enemies in the face of a Field. The plaines was large, and called *Heilsfeld*, where after a long and most bloudie fight, king *Edwine* was slaine, with prince *Offryd* his sonne, his whole Host put to the sword, or most shamefull flight: which chanced the fourth of October, the yeere of our Lord six hundred thirty three, the sixth of his *Christianitie*, the se-uenth of his *Monarchie*, the seuenteenth of his king- dome, and the forty seuenth of his age. His bodie was lastly buried in *S. Peters* Church at *Streatshall*, after called *Whitby*.

His Wines.

(11) *Quenburg* his first wife, was the daughter (as *Beda* reporteth) of *Ceorle*, but as all other Writers doe witness, of *Crida* King of *Mercia*. Shee was married vnto him in the beginning of his youth; (and when hee was dispossest of his inheritance by the Tyrant *Ethelfrid*, as we haue said) with him shee liued a great part of his banishment, and in the Court of *Redwald* King of the *East-Angles* decaied, before her husband could recouer his Kingdom.

(12) *Ethelburg*, surnamed *Tate*, was the second wife of this King, who was the daughter of *Ethelbert* King of *Kent*, and of Queene *Berta* his first wife. Shee was married vnto him in the yeere of grace six hundred twentie five, being the second of his Monarchie, and was his wife six yeeres: but suruiuing him, and desirous to liue a religious life, shee returning into *Kent*, withdrew her selfe to a place not far from the Sea side, called *Lymming*, wherein shee built a Mona-sterie of Nunnes, and amongst them spent the rest of her life, and therein died, and was there buried.

His Issue.

(13) *Offryd*, the eldest sonne of King *Edwine*, and *Quenburg* his first wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile among the *East-Angles*. Hee was baptized in the faith of *Christ* by *Paulinus* the first Arch-bishop of *York*, and was slaine the same day, and in the same battell that his father was. He had a sonne named *Iffy*, who was baptized also by Bishop *Paulinus*; and after the death of his father and grand-father, for feare of King *Oswald*, was conueied ouer the Seas into *France*,

to bee brought vp in the Court of King *Dagobert*, where he died in his childhood, and was there honour-ably interred.

(14) *Edfrid*, the second sonne of King *Edwine* and Lady *Quenburg* his first wife, was borne in the time of his fathers exile, and baptized with his brother *Offryd* by Bishop *Paulinus*. After his fathers death, for feare of King *Oswald*, hee fled to *Penda* King of *Mercia*, who was his fathers enemy, and his mothers kins- man, by whom hee was most treacherously murder- ed. He left behind him a son named *Herrik*, who by his wife *Beriswith* had issue the vertuous & learned la- dy *Hilda*, Abbess of *Streatshall*: & Queene *Herefrith* her sister, the wife of *Ethelbert* King of the *East-Angles* brother to King *Anna*, by whom shee had issue *Ald wolve*, *Elfwold*, and *Beorne*, all three succeeding Kings of the *East-Angles*.

(15) *Ethelme*, the third sonne of King *Edwine*, and the first of Queene *Ethelburg* his second wife, was bap- tized by *Paulinus* Arch-bishop of *York*, not long after his father and half-brethren; but in short space after his baptism, he departed out of this world, euen in the time that he wore the white attire, which in those daies was vsed to bee worn by such as were newly baptized for a certaine space. His body was with all due funeral obsequies entred within the new Church of *S. Peter* in the Citie of *York*, which his fa- ther had newly founded.

(16) *Vskfrea*, the fourth sonne of King *Edwine*, and the second of Queene *Ethelburg* his second wife, and the last and youngest of them both, bare the name of his fathers great grandfather. Hee was baptized by the Arch-bishop *Paulinus* at one time with his brother *Ethelme*. After the decaie of his father, his mother carried him with her out of *Northumberland* into *Kent*; and from thence conueied him ouer into *France* with his Nephew *Iffy*, the sonne of his halfe-brother *Offryd*, where hee continued in the custodie of King *Dagobert*, being his mothers cosen-german, and there died, and was honourably buried in a Church with his Nephew *Iffy*.

(17) *Eanfled*, the elder daughter of King *Edwine* and Queene *Ethelburg* his second wife, was borne the night following that her father was wounded and baptized, hee being a *Pagan*. Shee was afterwards married to *Osvey*, the fourth King of *Northumberland*, and tenth Monarch of the *Englifo*, as shall bee said.

(18) *Ethelrida* the younger daughter, the fifth and last-borne child to King *Edwine* and of Queene *Ethelburg*, was baptized at the same time with *Ethelme* and *Vskfrea* her brethren. Shee died an infant, the white clothing not yet put off, which in those daies was vsu- ally worn at certaine feir times after their baptism, and was with like funeral obsequies buried by her brother *Ethelme* in the Church of *S. Peters* in *York*, which their father had founded.

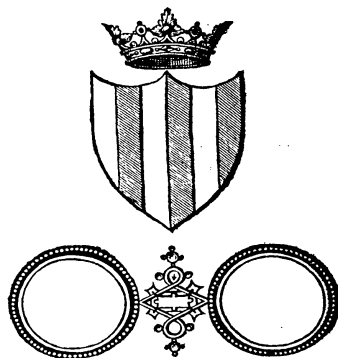
Beda hist. Angl.
lib. 3. cap. 15.

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OSWALD



OSVVALD KING OF NORTHVM-
BERLAND, AND THE NINTH MO-
NARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS
RAIGNE, WIFE, AND
ISSUE.



CHAPTER XXI.



Oswald, the fifth King of Deira, the ninth of Bernicia, the third of Northumberland, and the ninth Monarch of the Englishmen, began his raigne the yeere of Christs incarnation six hundred thirty foure. He with Eanfrit and his brethren, the sonnes of wilde

Ethelfrid, and Ofrik also the sonne of Alfrid King Edwins Vncle had been seured in Scotland all his raigne, and among the Red-shanks liued as banished men, where they learned the true religion of Christ, and had receiued the Lauer of Baptisme. But Edwines death wrought and diuulged, these Princes returne again to their Country, and the Northumbrians Kingdome lately gouerned by one, was now againe diuided into two seuerall parts, as formerly it had been.

(2)ouer the Deirans, Ofrik was made king, and of Bernicia, Eanfrit assumed the raigne; but Gods iustice ouer taking their Apostasie, neither their liues nor this diuision lasted long. For Cadwall the Christian, and Penda the Pagan were Gods instruments, that with worthy vengeance in the first yeere of their gouernment, cut the one off in battell, and the other by trecherie; whose names and yeere of raigne as vnhappy and of hateful remembrance, the Historiographers of those times would haue to be omitted.

(3) But religious Oswald lamenting the effusion of his Countries blood, long slept not, their reuenge. For assembling his power, which was not great, hee suddenly and vnlooked for came vpon Cadwall, and at Denfelhorne pitched downe his tents. The place (saith Bede) stood nere the wall that seuerus had made, where Oswald for the first day forbore to fight, and among his Souldiers for his Standard set vp a Crosse of wood, wherunto it seemeth those dawning daies of Christianity were ouermuch addicted. Here

Oswald making first intercession to God, the onely preseruer of his people, in fore & long fight obtained great victory, with the slaughter of Cadwall, and of all his British Army: which so accomplished, many haue attributed the vertue of that Crosse to bee no small cause of that great ouerthrow. This Crosse so set vp, was the first we read of to haue been erected in England, and the first Altar vnto Christ among the Bernicians, whose pretended miraculous cures, not onely in the wood it selfe, but in the mosse and in the earth wherein it was set, let Bede report them, and Stapleton vrge them, yet for my part, I hold them no Article of our canonically Creed.

(4) But certaine it is, that Oswald himselfe was a most religious and godly king, and tooke such care for the conuersion and saluation of his subiects, that he sent into Scotland for Aidan a Christian Bishop, to instruct his Northumbrians in the Gospel of truth. And whereas the Bishops could not speake their language, the king himselfe was interpreter at his Sermons, and gaue his words in the English, as hee spake and pronounced them in the Scottish, which language Oswald perfectly spake, hauing bene there the space of eightene yeeres.

Thus the godly proceedings of the king and Bishop, produced such increase of their heavenly seed, that it is reported in seuen daies space, fiftene thousand Christians receiued Baptisme; and many of them forsaking the pleasures of the world, to haue betake themselves to a religious and solitarie life.

(5) At this time the whole Iland flourished both with peace and plentie, and acknowledged their subiection vnto king Oswald. For, as Bede reporteth, all the Nations of Britannie which spake foure languages, that is to say, Brittaines, Redshanks, Scots, and Englishmen, became subiect vnto him. And yet being aduanced to so royall Maiesie, he was notwithstanding (which is marvellous to be reported) lowly to all, gracious to the poore, and bountifull to strangers. The fruits whereof the same Author exem-

exemplifieth in his bounty and humilitie towards the poore; who vpon a solemne feast day, seeing many such at his gates, sent them both the delicacies for himselfe prepared, & commanded the charger of siluer to be broken, and diuided among them. The Bishop much reioycing thereat, tooke the king by the right hand, and praised that it might neuer consume; as after his death it did not, but was shined in siluer, and in S. Peters Church at Bebb, now Bambrongh, with worthy honor was worshipped for the many miracles in cures that it did, as likewise the earth wherein his blood was spilt: with such lauish enlargements haue those writers interlined the deeds of Gods Saints.

(6) But as the Sunne hath his shadow, and the highest tide her ebbe, so Oswald, how holy soeuer, or gouernment how good, had emulators that fought his life, and his Countries ruine: for wicked Penda the Pagan Mercian, enuying the greatnesse that king Oswald bare, raised warres against him, and at a place then called Maserfeld in Shropshire, in a bloudie and fore fought battle slew him, and not therewith satisfied, in barbarous and brutish immanitie, did teare him in peeces, the first day of August, and yeere of Christ Iesus six hundred forty two, being the ninth of his raigne, and the thirty eighth of his age: wherupon the said place of his death is called to this day Oswaldstree, a faire Market Towne in the same Countie.

(7) The dismembred limmes of his body were first buried in the Monastery of Bradney in Lincolnshire, shined with his standard of Gold and Purple erected

ouer his Tombe, at the industry and cost of his neece Offryd, Queene of Mercia, wife vnto king Ethelred, and daughter to Oswyn that succeeded him. From hence his bones were afterwards remooued to Glocester, and there in the north side of the vpper end of the Quire in the Cathedrall Church, continueth a faire Monument of him, with a Chapell set betwixt two pillars in the same Church.

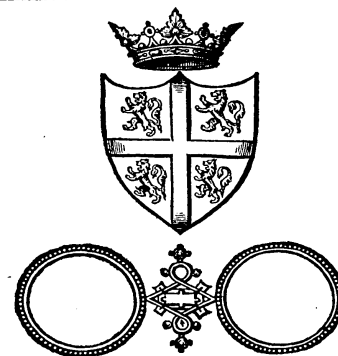
His Wife.

(8) Kineburg, a most vertuous Lady, and daughter to Kingls the sixth, and first Christian king of the West-Saxons, was the wife of king Oswald, who became both his father and sonne in the day of her marriage, by receiuing him at the Font, and her of his gift. She was married vnto him in the second yeere of his raig, which was the yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred thirty six: no other relation made of her besides the birth of his sonne.

His Issue.

(9) Ethelwald, the only childe of king Oswald and Queene Kineburg his wife, was borne in the yeere of our Lord six hundred thirty seuen, being the third yeere of his fathers raig; and but an infant at his fathers death, was disappointed of the Northumbrian Kingdome by the fraud of his vncle Oswyn. Notwithstanding at the death of Oswyn king of Deira, and then not aboue sixteene yeeres of age, hee tooke the same kingdome, and by strong hand held it against his vncle so long as he liued, and at his death left it to his cosen Alkefrid, the naturall sonne of king Oswyne, as in the ninth Chapter we haue said.

OSVYV KING OF NORTHVM-
BERLAND, AND THE TENTH MO-
NARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS,
WIFE, AND CHILDREN.



CHAPTER XXII.



Osvey, the illegitimate sonne of King Ethelfrid, surnamed the Wilde, at thirty yeeres of age succeeded Oswald his halfe brother in his Dominions, being the fourth King of Northumberland, and the tenth Monarch of the Englishmen, entring his gouernment

the thirteenth day of October, and yeere of Christs Incarnation six hundred forty three. His first beginnings were much disquieted by Penda the Heathen Mercian, by the rebellions of his base sonne Alfrid, and by the oppositions of Ethelwald the son of King Oswald: but none late more neere his heart then Oswyn king of the Deirans did, whose vertuous gouernment did much darken (as hee tooke it) his owne, and the free loue of those subiects, daily to lessen his among the Bernicians.

(2) This Oswyn of Deira was the sonne of Ofrike (who

Ofwy King of the Mercians.

Cataracton Village.

Ofwy betrayed into the hands of Ofwy.

Red is his report of Ofwys virtue.

His gift to the Bishop Aidan.

The Bishops Almes to a poore man.

King Ofwys repentance.

Bishop Aidans testimonie of King Ofwys piety.

Reda bish. Ang. lib. 3. cap. 14.

Egfrid the daughter of King Ofwy.

Alfrid.

Ethelwald.

Jewet River.

Penda slaine.

Ethelwald his escape.

(who did apostate from his faith) and ruling his Province in plentie and peace the space of seven yeeres, was therefore greatly enuid by Ofwy of Bernicia, and lastly by him prouoked into the field. Their hosts met at the place then called *Wilfars Downe*, ten miles West from the village *Cataracton*, and there attended to hazard the day. But Ofwy finding himselfe too weake for Ofwy, and to faue the effusion of Christian blood, forsooke the field, accompanied onely with one Souldier, and went to Earle *Hunwald* his friend as he thought, to secure his life. But contrary to trust, hee deliuered him vnto King Ofwy, who cruelly flew him the twentieth of *August*, and ninth of his raigne, at the place called *Ingethings* where afterwards for satisfaction of so heinous an offence, a Monasterie was built, as vpon like occasions, many the like foundations were laid; whose stones were thus ioynd with the mortar of blood.

(3) Of this Ofwys thus slaine, *Reda* reporteth the Story following: Among his other rare vertues and princely qualities, his humility (saith he) and passing lowliness excelled: whereof he thus exemplifieth: *There- uerend Christian Bishop Aidan* vsing much trauell to preach the Gospel thorowout that Prouince, the King for his more ease, gaue him a goodly Gelding with rich and costly trappings. It chanced one day, as the Bishop rode to minister the word of life, that a poore man demanded his almes: but hee not hauing wherewith to releue him, and pitying his distressed poore estate, presently alighted, and gaue vnto him his horse and rich furniture; whereof when the King heard, he blamed him, and said, What meant you (my Lord) to giue to the begger the horse that I gaue you, with my saddle and trappings? Had we horses of no lower price to giue away to the poore? To whom the Bishop replied, And is the brood of a beast dearer in your sight, then this poore mans childe of God? The King thus reprooued, turned himselfe towards the fire, and there sadly pausing vpon this answer, presently gaue from him his sword, and in haste fell at the Bishops feet, desiring forgiveness in that he had said. The Bishop much astonished, suddenly lift up the King, desiring him to sit to meat, and to be merry; which the King immediately did, but the Bishop contrariwise began to bee pensive and sadde, and the teares to trickle downe his cheekes: in which passion hee burst out into these speeces, and said to his Chaplaine in an unknowne tongue, I neuer till this time haue scene an humble King; and surely his life cannot bee long, for this people are not worthy to haue such a Prince to govern them. But to returne to King Ofwy.

(4) Who after many cruell inuasions of the mercileffe *Penda*, was forced to flee vnto him for peace, with proffers of infinite treasure and most precious iewels: all which reiected, and the Tyrant comming on, Ofwy sought his helpe by supplication to God, and with such zeale as then was embraced, vowed his young daughter *Elsted* to be consecrated in perpetuall virginity vnto him, with twelue Farmers and their landes, to the erection and maintenance of a Monasterie: and thereupon prepared himselfe for battle.

(5) The Armie of this enemy is reported to redouble thirty times his, all well appointed and old tried souldiers: against whom Ofwy with his sonne *Alfrid* boldly marched, *Egfrid* his other sonne then being an hostage with *Cinifin* vnder Queene of the Mercians: *Ethelwald* the sonne of *Ofwald*, tooke part with *Penda*, against his naturall Vncle and natie Country: so did *Ethelherd* the brother of Christian *Anna*, side with this heathenish and cruell Mercian.

(6) The battle was fought nere to the riuer *Juuet*, which at that time did ouer-flow his banks, so that the victorie falling with Ofwy, more were drowned in the water then slaine with the sword. And heerein proud *Penda* lost his life, with the discomfiture of all his Mercian power. Heerein also died *Ethelherd*, the *East- Angles* King, who was the only motiue to these waues: and *Ethelwald* escaping, returned with dishonour vnto *Deira*. The day was thus gotten the thirtieth yeere of King Ofwy his raigne, the fiftieth day of Nouember, and yeere of Christ his Incarnation six hundred fifty six.

(7) After this victorie, king Ofwy raigned in great glory the space of three yeeres, subduing the Mercians, the fourth parts of the *Englifs*, and made the northern parts likewise subiect vnto him. He it was that decided the long controvercy for Easters celebration, and founded the Cathedral Church in *Lichfield* for a Bishops See: which Citie, with all *South-Mercia*, diuided from the north by the riuer *Trent*, hee gaue to *Penda* the sonne of king *Penda* in marriage with his naturall daughter *Alkfled*, on condition that he should become a Christian: all which the said king not long enioied, but was murdered in his owne Court. And the Mercians erecting *Vulfhere* his brother and their natie country-man for king, rebelled against Ofwy, and freed themselves from a foraine subiection.

(8) Thus Ofwy ending in troubles as he began in warres, raigned the space of twenty eight yeeres, and then falling sicke, was so strucke with remorse for the death of good Ofwy, and blood which hee had spilt, that hee vowed a pilgrimage to *Rome*, in which reputed holy place hee purposed to haue ended his life, and to haue left his bones therein to rest: but his disease increaseth, and that purpose failing, he left this life the fiftieth of Februarie, and his body to remaine in *S. Peters* Church at *Streatsbach*, the yeere after Christs birth six hundred seuentie, and of his owne age fifty eight.

His Wife.

(9) *Eanfled*, the wife of this king, was the daughter of *Edwin* and *Ethelburg*, king & Queene of *Northumberland*. She was the first Christian that was baptized in that Prouince, and after her fathers death, was brought vp in *Kent* vnder her mother, and thence married vnto this Ofwy, whom shee furruied, and spent the whole time of her widow-hood in the Monastery of *Steanshale*, where her daughter *Elfred* was Abbess, wherein shee decaied and was interred in the Church of *S. Peter*, hard by her husband king *Edwin*.

His Issue.

(10) *Egfrid*, the eldest sonne of king Ofwy and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the third yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of grace six hundred forty six. In the twenty fifth yeere of his age, and of our Lord God six hundred seuentie one, hee succeeded his father in *Northumberland*, but not in his Monarchie: of whose life and acts, wee haue further spoken in the seuenth Chapter of this Booke.

(11) *Elfwine*, the second sonne of king Ofwy, and of Queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the yeere of our Lord six hundred sixty one, being the ninth of his fathers raigne; at whose death he was nine yeeres old: and in the ninth yeere after, being the eighteenth of his age, was vnfortunatly slaine in a battell, wherein hee serued his brother *Egfrid*, against *Ethelred* king of the Mercians, to the great griefe of them both, the yeere of Christs natiuitie six hundred seuentie nine.

(12) *Elsted*, the eldest daughter of king Ofwy and queene *Eanfled*, was borne in the month of September, the yeere of grace six hundred fiftie foure, being the twelfth of her fathers raigne; and when she was a yeer old, by him committed to the custodie & bringing vp of the renowned Lady *Hilda*, Abbess of *Streatsbach*, wherein shee liued vnder her a Nun, and after her death did succeed her Abbess of the place, and in great holinesse and vertue, spent therein her life, vnto the day of her death, which was the yeere of Christ Iesus seuen hundred fourteene, and of her owne age sixtie, being interred in *S. Peters* Church within the same Monasterie.

(13) *Offrid*, the younger daughter of king Ofwy and queene *Eanfled*, was borne about the fiftieth yeere of her fathers raigne, which was the yeere of our Lord six hundred sixtie seuen: and when she was fully twenty, was married vnto *Ethelred* king of Mercia, the twelfth Monarch of the *Englismen*, in the third yeere of his raigne, and of Christ six hundred seenty seuen.

(14) *Alfrid*, the naturall sonne of king Ofwy, did first succeed his colen *Ethelwald*, sonne of king *Ofwald* his

Liber Elicfeld. The Reda. Ofwy his gift to Penda.

Reda bish. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 14. The time of Ofwys raigne.

Eanfled.

Steanshale Monasterie.

Egfrid the eldest sonne.

Elfwine the second sonne. Reda bish. Ang. lib. 4. cap. 14.

Elsted his eldest daughter.

Hilda Abbess of Streatsbach.

Offrid pa. 344.

Offrid the younger daughter.

Alfrid a naturall sonne.

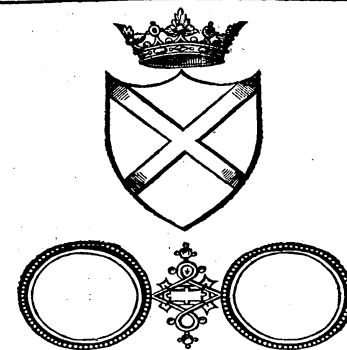
his Vncle in part of *Northumberland*, and held the same by force against his Father, which afterwards hee peaceably inioied both with him and his halfe brother King *Egfrid*, whom lastly hee succeeded in the whole kingdom of *Northumberland*, as more at large in the same story we haue declared.

(15) *Alkfled*, the naturall daughter of king Ofwy, borne before her father was king, in the yeere of Christs incarnation six hundred fiftie three, and the

eleuenth of her fathers raigne, was married to *Penda* the sonne of *Penda*, that by his permission had gouerned some part of *Mercia*, and by Ofwy his gift with this *Alkfled*, all the South of that Prouince. She was his wife three yeeres, and is of most writers taxed to be the actor of his death, being wickedly murdered in the feast of *Easter*, the yeere of grace six hundred fiftie fixe, and the fourteenth of her Fathers raigne.



VVLFHRE THE SIXTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE ELEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XXIII.



Vulfhere, after the murder of his brother *Penda*, advanced against Ofwy by the Nobles of *Mercia*, maintained his title and kingdom for twelve yeeres continuance, in the life time of that *Northumbrian* Monarch, and after his death translated the Monarchy from those Kings and Country, vnto himself and his successors the Mercians, who now wore the Imperiall Diademe without reuerfement, vntill such time as great *Egbert* set it vpon the *West-Saxons* head.

He was the second sonne of *Penda* King of *Mercia*, and the sixth in succession of that kingdom, beginning his raigne the yeere of Christ his Incarnation, six hundred fiftie nine, and twelve yeeres after, Anno six hundred seenty one, entered his Monarchy ouer the *Englismen*, and was in number accounted the eleuenth Monarch of the Land.

(2) His entrance was with trouble against the *Northumbrians*, for vnto *Egfrid* their King hee had lost the possession of the land *Linsie*, and was expelled the Country: yet three yeeres after hee fought against the *West-Saxons* with better successe, whose Country with conquest hee passed thorow, and wan from *Renwald* their King the Ile of *Wight*, which land hee gaue

to *Edilwath* the *South-Saxons* King, whom hee receiued his God-sonne at the font-foote: notwithstanding himselfe had lately beene a prophane Idolater, and most cruell Heathen, as by the Liger booke of the Monastery of *Peterborow* appeareth, whose story is this:

(3) King *Vulfhere* of *Mercia* remaining at his Castell in *Vulferchefer* in *Staffordshire*, and vnderstanding that *Vulfald* and *Rufin* his two sonnes, vnder pretence and colour of hunting, vsually resorted to reuerend *Chad*, to bee instructed in the fruitfull faith of Christ Iesus, and had at his hands receiued the Sacrament of Baptisme, at the perswasion of one *Werebod*, suddenly followed, and finding them in the Oratory of that holy man, in deuout contemplations, flew them there with his owne hands. Whose martyred bodies Queene *Ermenbild* their mother caused to be buried in a Sepulchre of stone, and thereupon a faire Church to be erected, which by reason of the many stores thither brought for that foundation, was euer after called *Stones*, and now is a Market Towne in the same County. But King *Vulfhere* repenting this his most vnhumane murder, became himselfe a Christian, and destroyed all those Temples wherein his heathen Gods had been worshipped, conuerting them all into Christian Churches, and religious Monasteries: and to redeeme so heinous an offence, vnderwent the finishing of *Medfham*, his brothers foundation, enriching it largely with lands and posses-

Lib. Peterbur.

Vulferchefer Castell.

Vulfhere slaieth his two sonnes.

John Capgrave.

Vulfhere repentance.

Now Peterborow.

W. l. Malmesbury.
The time of his
raigne.

Ermenhild's pa-
rentage.

Queene Sexburg
Abbesse of Ely.

Kenred the first
sonne.

ons: notwithstanding hee is taxed by *William of Malmesbury* with the fopie sinne of Symony, for sel-
ling vnto *Wyná* the Bishopricke of *London*.

(4) He raigne King ouer the *Mercians* the space
of leuenteene yeeres, and Monarch of the *Engliss* ful-
ly foure, leauing his life in the yeere of our Lord six
hundred seuentie foure, and his body to be buried in
the Monastery of *Peterborow*, which was of his bro-
thers and his owne foundation.

His Wife.

(5) *Ermenhild*, the Wife of King *Vulfhere*, was the
daughter of *Ercombert*, the seuenth King of *Kent*, and
sister to *Egbert* and *Leithair*, both Kings of that Coun-
tie. Her mother was *Sexburg*, daughter to *Anna*, the
seuenth King of the *East-Angles*, whose sisters were
many and most of them Saints. She was married vnto
him in the third yeere of his raigne, and was his wife
fourteene yeeres. After his decease, she went to her
mother *Queene Sexburg*, being then Abbess of *Ely*,
where she continued all the rest of her life, and there-
in decessed and was buried.

His Issue.

(6) *Kenred* the son of King *Vulfhere* and of *Queen
Ermenhild*, being the heire apparant of his fathers
possessions, was vnder age at his fathers decease; and
by reason of his minority, was withheld from the go-
uernment, which *Ethelred* his Vncle entred into, with-
out any contradiction of this *Kenred*, who held him-
selfe contented to liue a priuate life: notwithstanding
Ethelred taking the habit of a Monke, left the Crowne
to him who was the right heire.

(7) *Vulfald* a young Gentleman conuerted to the

Christian faith by Bishop *Chad*, and martyred for
professon of the same by King *Vulfhere*, is reported by
Water of Wiltsey, a Monke of *Peterborow*, in a Re-
gister which he wrote of that Monastery, to bee the
supposed son of King *Vulfhere* himselfe, and to haue
been slaine by him in his extreme fury before he was
a Christian, or could indure to heare of the Christian
faith. He was buried in *Stones*, as we haue said, where
his father build a Colledge of Canons regular, which
was afterwards called *S. Vulfaldes*.

(8) *Rufine* the fellow martyr of King *Vulfald*, is by the
same Writer reported to be his brother, and the sup-
posed sonne also of *Vulfhere* the King. Their mur-
ders, as he saith, was committed the ninth Calends
of *August*, which is with vs the foure and twenty
of *July*, vpon which day there was yeerely celebrated
a solemne memoriall of their martyrdomes in the
same place, where they both suffered, and where their
Monument was then remaining.

(9) *Wereburg*, the daughter of King *Vulfhere* and
Queene Ermenhild, was in her childhood committed
to the bringing vp of *Queene Etheldrid* her mothers
Aunt, in the Monastery of *Ely*, by whose perswasion
she professed virginity, and returning to her Country
in the raigne of King *Ethelred* her Vncle, was by him
made ouersier of all the Monasteries within his do-
minions. She decessed at *Trickingham* (now called
Trentham) in *Stafford-shire*, and was buried at *Han-
bery*. Her body was afterwards remoued to *West-
chester*, where *Leasfrick* the Earle built in honour of her
a goodly Church called *S. wereburg*, which to this
day is the Cathedrall Church of that Citie.

Vulfald a large
fed sonne.
Water Wiltsey.

S. Vulfald Col-
ledge.

Rufine another
supposed sonne.

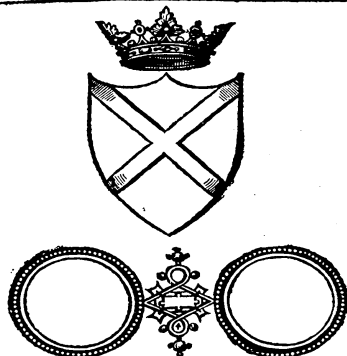
Wereburg, the
daughter of
Vulfhere.

Buried at *Han-
bery*.

S. wereburg
Church.

Ethelred.

ETHELRED THE SEVENTH KING OF MERCIA, AND TWELFTH MO- NARCH OF THE ENGLISH: HIS ACTS; WIFE, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XXIII.

An. Do. 675.



Ethelred, the third sonne of
King *Penda*, and brother
to the last declared *Vulf-
here*, in the yeere of Christ
Iesus six hundred seuenty
five, beganne his raigne in
the kingdome of *Mercia*,
and at the same time in
the Monarchy of the *Eng-
lishmen*, being the seuenth

King among them that were their Diademe, and the

twelfth person that bare the Imperiall title of the
whole: his claime was not immediately nor next in
succession, young *Kenred* his Nephew standing be-
twixt him and the Crowne. But himselfe a child in
yeeres, and in them also addicted vnto a priuate life,
he gaue his Vncle way to vndergo so publike a charge,
which without contradiction was likewise accepted
of the subiects.

(2) His entrance was with warre against the *Ken-
tish*, *Leithaire*, whose Country he destroyed, sparing nei-
ther Churches nor religious Abbeyes, the King not
daring

Henry Hauing

Monarch 12. *Kenred*.

An. Do. 704.



Ethelred for the wrongs to him committed, and to re-

daring to appeare in field. The Citie *Rochester* felt also
his fury, whose Citizens were ransacked, their build-
ings ruined, and their Bishop *Pitta* driuen to such
distresse, that he became a Teacher of good Arts and
Musicke in *Mercia*, to maintaine his aged yeeres from
the necessity of perishing want. These stirres (saith
Beda) happened in the yeere of grace six hundred se-
uenty seuen; and the next following, so fearefull a
Blazing starre, as was wonderfull to behold, first dis-
couered in the moneth of *August*, and for three mo-
neths together continued rising in the morning, and
giving forth a blazing pile very high, and of a glitte-
ring flame.

(3) The remorse of conscience for the blood he
had spilt, and the places of Oratories by him destrui-
ed, (besides his intrusions into another mans right)
strucke so deepe a wound into King *Ethelreds* breast,
that euer hee bethought him what recompence to
make. First therefore building a goodly Monastery
at *Bradney*, and that most fruitfully seated in the
County of *Lincolne*, thought that not sufficient to
wash away the scarres of his foule offence, but deter-
mined in himselfe to forsake the world, for that was
the terme attributed to the monastical life: wherein
notwithstanding, in lesse cares they liued, and their
persons more safe from all dangers attempted, then
when they publicly administred their lawes to their
people, the iust executions whereof, many times
breed the ouerthrow of their Princes, and their Per-
sons neuer secure amidst their owne guards.

(4) But such was the religion then taught, and the
godly zeale of the good Princes then raigning, whose
works haue manifested their vertues to posterities,
and faith in Christ the saluation of their soules, in

whose Paradise we leaue them, and *Ethelred* to his de-
uout intent: who to reconcile himselfe first vnto *Ken-
red*, bequeathed the Crowne solely to him, although
he had a sonne capable thereof: then putting on the
habit of religion, became himselfe a Monke, in his
owne Monastery of *Bradney*, where he liued a regular
life the terme of twelue yeeres, and therein lastly died
Abbat of the place, when hee had raigne thirty
yeeres, the yeere of Christs natiuity, seuen hundred
sixteene.

His Wife.

(5) *Offryd*, the wife of King *Ethelred*, was the daugh-
ter of *Osmy*, and of Lady *Eangled*, King and Queene of
Northumberland. She was married vnto him in the
yeere of our Lord six hundred seuenty seuen, being
the third of his raigne, and the twentieth of her age.
Shee was his wife twenty yeeres: and passing thro-
row the North parts of *Mercia*, she was let vpon and
slaine by the people of that Country, in reuenge of
the death of *Penda* their King, who had long before
bin murdered by *Alfred* his wife, and her half sister,
as we haue said. And thus strangely came shee to her
vntimely end, the yeere of our Lord six hundred nine-
ty seuen, the twenty three yeere of her husbands
raigne and the fortieth of her owne age.

His Issue.

(6) *Chelred* the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of
Queene Offryd his wife, was the heire apparant of
his fathers kingdome, and of sufficient yeeres to haue
succeeded him, when he entred into religion; but that
it was his fathers will to make amends to his Nephew
Kenred, sonne to his elder brother King *Vulfhere*, that
now he might raigne before his sonne, who should
haue raigne before himselfe.

Ethelred testifi-
ceth his Crowne.

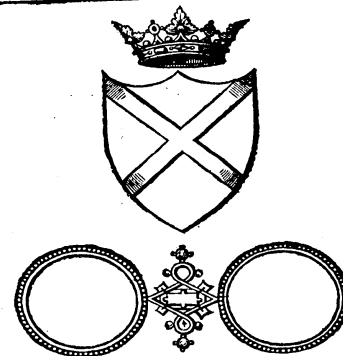
The continuance
of his raigne.

Offryd,
Beda his wife,
lib. 3. cap. 11.

Beda in *Epist.*
Offryd slaine.

Chelred the first
sonne.

KENRED THE EIGHTH KING OF MERCIA, AND THE THIR- TEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.



CHAPTER XXV.

An. Do. 704.



Ethelred for the wrongs to him committed, and to re-

Kenred the sonne of *Vulf-
here*, because of his mino-
rity at his Fathers death,
was defeated of his domi-
nions by his Vncle *Ethel-
red*, and vntill it pleased
him to resigne his Crown,
liued a priuate life, where-
vnto by nature hee was
most inclined. But King

deeme the time that in warre and wealth he had pro-
digally spent, yielded the Scepter vnto his hand, and
set his seeming ouer-heavy Crowne vpon his Ne-
phew *Kenreds* head: who began his raigne at one and
the same time, both ouer the *Mercians* and Monar-
chy of the *Englishmen*, which was the yeere of Christs
Incarnation seuen hundred and foure.

(2) He is in account the eighth King of that Pro-
uince, and the thirteenth Monarch since *Henigst* the
Saxon. He raigne in peace the space of foure yeeres;
then weary of gouernment, and desirous of contem-
plation

The matters
pertaining to his
entrance into
gouernment.

The continuance
of his raigne.

Monarch 13.

*De la hist. Angl.
lib. 5. cap. 30.*

*Kenred and Offa
turne Monks.*

plation, after the example of his Vncle, sought a more priuate and religious life: and thereupon appointing *Chelred* his Cousin germane to rule in his place, in the fifth yeere of his raigne, abandoned his kingdome and Country, and departed for *Rome*, accompanied with *Offa* King of the *East-Saxons*, and with *Eadwine* Bishop of *Worcester*, where both these Kings were made Monks in the time of Pope *Constantine* the first, *Iustinian* the younger then wearing the Imperiall Crowne: and in a Monastery at that citie, both these penitent Conuertrs in the Coules and Orders of Monks, spent therest of their liues, and therein died and were entered; this *Mercian* King *Kenred* hauing had neither wife nor child, that I can reade of.

(3) It is not greatly to be wondered at, in that these

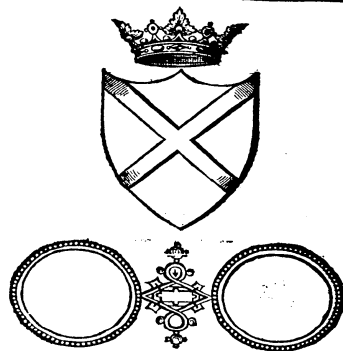
times to much ouerhadowed with superstitious zeal, the holy acts of men, which no doubt were many, & the habit of Monks, the accounted holy garments of humility, were so meritoriously respected and reputed in the deuout hearts of the religious, when by the Clergy (that are accounted the light of the world) in a Councell at *Rome* held vnder Pope *Constantine* the first, it was decreed and commanded, that carued Images, which neither had action, nor life, nor could saue themselves from the stroke of destruction, should bee made to the memoriall of Saints, and should bee set vp in Churches, with respectiue adoration, contrary to Gods most expresse commandement, and condemned for idolatry by the warrant of sacred Scripture.

Bale.

Leuit. 24.

Chelred.

CHELRED THE NINTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FOVR- TEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE AND SVCCESION.



CHAPTER XXVI.

An. Do. 709.

*The appendan-
ces of his ingresse
into gouernment.*

*Chelred worthy of
the Crowne.*

*Ina King of the
West-Saxons.*



Chelred, the sonne of King *Ethelred*, was of sufficient yeeres, and well able of rule, at such time as his father resigned his Scepter vnto his Nephew *Kenred*, had not the pricke of that sinne touched his conscience, which made him to bestow the same as he did, notwithstanding the Crown being too waighty for *Kenred* to weare, he as freely againe gaue it the sonne, as he had receiued it of the father before, and relinquished his claime and title thereto.

(2) *Chelred* thus aduanced before he it expected, entred his gouernment with great applaue of the people, in whose opinions he was held the onely man worthy of their Crowne. Ouer the *Mercians* he reigned the ninth King, and of the *English* Monarchs the fourteenth in number, beginning then both in the yeere of grace seuen hundred & nine, and the fourth of *Iustinian* the younger, Empire.

(3) His quietnes was disturbed by *Ina* the *West-Saxon*, whole fame for his fortunes beganne then to

grow great. For *Kent* he had forced to buy their peace with mony: the *Brittaines* subdued, and had enlarged his confines vpon them. And now against *Chelred* this new rised Monarch, he meant to try chance, whose glory he looked at with an ouer enuious eye.

(4) His greatnesse likewise *Chelred* suspected, who either to himselfe or successors, (by the foundation which he laid) would diuert the Monarchy from him and his *Mercians*, and entaile it to himselfe or his *West-Saxons*. Hereupon great preparation was made, and each set forward with all the powers, the one to attaine, and the other to keep, the glory and title that both of them so much thirsted after. At *Wodnesbury* they met, and with vndaunted spirits so fought, that the victory was doubtfull, for neither could say the battell was his, or that he departed with the lesser losse.

(5) These emulations were followed betwixt these two Princes the space of seuen yeeres, and longer had done, if *Chelred* had liued, or *Ina* not been stricke with remorse of conscience for his ouermuch spilling of blood. Of this *Chelred*, some Authors haue censured, that he was maruellous in prowess, and valiant of courage, but his Country milerable

*Chelred propo-
seth against*

Henry Hauing

Mat. 17. Paule

John 11.

chap. 27

*continuance
of his raigne.*

Bale.

Leuit. 24.

Chelred

Do. 716.

*precedents
of his raigne.*

Chelred

Henry Hauing

Mat. 17. Paule

John 11.

by his vntime death, whose raigne lasted only seuen yeeres: and death in the yeere of our Lord seuen hundred and sixteene: his body was buried in the Cathedral Church of *Lichfield*: and he died without any issue.

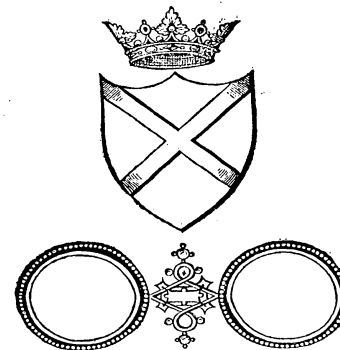
His Wife.

(6) *werburg* the wife of King *Chelred*, is mentioned by *Marianus* the learned *Scotish* Historian, and by *Florence* of *Worcester*, who was the follower and

continuer of his History, whom we may reasonably credit in this matter, being not incredible, although the must of necessity be thought to haue been married very young, or to haue died very old, because they record her decaese to haue beene in the yeere of Christ seuen hundred eightie one, which was almost fixtie yeeres after the death of her husband, and towards the end of the long raigne of King *Offa*.

*She died fixtie
yeeres after her
husband.*

ETHELBALD THE TENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE FIF- TEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH- MEN: HIS RAIGNE AND ACTS.



CHAPTER XXVII.

Do. 716.

*precedents
of his raigne.*

Chelred

Henry Hauing

Mat. 17. Paule

John 11.

Ethelbald, cosen germane once remoued vnto King *Chelred*, succeeded him in the kingdome of the *Mercians*, whercof he was the tenth in number, and of the Monarchs ouer the *Englishmen*, the fifteenth in account. He beganne his

raigne in the yeere of grace seuen hundred sixteene, and with great honour reigned ouer all the Kings on the South side of *Humber*, whose time for the most part was spent in peace; yet some wars he had, and those with variable euent.

(2) For in the eighteenth yeere of his raigne, hee belieged *Sommerton*, and wanne it; and inuading *Northumberland*, without proffer of resistance, returned with great riches by spoile. The *Brittaines* also that were joined confederates with the *West-Saxons*, hee molested and ouercame, for whose reuenge King *Cuthred* gaue him battell neere vnto *Bursford*, where he with his *Mercians* receiued the foile, and lost the Banner, wherein was portraited a *Golden Dragon*, the thirty seventh yeere of his raigne.

(3) The finnes of these times both in Prince and people, were many and great, as by the Epistles of *Boniface* an *Englisman*, and Archbishop of *Metz*, is most manifest, wherein he reprooued his aduiterous life, who refraining to marry, wallowed in filthy lecheries; by whose example the Noblemen of *Mercia* did the like: and their women, as well *Nunnes* as others, made away their children borne out of wedlocke, whereby

the granes were filled with dead bodies, as heell it selfe with damned soules. And in another Epistle sent vnto *Cuthbert*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he complaineth of the *English Nunnes*, who wandring in pilgrimage vnder shew of deuotion, liued in pleasure and wanton fornications, through all the Cities of France and of Lumbardy.

(4) This his Epistle tooke so good effect, that in repentance King *Ethelbald* released and priuiledged the Church from all tributes to himselfe, and built the Abbey of *Crowland* in *Lincolshire*, for the pacifying of Gods wrath towards his finnes; when also it was enacted by *Cuthbert* and his Clergy, in a Conuocation held in his Prouince, that the sacred Scriptures should be read in their Monasteries, the Lords Prayer and Creed, taught in the *English* tongue: which accordingly was done. Which Councell was held in the thirty yeere of this Kings raigne, and of Christs incarnation seuen hundred forty eight.

(5) Finally, when he had ruled forty two yeeres, fighting against *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon*, in a warre not prudently undertaken, he was traiterously slaine by his owne subiects, at the procurement of *Bernard* a Leader of them, who affecting the kingdome by this stratagem of Treason, sought to attaine it, but was himselfe slaine by *Offa* the *Mercian*, before that this ill sowne seed could take any roote. The place of this *Great Ethelbalds* death, was *Secundone*, three miles from *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwicks*, and of his buriall, *Repton* in *Darbyshire*, where with honourable obsequies he was entred, the yeere of Christs humanity seuen hundred fiftie eight, hauing had neither Wife nor Children.

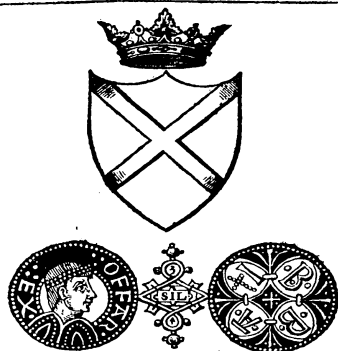
Nunnes infamy.

*Crowland Ab-
bey built.*

*The continuance
of his raigne.*

Wil. Malmbury.

OFFA THE ELEVENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SIX- TEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH- MEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XXVIII.



Offa, the cosen of King *Ethelbald*, after some time of *Inter-Regnum*, succeeded him in his dominions of *Mercia*; a man of so high stomacke and stoutnes of mind, that he thought nothing vnpossible for him to attaine: and for vertue and vice, so equally com-

posed, that hardly could be iudged to whither of them the seale of his carriage most inclined, although the Monke of *S. Albans*, and writer of his life, doth blanch out his graces with superlatiue praises.

(2) His Parents hee nameth *Twinfrith* and *Mercella*, and himselfe hee saith to haue been first named *Pinedred*, borne both lame, deafe, and blinde, wherein he so continued vnto his mans estate. The rage of *Bernred* (saith the same Author) had forced all three into a solitary place, where suddenly by miracle *Pinedred* was restored, and for that cause called another *Offa*, who presently assailed, and in a great battel manfully fought, slew the vürping *Bernred*. The Nobles of *Mercia* being rid of that Tyrant by the valour of *Offa*, gladly embraced & receiued him for their King, who began his raigne with greater shew of glory, then any *Mercian* before him had done, being in number the eleuenth that had raigned in that Prouince, and is accounted the sixteenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*.

(3) His neighbour Kings foreseeing whereat his eye glanced, solicited by Letters *Charles the Great*, then King of *France*, against him, who wrote vnto *Offa* in their behalfe, and in threatening wile commanded him to desist. But he was so farre from fearing of his threats, that to his contempt he was the more eager.

(4) The first that felt his fury, were the *Kentishmen* vnder *Afri* their King, whose ouerthrow was the lesse dishonourable (saith *Malmesbury*) for that they were vanquished by so great a Monarch. The place was *Ottefird*, vnfortunate to them, where their King was

slaine by the hand of *Offa* himselfe, their forces quite discomitted by the losse of this field, and their Country trodden downe vnder the feet of the *Mercians*.

(5) From South to North King *Offa* then marched, and beyond *Humbe* made hauocke of all that stood against him; whence returning triumphant, he set vpon the *West-Saxons*, that had formerly fought with his enemies: the place was *Bensinton*, which *Ca*stell King *Offa* tooke, with the discomfiture of King *Kemwolve*, and all his *West-Saxons*, who sought their reuenge by the aides of the *Britaines* in *Wales*. Their King (saith mine Author) was then *Marmodius*, betwixt whom some intercourse by letters passed, & great presents to King *Offa* sent, onely to protract time, and to worke vpon aduantage.

(6) In this *Interim* of complements, for a further security, *Offa* caused a great ditch to be drawn betwixt his and the *Britaines* borders, which worke began at *Basingwark* in *Linshire*, and *North-wales*, not farre from the mouth of *Dee*, and ranne along the mountaines into the *South*, & ended neer *Briflow* at the fall of *Wye*; the tract whereof in many places is yet seene, and is called to this day *Clawd* *Offa*, or *Offas* ditch. *Marmodius*, who openly bare saile to this wind, and seemed to winke at *Offas* intent, secretly called a Councell of *State*, wherein he declared how the Act thus in working, would soone proue the bane of liberty vnto their country, and the marke of dishonor to themselves & posterity for euer; therefore his aduice was, that by some stratagem it might be staid by time.

(7) To this his *Britaines* consented, the truce yet lasting, and the feast of *Christs Nativity* euen then at hand; in the celebration whereof was held the greatest aduantage with least suspect, to put themselves in action against it; and secretly working the assistance of their allies the *Saxons*, both of the *South*, the *West*, and the *North*, vpon Saint *Stephens* day at night, suddenly brake downe the banke of this fortification, filling vp againe a great part of the *Ditch*, and in the morning most furiously rushed into *Offa* his Court,

Monarch

putting a great number to the sword, who were more intenuate and regardfull to the Feast, then to any defence from their cruell and mercilesse swords.

(8) These wrongs King *Offa* delayed not to requite; first making their hostages his vassals and slaues, and then with a great army entering *Wales*, in a bloody and fore-fought bataille hee ouercame *Marmodius* and all his associates in the field. Thus then as a Conquerour ouer all his enemies triumphantly after ten yeares abroad returned he to his owne Kingdome, neither puffed with pride, nor suffering his title to be enlarged according to his conquests: yet he was not neglectiue of regall state, by the report of the *Ligger* booke of *S. Albans*, which saith, that in regard of his great prerogatiue, and not of any pride, he first instituted and commanded, that euen in times of peace also, himselfe and his Successors in the Crowne, should as he passed through any Cities, haue Trumpeters going and sounding before them, to shew that the person of the King should breed both feare, and honor in all which either see him or heare him.

(9) Vnto King *Charles* of *France* he wrote in excuse of his warres, and desire of his amity; whom *Charles* againe congratulated with letters of gladnes, both for his victories, and the Christian pietie in his land embraced; desiring of *Offa* safe conduct for such his subiects, as came to his country in deuotion to God, and withall sent to him, (for a present) a Booke of the Decrees of the second Councell of Nice. Which *Synodall Booke* (to vñe Roger *Houedens* owne words) was sent vnto King *Charles* from *Constantinople*, wherein (alas for pity) by the unanimous assertion of three hundred Bishops or more congregated in that Councell, were decreed many things inconuenient, yea and quite contrary to the true faith; as is most especially the worshipping of Images, which the Church of God doth utterly detest. Against which Booke *Albinus* wrote an Epistle, admirably strengthened by the authority of the holy Scriptures, which together with the foresaid Booke himselfe presented in the name of the Princes & Bishops of this land, vnto the foresaid *Charles King* of *France*. Such intercourse both for State and Church had this great *Offa* with that great *Charles*.

(10) His last warres (according to mine Author) were against the *Danes*, whom he forced to their ships with the losse as well of their booties, as of many of their liues; and then (saith he) with the spirit of humility, both to recall himselfe from the trace of blood, and to the better establishment of his kingdomes peace, he ioined in affinity with his neighbour Princes, vpon who he bestowed his daughters in marriage.

(11) And making *Egfrid* his sonne a King with himselfe, in great deuotion went to *Rome*, where with the like zeale and example of *Inas* the *West-Saxon*, he made his Kingdome subiect to a Tribute, then called *Peter-pence*, afterwards *Rom-sco*; besides other rich gifts that he gaue to Pope *Hadrian* for canonizing *Albane* a Saint: in honour of whom, and in reparation of his finnes, at his returne (ouer against *Verolanum*, in the place then called *Holmechursh*, where that *Protomartyr* of *Britaine*, for the constant profession of *Christ*, lost his head) *Offa* built a magnifice Monastery in Anno 795. indowing it with lands and rich reuenues for the maintenance of an hundred Monks: vpon the first gate of entrance in stone standeth cut a *Salter Argent* in a field azure, & is assigned by the iudicious in Heraldry to bee the Armes that he bare.

(12) Also in testimony of his repentance for the blood hee had spilt, he gaue the tenth part of all his goods vnto the Churchmen, and vnto the poore. At *Bathe* he also built another Monastery, and in *Warwickshire* a Church, where the adioyning towne, from it and him, beareth the name *Off-church*.

(13) Finally, when hee had raigned thirty nine yeares, he died in peace at his towne *Off-ley* the nine and twentieth of Iuly, the yeare of *Christ* Iesus, seven hundred ninety foure: and with great solemnity his body was buried without the towne of *Bedford*

in a Chappell standing vpon the Banke of *Omfe*, which long since was swallowed vp by the fameriuier whole Tombe of lead (as it were some phantastical thing) appeareth often (saith *Roufe*) to them that seek it not, but to them that seeke it, is altogether inuisible,

His wife.



(14) *Quendred* the wife of King *Offa* hath not her parentage set down by any of our Writers: notwithstanding, the recorder of this his life, saith that her name was *Drida*, and that shee was the kinswoman to *Charles* the Great King of *France*, and by him for some offence banished his Realme, who arriuing vpon the coasts of *England* in a ship without tackle, was taken thence, and relieved by *Offa*, being then a young Nobleman, where shee changed her name vnto *Petronilla*; with whom hee fell so farre in loue that hee made her his wife, contrary to the liking of his Parents. She was a woman of condition ambitious, coctious, and cruell, as appeared specially in the death of *Ethelbert*, King of the *East Angles*, that came to her husbands Court to marry their daughter; whose port shee so much enuied, that shee procured him to bee treacherously murdered: in the manner the foresaid Author declared to be by his fall into a deepe pit, purposely made in his bed-chamber, and vnder his chaire of estate. That his head was cut off, and found by a blind-man, that the well which beares his name sprung vp presently in the place where it lay, that the blood thereof gaue the blind man his sight, and that *Dryda* died in the same pit which shee had digged for *Ethelbert*, I leaue to the credite of my author, and the liking of my Reader: but certaine it is that Gods vengeance followed this heynous fact within one yeare after the fame was committed, by the death of her selfe, her husband, & her Sonne, and the translation of that Kingdome from the *Mercians* to the *West-Saxons*.

An ancient Saxon coine inscribed with her nante, *CENEDRED REGIN*. we haue found and here placed, which the iudicious suppose to be hers, and that not vnlikely, thee being so powerfull, proud and ambitious.

His Issue.

(15) *Egfrid* the onely sonne, and heire apparant of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred*, was the onely ioy and pride of his parents, who succeeded his Father in his dominions and title, and in the same yeare also in the shades of death.

(16) *Ethelburga*, the eldest daughter of King *Offa* and Queene *Quendred* was married to *Brithrick* the sixteenth King of the *West-Saxons*: shee was a Lady of passing beautie, but withall of an insolent disposition, hating all whom her husband loued, and practising the deathes of them that she hated. She departed into *France* after the poisoning of her husband, & for that her offence, a law was enacted to the great preiudice of the *West-Saxons* Queenes, as in the raigne of *Brithrick* we haue declared.

(17) *Elfred*, the second daughter of King *Offa*, & Queene *Quendred*, by the report of *Randolph Higden* the Monke of *Chester*, was the second wife to *Ethelred* King of *Northumberland*, who in regard of her had put from him his former wife, for which his subiects rose in Armes against him, and slew him in the last yeare of King *Offa* his raigne.

(18) *Elfrid* the third and youngest daughter of King *Offa*, and Queene *Quendred*, being promised in marriage, and assured vnto *Ethelbert* King of the *East Angles*, after the murder of her hoped Bridegroom, with great lamentations, and prophesying threats of reuenge, abandoned the society of men, and withdrew herselfe vnto the monastery of *Crowland* in the

Lib. S. Albani. M. S. Iohn Roufe.

In the life of S. Albans, prefixed before the Ledger booke of that Abbey.

Offa is mentioned to Quendred.

Quendred her treachery.

Quendred rewarded with the like paines.

Egfrid the only son of Offa.

Ethelburga the first daughter.

Cap. 7. sect. 11.

Payche, Elfrid the second daughter.

Elfrid the third daughter.

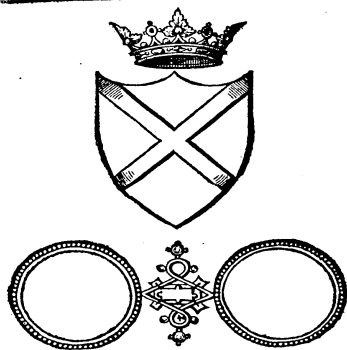
Fennel.

Fennes, where in contemplation and solitary sadnes he spent the remainder of her life; and yet there are that suppose her to bee the wife of King *Kenwolve*, who was the founder of *Winchcombe* Monastery, & the successor of his brother *Egfride*.

(19) *Fremund* by *John Capgrave* is supposed to bee the sonne of King *Offa*, who, as he saith, was traiterously murdered by one *Ofny* that enuied his victo-

ries which he gat against the *Danes*: his body was buried at *Offchurch* in *Warwickshire*, and nere vnto the Palace of *Offa*; alleading for his Author one *Burghard*, who was at his death, and wrote his life; yet some there are that thinke him mistaken, for that hee calleth him a young man, when as those warres hapned an hundred yeares after King *Offa* his life.

EGFRID THE TWELFTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE SE- VENTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH.



CHAPTER XXIX.



Egfrid, the sonne of King *Offa*, succeeded his father in the *Mercians* Kingdom, wherof he was the twelfth in number, and in the Monarchy of the *Englishmen*, ranked in account the seuenteenth. He began his raigne the thirteenth day of *July*, in the yeer of Christ his natiuitie, seven hundred ninety foure. The first businesse that he vnderooke after hee came to the Crowne, was the restauration of antient priuiledges

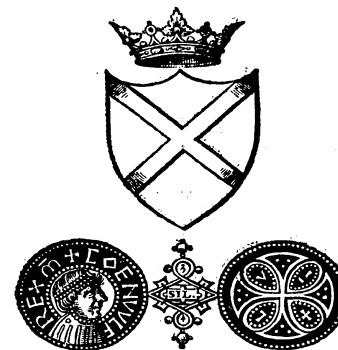
to the Church, which his father had deprived them of; and great hope was conceiued of his further proceedings, had not God cut him off by vntimely death. For hauing reigned onely foure moneths, hee gaue place vnto nature, and to another successor, the fins of the people deseruing no such Prince: for whose cause, and his fathers great bloudshed, as *Alewine* wrote to *Oshertus*, he was taken away so soone.

(2) He de ceased the seuenth day of *December*, and in the first of his raigne, hauing had neither Wife nor Issue that we reade of. His body with all due obsequies was honourably buried in the Abbey Church of *S. Albans*, of his fathers foundation.



KENWOLFE

KENWOLFE THE THIRTEENTH KING OF THE MERCIANS, AND THE EIGHTEENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN.



CHAPTER XXX.



Kenwolve, not so nere in blood to king *Egfrid*, as he was like him in all vertuous conditions, by him was ordained to succeed in his Dominions, wherby hee became the thirteenth King of the *Mercians*, and the eighteenth Monarch of the *Englishmen*, in the yeere of our Lord seven hundred ninety seven. At home he was an example of piety, peace, and religion, & set the scale of Iustice without respect to all alike; abroad temperate, humble, and courteous, without vain ostentation or ambitious conceits; in warres hee was stout and victorious, in peace studious to enrich his subiects: briefly, at all times so carrying himselfe, that enuie could not touch him with her tongue.

(2) Whether vpon a new quarrell begun, or the old retained, (as inheritable to the *Mercians* against those of *Kent*) I cannot say; but true it is, that in the entrance of his raigne, he entred that Prouince with a great host of men, and in a fore fought field discomfited the *Kentish*, and carried away prisoner their King, whose surname was *Pren*. His kingdome hee gaue to *Cuthred*, and kept him captiue in *Mercia*, to his great griefe, and his subiects dishonour.

(3) But *Kenwolve* in peace, & minding the works of true piety, gaue himselfe to the building of a goodly Church at *Winchcombe* in *Glostershire*; where vpo the day of dedication in the presence of *Cuthred* (assigned his Viceroy in *Kent*) thirteene Bishops, ten Dukes, many Nobles, and a great concourse of people, he led *Pren* this *Kentish* captiue vp to the high *Altar*, and there without either his entreaty, or ranfome for Redemption, released and set him free; shewing thereby his deuotion to God, and the heroical parts of a magnanimous Prince.

(4) His raigne was twenty two yeares, and death

in *Anno* eight hundred nineteene, beeing solemnly buried in the Church of the *Monastery* at *Winchcombe* aforesaid which himselfe had founded.

His Wife.

(5) *Elfryd*, the wife of King *Kenwolve*, hath not her parentage certainly reported by any of our Historians; yet some later vpon a likelihood of her name, the place and time agreeing, haue thought her to be the daughter of *Offa*, affianced to King *Ethelbert*, as hath beene said; but in these obscurities, coniecture may wander alway.

His Children.

(6) *Kenelm* the sonne of King *Kenwolve*, and of Queene *Elfryd* his wife, was very yong at his fathers death, and succeeded in the *Mercians* Kingdom, but not in the Monarchy of the *English*; King *Egbert* the *West-Saxon* King then growne too great. And in the same yeare that he beganne his raigne, by the treason of his vnnaturall sister hee was murdered, and first obscurely buried, but afterwards solemnly remoued and reposed nere to his Father in the *Monastery* of *Winchcombe*, as in the *Mercian* Kings successions wee haue said.

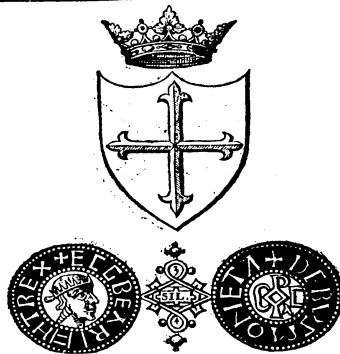
(7) *Quendred* the eldest daughter of King *Kenwolve*, and Lady *Elfryd* his Queene, after the de cease of her father, ambitiously aspiring to compasse the sway of the *Mercian* Kingdome wholly to her selfe, wickedly conspired the death of her brother King *Kenelm*, which was traiterously acted by *Askebert* her instrument, who had the charge of him: but the same turning to her reproch, for very shame of so damnable a deed, shee within short time after ended her life, but not her ignominie.

(8) *Burgenhild*, the yonger daughter of King *Kenwolve*, and of Queene *Elfryd*, hath not been so famous to posterity as her sister *Quendred* was for her infamous Act; notwithstanding, she may reasonably be supposed to haue lead a better life, and to haue died a better death, especially of vs, who find her not stained with any asperision of misdeferuing.

Ppp i EGBERT

Egbert.

EGBERT THE EIGHTEENTH KING OF THE WEST SAXONS, THE NINE- TEENTH, BUT FIRST SOLE AND ABSO- LUTE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, WIFE, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XXXI.

An. Do. 800.



The Saxon Heptarchy drawing now to a period, the spring of an entire Monarchie began to shew it selfe, and the glory of the Englishmen more cleerely to arise: for though they had weakened each other by their own wars, yet stood their power strong in the possession of the whole, and the overborne Brittaines held still at the worst.

(2) But such is the dispose of the sole disposer of Empires, that they have their risings, their fells, and their falls: neuer staying in one and the same point, neither entailed to one and the same Nation, how strong, politicke or populous fouer. The prooffe whereof is apparant in all the Kingdomes of the earth, and this of ours as mutable as any; whose change of State vnto, and in, this seven-fold Government hath hitherto bene scene: the severall Kings thereof long contending to branch their own fountaines furthest and fairest, lastly let them fall into one frame, which so meeting, made a more famous confluence in this Monarchie, then the seven heads of Nilus in the Egyptian Sea.

(3) Formerly, the Kentish, South-Saxons, East-Angles, Northumbrians, and the Mercians, through no lesse then eight descents had worn the Imperiall Diademe, whose rayes shone now so bright in the West-Saxons eyes, that they againe sought to reestate themselves in so glorious a possession. For, whereas Brightrik was possessed and contented with the West-Saxon Crowne, neither that worn without ialousie and feare; yet others of the blood royall from Cherdik raied the wings of their soaring thoughts much higher, among whom Egbert was one, neither the last nor the least in the opinion of the people, or suspect of his Prince.

(4) This Egbert hauing command of some part of that Prouince, so carried himselfe, that his fame

grew fearefull to Brightrik the King, and hatefull to the eniuous Ethelburg his most proud Queene, by whom he was enforced first to secure himselfe with the Merion Offa; and lastly constrained to flie into France: where vnder Charles the Great, he turned his aduersity into an occasion of his valour, by seru- ing in his warres, and learned by his politicke go- uernment, how to rule a quiet or disturbed State.

(5) But King Brightriks death acted, and his Queene the contriuer banished, Egbert is solicited to the wearing of the West-Saxon crowne, where hee be- came the eighteenth King in number, and nineteene yeares after the nineteenth Monarch of the English- men; entering his raigne the yeare of Christ Iesus, eight hundredth, being the same yeare that Charles was made Emperour of the West, and Cornwall then ruling ouer the Scots.

(6) His first warres were against the Cornish, and their associats the Welsh, both of them a remnant of the old Brittaines, who had bene oftentimes van- quished, but neuer would seeme to be subdued, and for foureene yeares continuance held side against Egbert; which their resistance so prouoked his furie that hee enacted a most seuer law against them, commanding that no Britaine should presume to passe ouer great Offas ditch, and present death to them that durst set foot vpon any English ground. Their great Cac-legion (now West-chester) hee tooke from them, and at London from their West-gate cast downe the brazen Image of Cadwalla there set vp by the Brittaines for a terrour to the Saxons, as we haue said.

(7) His warres thus prospering, his puissance grew dreadfull, and his glory much enuiied at by the other Princes, wherof Bernulfe of Mercia was the first attempter that fought to plucke the wing of this west-Saxon Eagle, but thereby wrought his owne downfall; for Egbert ioyning battaile with him at Ellenden ouerthrow his power, and in that quarrell Bernulfe was lastly slaine.

(8) Kent was the next, and fairest marke in Eg- berts

berts eye, whose king not gratus in his own subiects sight, was the easier to be subdued; him he chased ouer Thamisa, and added not onely that Countie, but also Suffex and Surrey, for Prouinces vnto his owne Kingdome: next were the East-Saxons, the East-Angles and in truth all, both vpon the North, and the South of Humber gaue him obediences, so that the bounds of his Dominion were greatly enlarged, and his royall authority by those feuerall Kings acknowledged.

(9) Then heert confirm his estate called an as- sembly vnto the City Winchester, where causing him- selfe to bee solemnly crowned, became the first Sax- ons absolute Monarch of the whole Iland; so redu- cing the Monarchiall title from the Mercians to the West-Saxons, in whole Progeny it continued with- out reuerfement vntill the Danes first got, and againe lost it, and the Saxons issue failing, the same fell to the Normans Duke by Conquest, as in continuance of our history, Christ assiting, shall be scene.

(10) His Coronation was at Winchester, and en- trance in the yeare of Grace, eight hundred and nine- teene, at which time by his Edict in that City da- ted, he caused all the South of the Iland to bee cal- led England, according to the Angles, of whom him- selfe came, and promising great felicity to his State and Successors, was therein not so happy as in his affaires he had bene fortunate.

(11) For those Saxons that by warre and blood, had made themselves Lords of other mens rights, and of one Kingdome no lesse then seuen, are now endangered to bee made seruants vnto subiection, and by warre and bloud their seuen-fold Kingdome brought againe vnto one; neither yet freed from the reuenge of bloodie violence: for that a fierce and cruell nation (the Danes) ceased not con- tinually to inuade them, till they had subdued and set the crowne thereof vpon their owne heads, who in King Brightrik dayes, and about the yeere seuen hundred eighty seuen, hauing with three vessells lan- ded in the West of England, at three feuerall times, in so many feuerall places, fought the ruine of the land in their raigne of this Egbert.

(12) The first was in his thirty third yeare, when with thirty fise ships they landed at Lindesferne vp- on the North of England, where they were met and fought with at Carham, but with such losse to the English, that two chiefe Captaines, Nudda and Of- mond, two Bishops, Herefrid of Winchester, and Vig- ferd of Shyrborne, with many Souldiers were there- in slaine, King Egbert himselfe hardly escaping by the couert of the night.

(13) Their second attempt was in the second yeare following, when in West-Wales they landed, vn- to whom the Brittaines there ioyned, and in the place called Hengistenton abode the King in field, where Egbert with prosperous fortune vanquished and slew both the Danes and the Welsh.

(14) The third place of their arriage was Shee- pie in Kent, which Iland they sacked, and with much a doe were expelled in the last of King Egberts raign, and but the new beginning of their sauage cruelties.

(15) This Egbert by Florentius of Worcester is said to be the sonne of Alkemund, who was the sonne of Eafa, and he the sonne of Eoppa, the sonne of Ingils, the brother of Ine, the eleuenth King of the West- Saxons, and both of them the sonnes of Kenred, de- scended from Cherdik the first King of that Prouince:

he was but low of stature, yet well composed and strong of limme, very valiant, wife and politicke, a skilfull souldier, and as great in mind, as fortunate in warre; he raigned ouer the West-Saxons the space of thirty six yeares and seuen monethes, and Monarch of the whole Iland twenteene: his death hapned the fourth day of February, and yeare of Christs Incar- nation eight hundred thirty six.

(16) His bodie was with all obsequies solemnly buried at Winchester, and his bones since taken vp, re- maine with others in that Cities Cathedral Church, by- stowed in Chests ser vpon the Wall of each side the Quier, with these verses neither ancient, nor elegant, thereon inscribed:

*Hic Rex Egbertus pausat cum Rege Kenulpho,
Nobis egregia munera uterque tulit.
His wife.*

(17) Redburg, the wife of King Egbert, was the first of the West-Saxons, that by their new made law was deprived of title, authority, or place of a Queene; notwithstanding it seemeth here bare a great stroke with her husband, in that John Beuer the Monke of Westminster reporteth, that shee pro- cured a law to be made against the Brittaines, the pe- nalty whereof was present death for any of them to set footing within the realme of England, or to passe the Ditch that King Offa had made.

His Issue.

(18) Ethelwolve, the eldest sonne of King Eg- bert, and Lady Redburg his wife, was in his child- hood committed to the charge of Helmestane Bishop of Winchester, vnder whom hee was carefully tray- ned vp in learning and vertue, who coming to mans estate proued also a perfect Souldier, and had the leading of his fathers power against Balred King of Kent, whom he forced to flie ouer the Thamisa, and to abandon his Kingdome, which he subdued to the subiection of his father, and afterwards succeeded him in the Monarchie of the Englishmen.

(19) Ethelflane, the younger sonne of King Eg- bert, and of the Lady Redburg his wife, was by his father deputed King ouer the Kentishmen, the South- Saxons, and the East-Saxons after hee had brought them vnto his subiection; which people hee most valiantly defended against the inuasions of the Danes, defeating their forces both by sea and land, and at Sandwich gaue them a most memorable ouerthrow, in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred fifty one, be- ing the sixteenth of his brother King Ethelwolves raigne; in whose time hee decaied, and is reported to haue left a sonne named Osfride, who by reaton of his minority succeeded not in his fathers dominions, which Ethelbert the second sonne of King Ethelwolve entred vpon, and being Monarch reunited these king- domes inseparably vnto the Monarchie.

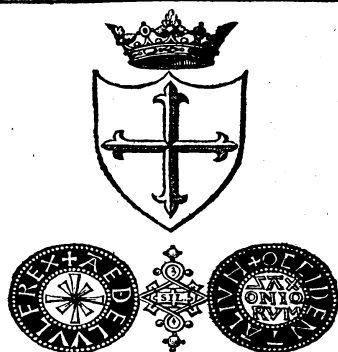
(20) Edgith, commonly called Saint Edith the daughter of King Egbert, was in her childhood by her brother Ethelwolve committed to the charge and bringing vp of a Lady in Ireland, greatly renowned for her holinesse of life, named Modewine, by whom she was afterwards recommended to a Disciple of the said Lady, named Aetha, and made Gouvernesse of a Monastery of the Ladies, by her planted in a place which the King her brother had giuen her, called Pollefworth, situated in Arden in the north verge of the County of Warwick, wherein she liued, died, and was honourably buried, and the place in regard of her afterwards called Saint Ediths of Pollefworth.



ETHELWOLFE

Ethelwolfe.

ETHELWOLFE THE NINETEENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS WARRES, ACTS, WIVES, AND CHILDREN.



CHAPTER XXXII.

An. Do. 837.



Ethelwolfe, the eldest sonne of King Egbert, committed in his youth to the care of Helmestun Bishop of Winchester, and by him vnto Swithun a famous learned Monke of that time, tooke such a liking vnto the quiet and solitarie life, (onely enjoyed by

men of Religion, all other degrees molested to withstand the intruding Danes) that he vnderooke the Monkish vow and profession, and was made Deacon; shortly after which degree taken, Helmestun died, in whose place Prince Ethelwolfe was consecrated, as Roger Houeden affirmeth, or at least elected, (as John Brampton Abbat of Iarnaux writeth) Bishop of Winchester. But the death of his Father King Egbert immediately following, by great intreaty of the Nobles, and partly by constraint of the Clergy, hee was made King, and was by the authority of Pope Gregory the fourth, whose creature in both professions he was, absolved and discharged of his vows.

(2) He entered his Monarchy the fourth day of February in the year of Christs Incarnation, eight hundred thirty seuen, and was the nineteenth King of the West-Saxons, and the twentieth Monarch of the Englishmen. His Bishopricke he gaue vnto Swithun his Tutor, and according to his place, combined all his powers to withstand the dangerous Danes, that attempted the vter subuersion of his faire land: whose first inuasion in his first year happened; which drew the Saxons ciuill warres vnto a constrained peace, hauing more then they could well doe to defend their liues from their slaughtering swords, or to save their vniually gotten land from the spoiles of those common enemies; who, not like Conquerors, but destroying Caterpillers, left nothing vndeouered wherefoeuer they came, and had now begunne their mercileffe depopulations in diuers places at

once, so that the distracted English were to seeke where was most need first to withstand.

(3) At Hampton & Portsmouth many of these Norway Pirates had entred; at Hampton with their overthrow, at Portsmouth with victory; and the same time at Carrum, a Troupe of these Danes discomfited King Ethelwolfe's power. The next year at Mersware, Lindsey, in East-Angle, and Kent, they did much mischief, and harried all the Country before them: yet in his tenth year at Pedredemouth, the Sommerse and Dorsetshire men gaue them a memorable overthrow, vnder the conduct of Earle Enwulfe, Bishop Adelstan, and Ofred their capitaines.

(4) But in the sixteenth year of this King, the great Planet Mars seemed to predominate continually, and Fortune to cast the chance of victory euer on his side: for two hundred and fifty ships, (some reckon a hundred more) entred into Thames mouth and set on shore an infinite number of these destroying Danes. London and Canterbury they had sacked and left wast, had pierced into Mercia, and chased Berthulfe their King out of his Country, and now in Southerly had pitched their battle, as able and resolute to abide all the power of the English, whither King Ethelwolfe with his sonne prince Ethelbald repaired, and tooke the field at the place called Oeley; wherein after a long and sore fight, the victory fell to the English, with such slaughter of these Norway inuaders, as is incredible to report, and the same held as great and famous, as euer had hapned in the land before.

(5) With the like successe his Brother Athelstan King of Kent, fought with the Danes at Sandwich, where chasing them to sea, tooke nine of their ships; and in Devonshire, Earle Ceorle at Wimpleboore so ouerthrew their whole power, that in despaiere they withdrew themselves into the Ile of Thanet, where they made their abode all the winter season; and if destiny had not withstood the English, the Danes had bene expelled for euer. But the Saxons seeming

Monarch

Simon Dunelm Henry Dunelm

An. Dom. 841.

John Dunelm Henry Dunelm

Henry Dunelm Aradam Dunelm

King parents.

John Dunelm Henry Dunelm

seeming cleared of this common enemy, fell to their wonted quarrels with the euer depreffed Brittaines; against whom Burtred the Mercian obtained the assistance of King Ethelwolfe in his eighteenth year, whose daughter Ethelswith hee had obtained in marriage; whereby for a while was increased the fame and power of that valiant, but vnforgotten King.

(6) In this State the affaires of the land stood vnto the nineteenth year of King Ethelwolfe's reigne, who now remembering his former Ecclesiastick profession, ordained that Tithes and Lands due to holy Church should bee free from all Tributes or Regall seruices; and in great deuotion went himselfe to Rome, where hee was both honourably receiued, and entertained the space of a whole year; in which time hee new built the English Schoole, that Offa the Mercian before had there founded, and lately was fired, bearing the name of Thomas the Holy; confirming also his Grant of Peter pence, and further covenanting in lieu of his kind entertainment to pay yearly three hundred markes to Rome, thus to bee employed; one hundred to Saint Peters Church, an other hundred to Saint Pauls Light, and the third to the Pope: the Bride that euermore must be kissed and largely paid.

(7) His returne from Rome was through France, and being a Widower, hee there married Adith the most beautifull daughter of Charles the Bald then Emperour; in honour of whom in his owne Court, he euer placed her in a Chaire of Estate, with all other maiestick complements of a Queene, contrary to the law of the West-Saxons for Ethelburgas offence, formerly made. Which his doing so disliked the Nobles, that Prince Ethelbald his eldest Sonne, Adelstan Bishop of Shireborne, and Enwulfe Earle of Somerset, rose vp rebelliously in Armes and sought to depose him; yet by mediation of friends, the matter came to a compromise, and the land to be diuided betwixt the Father and Sonne, but with such partiality that the better part westward was allotted to Ethelbald: which vnequallity gaue great suspicion, that this reuolt was rather grounded vpon ambition, then any inclination they had for the defence of their lawes, which commonly is the pretence and vaile for all disloyall attempts of seditious subiects against their Soueraigne Lords.

(8) Howfoeuer it was, longer after this he liued not, but left his Monarchy vnto his eldest sonne Ethelbald: and by will appointed Ethelbert his second, to be King of Kent and Essex, which countries he had conquered. He reigned twenty years, one month, and nine dayes, and decessed at a place called Stamrige, the thirteenth day of January, in the year of our Lord, eight hundred fifty seauen, being the twenty one of his Raig. His body was first buried at the place of his decess, and afterwards removed into the Cathedral Church at Winchester.

His wives.

(9) Osburg, the first wife of King Ethelwolfe, was the daughter of a Nobleman named Ofake, who had the office of Great Butler of England, and was descended of the stocke of Stufte and Withgar two brethren, being nobleme of the people called Iutes, who were the first Princes of the Ile of Wight, and Nepheues to Cherdik, and cozen germans to Kenrik the first and second Kings of the West-Saxons, and the third and fourth Monarchs of the Englishmen. She was the second Kings wife that was debarred of the title and place of Queene. Shee decessed three years before the King her husband, in the nineteenth year of his reigne, being the year of Christs Nativity eight hundred fifty five.

(10) Adith his second wife, was the daughter of Charles the Emperour, and King of France, as wee haue said: her Mother was Queene Ermentrude, the daughter of Vodon Earle of Orlande. She was a Lady of passing beauty, and married to this King in France; and when she came into England was receiued with the title and place of a Queene, in abolishing

ment of the peruerse law of the West-Saxons, made against the Kings Wives, as before was touched: She was his wife three years, and seruiced him without any issue.

His issue.

(11) Ethelbald, the eldest sonne of King Ethelwolfe, and of Lady Osburg his first wife, was brought vp in his youth in the exercise of warre, and seruiced vnder his Father in the great victory obtained against the Danes at Oeley in Surrey, in the year eight hundred fifty one: afterwards hee turned his force against his Father, and at his returne from Rome, practised to defeat him of his Kingdome, and was ready to haue giuen him battaile, had not his Father parted with him his Dominion.

(12) Ethelbert, the second son of King Ethelwolfe and Lady Osburg his first wife, was in the life time of his Father, after the decess of his vnckle Ethelstan, appointed and placed his Successor in his Kingdome ouer the South-Saxons, the Kentish, and the East-Saxons, without any mention or meaning (as it seemeth,) that hee should intermeddle further with any other part of England. Notwithstanding after the death of his brother Ethelbald, it was generally holden of all men for law, equity, and reason, that he should succeed him in the Monarchy: and so he did, with the content of his Brethren, and without resistance, or contradiction of any other.

(13) Ethelred the third sonne of King Ethelwolfe, and Lady Osburg his first wife, had by the disposition of his Father in his last will, the one halfe of his Fathers proper inheritance; which was all such land as King Egbert his Grandfather had before hee was King, and was no part of the Demaines of the Kingdome, and this was diuided betwixt him and his brother Elfred, as the kingdome was betweene their elder Brethren Ethelbald and Ethelbert: with an intent that this Ethelred should succeed his brother Ethelbald in the kingdome of the West-Saxons; notwithstanding, his brother Ethelbert, after the decess of King Ethelbald, entred into the other part, adioining it to his former kingdome, and was king of the whole, and after left it entire to this Ethelred, who succeeded him in the Monarchy.

(14) Elfred, the fourth sonne of King Ethelwolfe and of Lady Osburg his first wife, was borne at Wantage in Berkshire, in the year of our Lord God, eight hundred forty nine, and the thirteenth of his fathers raig. Being a child of five yeeres old, he was sent very honourably attended to the City of Rome, where Leo the fourth then Bishoppe confirmed him, was his Godfather at the confirmation, and appointed him to the expectation of a kingdome: growne in yeares, hee grew so in discretion, magnanimity and fauour of all men, that in the successefull raignes of his three elder Brethren, he ruled as a Vice-roy or secondary king vnder euery of them, and after them at the last succeeded in the English Monarchy.

(15) Ethelswith, the daughter of King Ethelwolfe and Lady Osburg, was married to Burtred the twentieth King of Mercia, which marriage was solemnized at the towne of Chippingham in Wiltshire, in the month of Aprill, and year of Christs Nativity eight hundred thirty five, and the fifteenth of her fathers raig: but within twenty two years after, they were both forced by the Danes to abandon their kingdome, and departed into Italy, where the King died the same year in the English Colledge at Rome: hee liued after him fifteene yeeres in the habite of a Nunne, at the City of Padua, and there died, and was honourably buried in the year of our Lord God eight hundred eighty nine, which was the eighteenth year of her brother King Elfreds raig.

(16) Neote, supposed by John Capgrave the Legend writer, to be the sonne of King Ethelwolfe, was in his youth brought vp at Glasstebury vnder Dunstan, who was afterward Archbishop of Canterbury. He proued a man of great learning, and was one of the first Readers of Divinity in the Vniuersity of Oxford, at the

Ethelbald the first Sonne.

Ethelbert the second sonne.

Ethelred a third sonne.

Elfred a fourth sonne.

Ethelswith a daughter.

Neote a supposed sonne.

foundation, or as some will haue it, the restauration thereof by King *Elfred*, hee planted a *Monastery* in *Cornwall*, whereunto hee vied for deuotion and studious meditations often to withdraw himselfe, which of his abode there, was afterward called

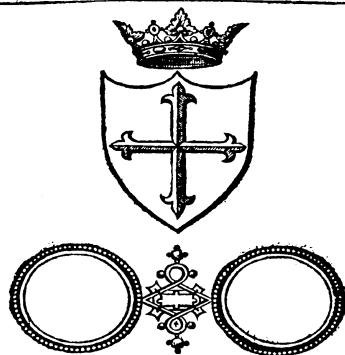
Neotefoke, and when he was dead, his body was with great honour entered in the County of *Huntingdon*, at a place then called *Amulfesbery*, and afterward in regard of his enternment, Saint *Neotes*, and now Saint *Needes*.

S. Neotes

Monarch

Ethelbald.

ETHELBALD THE TVVENTIETH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS AND RAIGNE.



CHAPTER XXXIII.

An. Do. 847.
Flores Wigorn.



*E*thelbald, the eldest sonne of King *Ethelwulf*, hauing had part of the kingdom in the life time of his Father, after his death entred vpon the whole, and was the twentieth King of the *West Saxons*, and the twenty one Monarch of the *Englishmen*, beginning his raigne

in the yeere of Christs incarnation eight hundred fiftie seuen.

His wars against
the Danes.

(2) His youth he had spent in the exercise of war, hauing made proofe of valour in his seruice against the *Danes* in many battels; and likewise attempted (though not in so good a cause) to haue fought against his owne father. Which his affaies, as they seemed violent and vnnaturally, yet being in the quarrell of the *West-Saxons* law, enacted in preiudice of their *Queenes*, he was both sided and approued, as hath been said.

W. L. Malmesbury.

(3) But howsoeuer vnwilling he was this faire *Queene* should sit in state by his fathers side, yet contrary to all lawes either of God or man, hee laid her by his owne, and by nuptiall rites, brought her to his sinfull and incestuous bed. Which act, though foule enough, some haue made worse, in reporting his Wife to be his owne Mother, whom King *Ethelwulf* kept for his Concubine. And surely this his sin was

not long vnpunished by the shortnesse of his raigne and life, leauing no other memory of his acts, besides this foule blot to his faire name.

(4) His raigne was onely two yeeres and an halfe, and death chanced vpon the twentieth day of *December*, the yeere of Christs assuming our flesh, eight hundred sixtie. His body was first buried at *Shirburne* in the County of *Dorset*, where at that time was the Cathedrall Church and Episcopall See; but afterwards was removed and entred at *Salisbury*, in the County of *Wiltshire*.

His Wife.

(5) *Judith*, the Wife of King *Ethelbald*, was the widow of his owne Father, a most vnlawfull marriage contracted against all law of God or of nature, which being both dissolved and punished by the hasty death of the King, and the returning towards her father and Country in *Flanders*, was rauished by *Baldwin* the Forester of *Arden* in *France*, and by him forcibly kept vntill shee consented to become his wife, who in regard of that marriage, when he was reconciled to the Emperor *Charles* her Father, was by him created the first Earle of *Flanders*, by whom shee had issue *Baldwin* the second, who espoused Lady *Elfrid*, the youngest daughter of *Elfred* King of *England*, from whom, through five descents lineally, *Maud* *Queene* of *England*, Wife to *William* the Conquerour descended, and from her, all our *Norman English* Kings vnto this day.

The time of
raigning.

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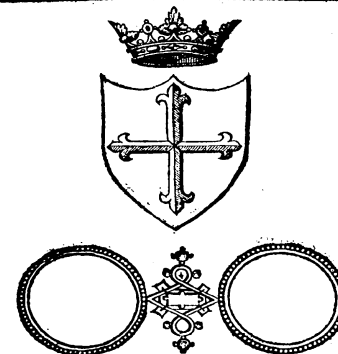
His raig.

The Englishmen
prepared for
his peace.

ETHELBERT

ETHELBERT THE TVVENTIETH ONE KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND THE TWO AND TWENTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE AND ISSVES.

Monarch 22



CHAPTER XXXIII.

An. Do. 860.



*E*thelbert, the second sonne of King *Ethelwulf*, who had succeeded his Vnckle *Ethelstan* in the kingdom of the *South-Saxons*, *Kentish*, and *East-Saxons*, and for five yeeres continuance, ruled those Countries with great equity and valour, after the decease of his brother *Ethelbald*, succeeded him also both in the *West-Saxons* kingdom, and the whole Lands Monarchie: whereof he was the one and twentieth King, and the two and twentieth Monarch.

(2) His raigne began in the yeere after Christs nativity, eight hundred and sixtie, and was disquieted from first to last by the inuasions of the bloody *Danes*. For presently after his coronation, these common enemies entred the Land, ruining all before them vnto the Citie *Winchester*, which they sacked, and left it troden vnder their destroying feete, euen to the ground. But in their returne were encountered by the *Barkshire-men*, vnder the leading of *Oftrik*, Earle of *Hampton*, by whom they were vanquished, the prey recouered, and a great number of those Infidels slaine.

(3) In his first yeere also a nauie of *Danes* and *Normans* entred into the Iland *Taney*, and began their wonted spoiles among those people: whereupon the *Kentish* compounded their peace for a great sum of money giuen. Notwithstanding these miscreants, which knew not God, gaue little regard to their promised covenants, and before the daies of truce were expired, like a sudden flood ouer-bare all before them. These their irruptions to withstand, the *Kentish* then prepared, rather aduenturing themselves vpon the chance of battell, then to rest vpon a seeming truce, wherein their destruction was too appa-

rant, and forthwith assembling all the powers together, set vpon those truce-breakers, and with much slaughter forced them at length out of their Country.

(4) But the date of King *Ethelberts* life being expired, hee yielded his body to the course of nature, and his Kingdomes to his next Brother, after he had raigned ouer the *Kentish*, *South*, and *East-Saxons*, the terme of ten yeeres, and had faine Monarch of the whole onely fife. He died the yeere of grace eight hundred sixty six, and was honourably buried in the Cathedrall Church of *Shirburne* in *Dorset-shire*, by his brother King *Ethelbald*.

His supposed Issue.

(5) *Athelm*, the brothers sonne of King *Elfred*, mentioned in the last will and testament of the same King, seemeth by all likelihood to be the eldest son of this King *Ethelbert*, elder brother to the same King *Elfred*, although hee succeeded not his father in his Kingdom. For in those daies, if the Kings sonne were vnder age, the succession went to the next brother; and if that brother left his sonne at full age, then it went vnto him; otherwife it recurred to the elder brothers sonne.

(6) *Ethelwald*, surnamed *Clito*, which is a word of addition giuen to all the *Saxon* Kings sonnes of *England*, is mentioned in King *Elfreds* will to be his brothers sonne, and is most likely to be the sonne of this King *Ethelbert*, hee proued a most deadly enemy to his cosen King *Edward*, the sonne of King *Elfrid* his Vnckle, destroying his townes in *Dorset-shire*, and being driuen out of *England*, ioined himselfe with the *Danes*, who made him their King in *Northumberland*, and vnder his leading, greuously assailed the Countries of the *East-Saxons*, *East-Angles*, and *Meritians*; wherein hee was lastly slaine, the yeere of our Lord nine hundred and fife, being the fourth of King *Edward* his cosen-germanes raigne.

Ethelberts time of
raigning.

Athelm the eldest
sonne.

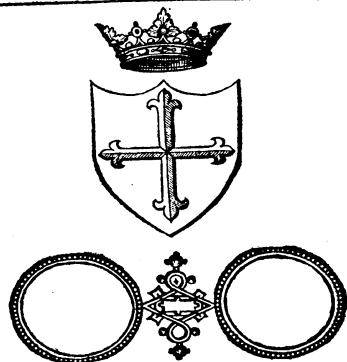
Ethelwald the
second sonne.

Henry Hunting.

ETHELRED

ETHELRED THE TVVO AND TVVENTIETH KING OF THE WEST.

SAXONS, AND THE TWENTY THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, AND ISSE.



CHAPTER XXXV.

An.Do.866.



Ethelred, the third sonne of King Ethelwulf, after the decease of his Brother succeeded him in his Dominions, and was in number the two and twentieth King of the West-Saxons, and the twenty third Monarch of the Englishmen; he beganne

hisraigne in the year of our saluation eight hundred sixty and six, and for the time that hee was King, reigned in continuall warres against the Pagan Danes, whose numbers now were greater, and footing surer in this land then formerly had beene.

Hungar and Hubba.

(2) In the first year of his raigne, there arriued vpon the English coasts a huge Army of these Danes, whereof Hungar and Hubba, men of incredible strength and cruelty, were the Captaines: These wintred in East Anglia, made truce with the inhabitants vpon certaine conditions, and forbore a time from their wonted rauening.

The Danes march Northward.

(3) But in the next year the King being busied to put backe a fresh inroad of Danes in the South and West of the Island then entred, these deuourers tooke aduantage vpon the ciuill broiles commenced among the Northumbrians, who in these turmoiled times sought to withdraw their subiections from the West Saxons, and to set vp Kings againe of their owne. The foresaid Captaines Hungar and Hubba, hauing in time of their truce strengthened themselves with new supplies of aid, marched further into the North, where finding the people vnprovided of strength, and the two Kings Osbert and Ella of reconciled enemies to be made no sure friends, they harried the Country before them, and entering Yorke slew the two Kings, with infinite number of the English, which City they consumed with fire, and burnt therein all those that had fled thither for succour.

(4) The State thus standing, and their forces en-

creasing euery day, brought new feares vpon the inhabitants, when euery late victory with increase of Captiues and rich spoiles, ministred occasion & means of some other conquest to follow; which these Pagans so pursued, till lastly they set a substitute King to raigne vnder them, ouer all the North Borders beyond the riuer Tyne; and for retiring themselves out of Northumberland into Mercia, came to Nottingham, which City they wanne, and therein wintred the third of King Ethelreds raigne, who with the aid of Burtred the Mercian King, constrained the Danes to sue for peace, and a safe departure, yeelding the City, and againe retryring themselves ouer Tyne, remained in Yorke all the next winter.

(5) The Summers opportunity approching, their wonted desire for spoile was with it encreased, and to cut off long trauell these Danes by boates passed Humber, where Hungar and Hubba beganne with fire and sword to lay all wast before them, sparing neither Person, sexe nor age. The places respected for publike good, and sacred Temples consecrated onely to God, which all other Tyrants haue forborne, these sauage men as the earths destroyers cast downe and trampled vnder their prophane feet: among which for note were the goodly Monasteries of Bradney, Crowland, Peterborow, Ely, and Huntington, all laid in leuell with the ground, and their Voraries, aswell the Nunnes as the Monkes, murdered with their vnhumane and mercilesse swords; to auoid whose barbarous pollutions, the chaste Nunnes of Coldingham deformed themselves to their lasciuious eyes, by cutting off their vpper lips and noses; but to eueralasting remembrance they remain most faire, and well becoming faces of pure Virgins.

(6) These Pagans piercing further into the land, came into the territories of the East-Angles, wherein holy Edmund reigned King, whose Martyrdom in most cruell manner they wrought, he constantly calling vpon the name of Christ, whereof wee haue al-

ready

ready spoken; and shall bee occasioned hereafter to speake.

(7) But in the last year of this Kings raigne, their raging power was most great: for with a new supply two Danish Kings Sireg, and Halden, entred into West-Saxia; and at Reading the Kings towne intrenched themselves: these forraging the Country, were encountered with at Englefeld by Ethelwulf Earle of Berkshire, and his men, who in skirmish slew one of their leaders, and chased the rest backe to their Trench.

(8) These Danes fearing lest delais would proue dangerous, and knowing that the first successe is commonly seconded with further courage of hopes; foure dayes after shewed themselves in field ready to fight: their hoast they diuided into two battalians; whereof the one was guided by two of their Kings and certaine Earles were leaders of the other; which when the English perceiued, they also diuided theirs, whereof King Ethelred had the leading of the first, and Elfred his brother was General of the second; the place was Assendon, where their Tents were pitched, and the day approached for bataille: King Ethelred in his Tent staid so long in praiers that Elfred vpon a forward courage hastened to encounter the enemy, and that with a most fierce and sharpe fight, wherein hauing spent the most of their strengthes, and ready to decline, and giue backe: Ethelred manfully entred the bataille, and so seconded his brother, and ouer-tyred Souldiers, that hee made way by dint of his sword through the thickest of their almost-conquering enemies, and with such losse of the Danish blood, drawne from the sides of one of their Kings, five Earles, and an infinite number of the common Souldiers, that the streames thereof seemed as an ouer-swelling tide, altogether to couer the face of the field, and is accounted for the noblest victory that the English till then had gotten of the Danes.

(9) Yet were not these Pagans therewith discouraged, but gathering more strengthes and supplies from other parts; foureteen dayes after, made head againe against the English, and pitching downe their standards at Basing, abode the coming of Ethelred and triall of bataille, wherein successe was altogether altered; for herein the Kings part was discomfited, and the Danes the winners of the day.

(10) Thus both sides borne vpon rage & hope, in their heat of bloud prepare for new fight. The Dane power was augmented with a further supply sent from beyond Seas, and the English confirmed with hope of successe: These meeting at Merton (two moneths after the bataille of Basing) encountered each others both boldly and bloodily; wherein at first the English preuailed, and the Danes were chased; but their numbers the greater, and fresh

supply maintaining their battaile, they recouered themselves, and wonne the day; wherein King Ethelred recouied his death wound, with such slaughter of his people, that little wanted the end of all encounters; to haue been afterwards attempted any more by the English.

(11) Great was the valour and resistance of this King; for in his short time of Raigne, as Writers record, no lesse then nine set battales against the Danes he fought in one year, to the great effusion of Christian blood, and to no little losse of the Danish power; for in his raign fell of them one King, nine Earles, and of the common sort without number.

(12) He died at Wittingham of his wound receiued the three and twentieth day of April, in the year of our Lord God eight hundred seauenty two, and was buried in the Collegiat Church of Winburne in Dorsetshire, where remains his Tombe and his Armes vnto this day, with this Inscription:

In hoc loco quiescit corpus Sancti Ethelredi Regis West-Saxonum Martyris, qui Anno Domini 872. 23. die Aprilis, per manus Dacorum Paganorum occubuit.

His Issue.

Elfred, the eldest sonne of King Ethelred seemeth to be Grandfather to the noble and learned Ethelward, who being Kinsman, Counsellor and Treasurer to King Edgar, wrote an history of his Country, beginning at the first arriuall of the Saxons into England, and continuing vnto his own time; which history he dedicated to his kinswoman, and cofen germane the Lady Maud Abbess of Quedlingburg in Saxonia, being the daughter of the Emperour Otto, by Edgith his wife, daughter of King Edward the elder, and sister of Ethelstan, and Edmund Kings of England.

Oswald, a young sonne of King Ethelred, is mentioned in a Charter of his Fathers, by which he gaue lands to the Monastery of Abingdon neere Oxford; and to which this sonne of his hath his name set downe for a witnes; which Charter is yet extant, recorded in a great Legier-booke, and Register of the Euidences of the lands, sometime belonging to the said Monastery.

Thyre, the daughter of King Ethelred, is reported by the histories of Ireland to bee married to Gormon King of the Danes, and to haue had issue King Harald, which Harald, by Queene Gonhild his wife, had issue, Sweyn king of Denmarke, Iringe king of Northumberland, and Gonhild Queene of North-Wales. King Sweyn by Queene Sigred his wife, had issue Canute King of England and Denmarke, Ostryde wife of Duke Wolfe, and mother of King Sweyn the yonger, and Thyre the first wife of Earle Godwin of Kent.

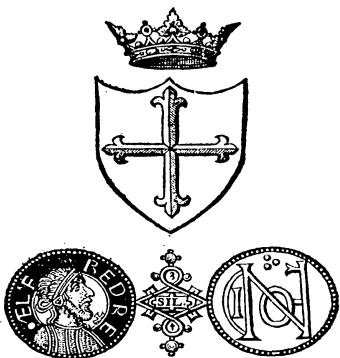


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ELFRED

Elfred.

ELFRED THE TWENTIE THIRD KING OF THE VVEST SAXONS, AND TWENTIE FOWRTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XX XVI.

An.Do.872.

Marianus,
Florentinus.

Lifred, or *Alfred*, the fourth sonne of King *Ethelwulf*, though he had beene appointed King at *Rome* by Pope *Leo* in his young years & Fathers life time; yet raigned he in no part of his dominions, before the deaths of all his Brethren, vnder whom hee serued in most of their warres, assisting them likewise in all their counsels: the land now miserably torne by the cruell incursions of the bloody *Danes*, was left vnto him, both to redeme, and to raigne ouer, by the death and Testament of King *Ethelred* his last brother.

(2) Hee beganne his raigne in the yere of his age twenty two, and of our Lord God eight hundred seventy two, being crowned in the City of *Winchester*, the twenty third King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twenty foure Monarch of the *Englishmen*: but of some Historians he is famous by the stile of the first absolute Monarch.

(3) His raigne beganne with troubles and wars in defence of the land which the *Pagan Danes* intended to destroy; and though his powers were small, yet was he forced into the field within one month after his Coronation: the place was *Wilton* in the County of *Wiltshire*, on the south-banke of the riuer *Wily*: where the *Danes* at first gaue backe and fled: but seeing the fewnes of their pursuers, reformed their battle, and got the field, with whom the *West-Saxons* entred league, and compounded for their departure from among them.

(4) These Rouerers then with their associates at *Reading*, got themselves into *London*, where they wintered, with whom the *Mercians* likewise compounded for their peace, which proued shortly to be the

destruction of their princely blood; and lastly, the lands subuersion to a forraigne nation. For the *Danes* hauing got footing in the *North*, the *West*, and the *South* of this land, (vnto whose aide many new-come guests from their *Easterne* countries were arriued, under the leading of other three Kings, *Gurthrum*, *Esketil*, and *Amund*) all together set their griping tallents with such fast hold vpon *Mercia*, that at *Ripendon* they constrained *Burthred* the King with his Queene *Elswith* out of the land, and in his stead placed a King of their owne choise, vpon condition to deliuer vp the same againe vnto them when they would demaund it.

(5) In the fourth yere of King *Elfred* their armies diuided themselves into two parts, the one of them guided by King *Halden*, returned into *Northumberland*; where hee bestowed that Country among his followers, and therein remained for two yeres continuance, doing much harmes both to the *English* and *Picts*. The other part led by the last new-come King, came to *Granabridge*, whence they wintered and spoiled the Country, and there spreading themselves as *Grashoppers* vpon the face of the earth, eate vp all where they came; so that King *Elfred* was enforced to compound for their departure out of his owne kingdome in *West-Saxia* to which couenants they promised and swore; yet contrary to both, tooke into *Deuonshire*, and wintered at *Excester*, vnto whom a further supply by sea fought to ioine themselves, but met with such boisterous blasts, that one hundred and twenty of their ships were cast away by tempest at *Swanwicke* vpon our coasts, and their land-army marching towards *Excester*, were there welcommed with so sharpe an encounter by King *Elfred*, that they gaue him both pledges and oath to depart with all speed.

(6) But Fortune euer dallying with them, whom shee means to down-cast, set the chance of losse presently

Monarch

An.Do.876.

Sigeu.

An.D.876.

An.D.876.

Polydorus Iulius

An.D.876.

Elfredi compo-

sition.

An.D.876.

An.D.876.

An.D.876.

An.D.876.

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An.D.876.

An.D.876.

sently vpon the *Saxons* side: for now the three Kings *Gurthrum*, *Esketil*, and *Amund* thought it not good to let *Elfred* thus rest, and thereupon drew their forces westwards towards him, where at *Chipingham* (a Mannor of his) they wintered, and compelled the *West-Saxons* there, either to yeeld, or to forsake the Country.

(7) King *Elfred* therefore, with such strength as he had, hasted towards them, and seuentene miles from *Bislaw* pitched downe his tents euen in the face of the enemy, where betwixt these fierce nations a great battaile was fought, to the infinite losse of blood on both sides, and that vpon such equall departure, as neither could challenge to bee matters of the field; yet the report went, that King *Elfred* was discomfited, which turned greatly to his advantage; for thereupon many of the *English* hastened to his succour, lest the ouerthrow of him should be the bane of them all; his strengthes thus renewed with an vnexpected supply, no time was detracted to stay the *Danish* rage, who were now returned further into the heart of the land, and at *Abington* by *Oxford* had pitched their standers for fight.

(8) Thither the *English* repaired, and the next morning he ordered his Army; neither were the enemies vnprepared, but with braues flood ready to receiue the encounter. The battaile ioyned, continued with such losse of blood, that it is accounted one of the forest that euer betwixt them before had bene fought, and onely parted by the approach of the night, neither party challenging the honor of the day, the losse being so great vpon both sides.

Seuen of these battailes are reported to be fought in that yere, whereby both their strengthes were much abated, and their spile blood so cooled their liuers; that lastly they concluded vpon a peace; one article was this, that the *Danes* should admit no more of their nation to arrive in this land: but how soone that was broken, the sequels did shew.

(9) For in the yere eight hundred seuentie sixe, (saith *Simon Dunelmensis*) *Rollo* a nobleman of *Denmarke* with a great Army entred into *England*, with no lesse spoile and destruction then other of those *Danes* before him had done, notwithstanding the truce: with whom King *Elfred* met, and gaue him to hoat welcome, that hee liked not greatly his entertainment; and being warned (forsooth) in his sleepe, that better fortune attended him in *France*, hee left his countymen to tuggle with the *English*.

(10) The *Danes* then accounting the peace to be broken, like Bees from the Hiu, infect all the land, insomuch that this vndaunted King *Elfred* was oftentimes brought to such extremities, that he hid himselfe out of sight, and in the *Fens* & *Marsh* grounds was forced with such small companies as he had, to liue by fishing, fowling, and hunting of wild beasts for his food, hauing no more of his great Monarchy left him, but *Somerset*, *Hamton*, and *Wiltshire* only, neither yet them free from the incursions of the *Danes*.

(11) The solitary place of his most residency, was an land inclosed with the two riuers *Thone* and *Parret*, at their meeting in the County of *Somerset*, commonly called *Edelingsay*, where he in very poore attire disguised, was entertained into a Cowheards house (if not into his seruice,) where on a time as he sat by the fire in trimming of his bow and shafts, a cake of dow baking vpon the hearth before him, chanced to burn; the Cowheard seeing comming in, and seeing him mind more his bow then his bread, in a great fury cast away both his bow and arrowes, and checking him as her Groom, said, *Thou fellow, dost thou see the bread burne before thy face, and wilt not turne it? and yet art thou glad to eate it before it be half baked!* little suspecting him to be the man that had bene serued with more delicate cates.

(12) But this Prince, the very mirrour of Princes, more minding the wealth of his subiects, then

the maiesty of State, disguised himselfe in the habit of a common Minstrell, and in person repaired to the *Danes Campe*, who lay like *Swachbirds*, wallowing in wantonnesse, and secure in their owne conceit from impeach of danger, which *Elfred* a most skilfull *Musitian*, and an excellent *Poet*, did nor a little egge on by his sweet musicks, and songs of their valour; so that he was suffered to passe vncontrolled into the company of their Princes, at banquets, or else where: whereby he both saw their negligent security, and by diligent obseruance learned the designs that in their counsels they intended.

(13) Returning to his comfortlesse company, he told them the condition of the hostile Campe, and how easie it was to recouer againe their decayed estates: whereupon shewing himselfe to his subiects, vnto whose sight nothing could bee more ioyous, on the suddaine let vpon the carelesse Campe of the *Danes*, and made thereof a very great slaughter, to the great terrour of others in other parts, that had accounted him dead long since.

(14) *Hubba*, that had harried the *English*, and now rowzed vpon the newes of King *Elfreds* victory and life; with thirty three ships sailed from *Wales*, and arriuing in the mouth of *Tau*, where it falleth into the *Senerne Sea*, assaied to take there the then strong Castle called *Kimwith*, vnto whom the *Deuonshire* men gaue battle, and slew eight hundred and eighty persons of their retinue, where died the *Danish* King *Hubba*, whose corps being there interred vnder a great heape of copped stones, gaue name to the place, and was called *Hubblestone*. There and then was taken the *Danish* much esteemed *Banner*, called *Reafan*, wherein a *Rauen* was portrayed wrought in needle-work, (so *Asterius Menueus* reporteth) by the three sisters of *Hubba* and *Hungar* the daughters of *Lothbroke* (that is *Leather-breath*) the *Dane*: In regard whereof, as also for the opinion of good lucke, as they tooke it, it was cuer born before them in their wars.

(15) These aduers proceedings of the *Danes* designs, especially falling when the game was neere wonne, made them suspect, how faire foucer the ball lay to hand, yet fortune would serue it in the end to their losse: for *Elfred* now flocked vnto vpon euery side, beganne to build fortresses behind his backe, and forward to march with his conquering sword: whereupon the *Danes* sent to him for Peace, and deliuered him hostages, vpon assurance that they meant as they spake: The conditions were, that their King should receiue *Baptisme*, and the great Army of the *Danes* quietly to depart out of the land.

(16) Whereupon *Gurmund* or *Gurthrum* the *Danish* King repaired to the new built Castle of *Edelingsay* vnto King *Elfred*, and in the place then called *Alre*, was washed in the lauer of *Baptisme*, whom *Elfred* receiued for his God-son by the name of *Abshelane*, and gaue him in free gift the Country of *East-Angles*. In the same fountaine of Grace (saith *Simon Dunelmensis*) thirty of the chiefe *Danish* Nobility were initiated: vpon whom the truly Christian King *Elfred* bestowed many rich gifts: And that the limites of the *English* might be free from their incursions, thus the confines of King *Elfreds* kingdome were laide forth, as we find it in the end of those *Lawes* that *Elfred* published, whose words are these: *Let the boundes of our Dominion stretch from the riuer Tamesis, and from thence to the water of Lea, euen vnto the head of the same water, and so forth straight vnto Bedford: and finally, going along by the riuer of Ouse, let them end at watling street.*

(17) But so farre were the *Danes* from performance of couenants, that in this eighth yere of King *Elfreds* raigne, and the eight hundred seuentie nine after Christ, this *Gurmund* and his company wintered at *Chipnam* in *Wiltshire*, and a new supply of these *Pagans* (known by the name of the *Vicingis*) wintered at *Fulham* neere *London*; yet after vpon better aduice, the one went into their assigned circuit, and the other

Fahid.

Henry Hunt.
An.Do.878

An.Do.879.

Aster. Men.

Danes sent for
peace.

Simon Dunelm.

Wil. Lambert in
his booke of the
old English
lawes.

An.Do.879

Marianus

other departed to the realme of *France*, and so to his twelfth yeare the land tooke some rest, and had been kept long waking by the loud sound of warre.

(18) In the yeare of Grace eight hundred eighty five, the last retired *France* finding *France* not fitting their purpose, returned into *Kent*, and put into *Medway*, whereon his East side they began a fierce siege vnto the City *Rochester*, before whose gate they built a strong Cattle: Thither King *Elfred* halted, before whose power these *Danes* could not stand, but were forced to their shippes, and backe againe into *France*.

An.Do.889. (19) Whereupon the King remoued his siege vnto *London*, whence all the *Danes* fled (as *Voluc* abide not the presence of the *Lion*) the inhabitants rcioicing to see the face of their King: which City hee restored to her former liberty and beauty, and committed the custody thereof vnto *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, that had married his daughter the Lady *Ethelred*, whose title the King had maintained against *Canolophus*, made King thereof by the *Danes*. Whereupon both *Kent*, the *South-Saxons*, and *West-Saxons* came willingly, and submitted themselves to King *Elfred*. The *East-Angles* being gouerned, or rather spoiled by *Athelstan* the christened *Dane*, who after twelue yeares raigne there died, and was buried at *Hadley* in *Suffolke*.

An.Do.892. (20) But in the one and twentieth of his raigne, and of Christs Incarnation eight hundred ninety two: those rousing *Danes* returned out of *France*, & againe arrived in *Kent* in the mouth of the riuer *Limeth*, with two hundred and fifty shippes, which they drew foure miles into the great wood, then called *Andreds wood*, and there destroyed a Cattle that stood for defence, building another more strong at *Apulder*, wherein they kept. At the same time likewise entred one *Hastings*, a Nobleman of *Normy*, with eighty shippes; but with a fairer shew as hee entred, for he sent his oath vnto *Elfred* not to annoy any part of his dominions, and withall his two sonnes to be baptized: which King *Elfred* accepted, himselfe becoming the Godfather of the one, and Duke *Ethelred* of the other; and both they, and his Ambassadors returned with rich gifts. Against these *Kentish* invaders, King *Elfred* fought a great battaile at *Fernham*, nere vnto *Aleford*, wherein he wounded their King, and forced his Army to flee ouer *Thamesis*; in passing whereof, through ouermuch haft, and great fear many of them were drowned, and they that escaped, fled to an Island called *Breklesey* inclosed about by the riuer *Colne*.

(21) Newes then being brought into the East, that the *Danes* from *Northumberland* had infected the West, and with a strong siege begit the City *Excester*. *Elfred* left for General his sonne in law Duke *Ethelred*; whilst he with a strong power went to suppress their rage; who hearing of his coming, brake vp their siege, and were gone: vpon the aduantage of his absence, periuied *Hastings* then wrought, who out of his new built Cattle at *Beamsfield*, made spoile of the Kings people, and foraged all the Country before him. Whereupon Duke *Ethelred* assembled a power, and first assailing his wel stored Cattle, tooke thence his wife and two sonnes, with exceeding spoiles of gold, siluer and garments; all which were presented vnto King *Elfred* at his returne to *London*: who out of his princely magnanimity, sent backe to *Hastings* his wife and two sonnes; because (said hee) shee was no warrior, and his two sonnes were his God-children: whereupon *Hastings* repaired his Cattle, and ioined with the other *Danes* that lay at *Apulder*.

(22) Those then that had fled but lately from *Excester*, in their returne met with other their comforts, and rousing about the coast for their prey, fell lastly vpon the ancient City *Chester*, which presently they beganne to sicke and burne. But the country inhabitants comming to the rescue, begit them about with their host, and forestalled the passages of

all supply of victuals; so that for want of food, the *Danes* were constrained to eate vp their horses, and vpon composition thence to depart.

(23) Thence fetching a compasse all along the coasts of *Wales*, in the same yeare they arrived in *Essex*, being the twenty four of King *Elfreds* raigne: and in the Winter following, drew their shippes by the *Thamesis* into the riuer *Lea*, by which they passed in those light Pinnaces twenty miles Northward into the land, and built them a forrest at the place called *Weare*, thither forthwith the King repaired, and pitched his tents before his enemies in the same place; who seeing their strength, and the danger of long siege, did that by policy, which power could not so dauidly do: for he diuided the riuer into fundrie streames, whereby the Chanell was made vnnauigable, and the Shippes bedded in the muddie, lay rather to their annoyance then defence; the former experience of their hunger-starued besiege made the more fearefull to fall into the like; and therefore in great haft departed their fortresse, leaving their wives and children to the mercy of the English. Neither stayed they till they came vnto the borders of *Wales*, when at *Carbridge* vpon *seuerne* they built another Cattle, and lay there all the next winter.

(24) Long there they stayed not, without dislike of their lodgings, and cold entertainments, but that they returned to their wonted spoiles, and diuiding themselves, some to *Northumberland*, and some into *East-Anglia*, like Locusts eate vp all as they went: whose breath as it were, so infected the aire, that for three yeares following a great mortality raigned both vpon men and beasts, and ended not much before the death of this incomparable Prince: which hapned to the great sorrow of his subjects vpon wednesday the twenty eight of *October*, when hee had raigned twenty nine yeares and sixe moneths, of his age fifty one, and yeare of Christ Iesus nine hundredth and one.

(25) The vertues of this Prince are matchable to any that euer raigned before him, and exceed the most that euer raigned after him, both in seruice of God, whose *Substitutes* they are, in defence of his Country, which charge they all beare, in providing good lawes, the finewes of Kingdomes, and care of posterities, from which no man is exempted.

The day and night containing twenty foure howers, he designed equally to three especiall vices, and them obserued by the burning of a taper set in his Chappell or Oratory; eight howers hee spent in contemplation, reading, and prayers; eight, in prouision for himselfe, his repose and health; and the other eight in the affaires of his common-wealth and state. His Kingdom hee likewise diuided into *Shires*, *Hundreds*, and *Tithings*, for the better ordering and administering of iustice, and for the abandoning of theues, which had formerly increased by the means of long warres; whereby, notwithstanding the multitude of souldiers continually imployed, it is reported that a *Virgin* might traualle alone in his daies through all his dominions, without any violence offered; and that bracelets of gold were hanged in the high waies, and no man so hardy as to take them away.

Hee was a most zealous, and studious protector and prouider for the Clergy, Widowes, and Orphans, liberal of his goods, wife, temperate and iust, valiant, patient in aduersities, and euer religious in the seruice of God. A most learned Prince, a skillfull Musition, and an excellent Poet: the best lawes befitting his Subjects he translated into the English tongue: as also the *Psalter* of *Gregory*, the history of *Beda*, and *Basins his consolation of Philosophy*, the *Psalms of David* (whose godly raigne hee proposed to himselfe for imitation) hee likewise began to translate, but died before hee could finish the same. And so great a desire had he vnto learning, that (as *Alfredus Riuallensis* witnesseth) he published this Act: *We will and command, that all Freemen of our Kingdom, who*

An.Do.893.
Elfredus Rex
Maritimus

Were.

The riuer Lea
decided and
made vnauigable.

Henry Hunt.

An.Do.894.

Elfredus Rex.

Elfredus Rex.

Elfredus Rex.

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sooner possessing two hides of land, shall bring vp their sons in learning till they be fifteen yeares of age at least, that so they may be trained to know God, to be men of vnderstanding, and to live happily: for of a man that is borne free, and yet illiterate, we repute no other wise then of a beast, or a brainlesse body, and a very sot. And for the furtherance of this his roiall intent, comforted with *Asterius Metuensis*, *Grimbald*, *John Scot* and others, neither permitted he any in office in Court, or elsewhere, vntill hee were learned, which incited his Nobles to the earnest pursuit of learned Arts, and to traine vp their children in good letters: his buildings were many, both to Gods seruice, and other publicke vse, as at *Edlingseya Monastery*, at *Winchester* a *New-Minster*, and at *Shaftsbury* a house of *Nunnes*, wherein hee made his daughter *Ethelgeda* the Abbess. But the foundation of the *Vniuersity of Oxford* (which hee began in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred ninety five, and whose lectures hee honoured with his owne presence) surmounteth all his others, to the continuance of posterities, a liuing spring and gracious fountaine, whence issue the streames of all knowledge, that abundantly haue watered both this and other kingdomes.

(26) His body was first buried in the Cathedral Church of *S. Peters* at *Winchester*, vnder a faire Monument of most precious Purpory, afterwards because the lewd-religious Chanons gine it out to work some feat of their vsual impotence that his Ghost did walk every night from house to house; both it and the Monument were taken vp, and by his son the Kings command (in detestation of those forceries) remoued into the Church of the new *Monastery*; and lastly, his body, Monument, Church and Monastery, were taken thence, and remoued without the *North-gate* of the City, since called *Hyde*.

(27) Some alledge that the malice of those Chanons against him, was for displeasure that hee placed ouer the rude Swineheard named *Deneuolphus*, whom hee made their Bishop, but the ground of that assertion seemeth vnwarrantable by the relation of *Vigornensis*, & also of *Tho. Rudburne*, the first of which saith, that *Elfred* caused him to be trained vp in learning, and the later, that after long study, hee attained to the degree of a Doctor of *Diuinity* in the *Vniuersity of Oxford*, and was afterward made Bishop of *Winchester* by the King. For doubtlesse at that time the Bishops of *Rome* had not deuested our Kings of that prerogative.

His Wife. (28) *Elfwith* the wife of King *Elfred* was the daughter of *Ethelred* surnamed *Muchel*, that is the Great, an Earle of the *Mercians*, who inhabited about *Gainsborough* in *Lincolnshire*: her mother was *Edburg* a Lady borne of the Bloud-riall of *Mercia*. Shee was married vnto this King in the twentieth yeare of his age, being the second of the raigne of his brother King *Ethelred*, and was his wife twenty eight yeares, and liuing after him foure; died in the year of grace nine hundred and foure, and was buried in the *Monastery of Nunnes* which hee had founded at *Winchester*, out of which afterwards King *Henry the first* took to his wife *Maud* the daughter of *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, by whom the roiall bloud of the ancient Kings of *England* became vnto the *Normans*, whereby hee wanne much loue of the English nation.

His Issue. *Edward*, the eldest sonne, and second child of King *Elfred*, and *Queene Elfwith*, was borne about the

beginning of his Fathers raigne, in the yeare of our Lord eight hundred twenty one: hee was brought vp in his Fathers Court, and carefully attended, and instructed by men of great vertue and knowledge in learning, and in all other qualities, and exercised conuenient for Princes. Hee was married, and had diuers children: hee was thirty yeeres of age before his Father deceased, and then hee succeeded him in his Kingdom and Monarchy.

Ethelward, the second son, & fifth and last child of King *Elfred* and *Queene Elfwith*, was borne about the mid of his Fathers raigne, and about the yeare of our Lord eight hundred and eighty. Hee was in his youth by his Fathers appointment; and for the example of other young Nobles brought vp in the study of good Arts, at the vniuersity of *Oxford*, where (saith *Th. Rudburne*, and the *Annales of Winchester*) hee became a man very learned, and a great Philosopher: hee had of his Fathers gift by his last Will great liuings in the Counties of *Deuon*, *Somerset*, *South-Hampton*: hee poured a man of great iudgement and wisdom, and liuing vntill hee was about forty yeeres old; hee died the sixteenth day of *October*, in the two and twenty yeare of his brother King *Edward* raign, Anno ninc hundred twenty two; and was buried at *Winchester*.

Ethelred, the eldest daughter and first child of King *Elfred*, and *Queene Elfwith* his wife, was married to *Ethelred* Duke of *Mercia*, who in respect of this marriage was suffered to haue all roiall iurisdiction ouer that Country, in as ample manner as the Kings thereof had enioied; and after the decease of her husband, which happened in the yeare of our Lord nine hundred and twelue: shee continued the gouernement in the same fort eight yeares, with such resolution and valiant resistance of the common enemy (the *Danes*) that shee stood her brother *Edward* in great stead, as in the relation of his life shall be further shewed. Shee died the fiftenth of June nine hundred and nineteene, and was buried in *S. Peters Church* at *Gloucester*, leaving issue, a daughter, named *Elfwine*, whom King *Edward* her brother deputed of that *Duchy*, which her owne mother enioied; and hee his crowne by her assistance.

Ethelgeda, the second daughter and fourth child of King *Elfred* and *Queene Elfwith*, was neuer married, but tooke vpon her the profession and vow of *Virginity*, and was by her fathers appointment made a Nunne of *Shaftsbury* in the County of *Dorset*, in the *Monastery* there founded by him: who is also accounted the first of the Towne it selfe. Shee was afterward Abbess of the house, and therein spent, and ended her life, and was there also buried.

Elfrida, the yongest daughter, and child of King *Elfred* (and *Queene Elfwith* his wife, was married to *Baldwin* the second, surnamed the *Bald*, Earle of *Flanders*, sonne of Earle *Baldwin* the first, and *Queene Judith* his wife, the widow of King *Ethelwulf* her Grandfather. Shee was his wife thirty yeares and more; shee furnished him and was a widow eleuen yeeres, shee died the seventh of June, in the yeere of our Lord nine hundred twenty nine, being the fift of the raigne of King *Ethelstan* her Nephew. Shee is buried by her husband in the Chappell of our Lady, within the *Monastery of S. Peter*, at the City of *Gauin*. Shee had issue *Arnulf* the third Earle of *Flanders*, progenitor of all the Earles of *Flanders* since his time, & *Adnulf* Earle of *Bologne* and *Terwin*.

Ethelward the second sonne.

Rudburne Annals
Saxoni
Winchester.

Ethelred the eldest daughter.

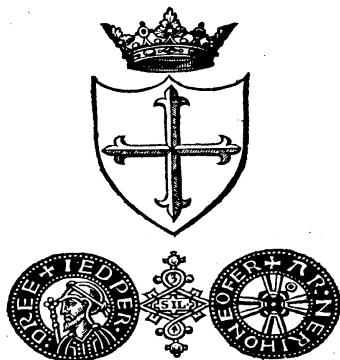
Ethelgeda the second daughter.

Elfrida the yongest daughter.



Edward

EDWARD SVRNAMED THE ELDER THE TWENTIE FOVRTH KING OF THE WEST SAXONS, AND TWENTY FIFT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSE.



CHAPTER XXXVII.

An. Do. 901.



No greater were the griefs conceived for the death of worthy *Elfred*, then were the hopes of the people in his sonne Prince *Edward*, whose valour had bene often approued against the raging *Danes*, & whose vertues were both manly and princely; not so learned as his Father, neither so patient to vndergoe his chance; but as glorious in martiall prowesse, and as fortunate in al his fights, vnder whose hand the *Danes* euery where fell, and vnder his Monarchy all the *English* did stoope excepting the *Northumbrians*.

(2) He entred his raigne the yeare of Christs nativity, nine hundred and one, and at *Kingston* vpon *Thames* was crowned and anointed with holy oyle. The *Danish* warres continuing in a successefull manner, fell as it were hereditarily from the Father vnto the Sonne, and ripened dayly towards their wished haruest. Besides *Ethelwald* the sonne of *Ethelbert*, the vnkle to this King *Edward*, young at his fathers decease, and therefore perhaps held vncapable of gouernment, shewed now the blossoms of vnder-licking plants, whose fruits are neither plenteous nor pleasant in tast; for his humours euer working vpon discontents, drew his thought onely how to make the possessor fall.

(3) He then entering action of rebellion, tooke the towne of *Winborne* neere vnto *Bathe*, and besides the allegiance due to his Prince, in sacrilegious manner brake the heits of holy Church, in deflowering and taking a Votarist to wife: *Edward* the elder so called, (it may be in regard of this his *Opposite*) with a selected Army repaired to *Bathe*, and thence prepared for the field: whose fight was so cockatrice-like to his

cofen-Germans eye, that in the night he bade his *Nun* and *Winborne* adew, posting to *Northumberland*; and proffering his seruice to the *Danes* that lay for aduantage of rapine and spoile.

(4) Him as a fitte instrument they created their King, and forward in hope of some prosperous successe, passed through the *East-Saxons*, the *East-Angles*, and the *Mercians* Countreies: and laden with robberies came to *Crikelade* in *Wiltshire*, whence they departed ouer *Thames* to *Basingstoke*; and harrying the land before them, with triumph returned vnto *East-Anglia*. *Edward* thus endangered by these dreadfull enemies, gaue them no aduantage by lingering delays, but followed their tract vnto Saint *Edmunds Ditch*, whence in his returne, the *Danes* gaue him bataille, and obtained the victory, though bought with the liues of *Ethelwald* and *Cochricus* their Kings, and losse of many *English*, which made *Edward* the readier to enter a truce with them about the fift of his raigne.

(5) That the *English* were most expert for war in these daies, is witnessed by their resistance of those sturdy *Danes*, against whom the *Commons* many times with victory fought, without either King or Capitaine to guide them: and they were likewise famous in other lands: for about this time it was, that the *Englishmen* at the perswasion of the *Goths*, besieged the great City *Argilla* in *Barbary*, which they wanne with such slaughter of the enemy, and spoile of the towne, that for thirty yeares after it lay desolate without inhabitants, whereby it was hoped that the *Saracens* would haue departed *Europe*, as *Ioannes Leo Afer* hath told vs, who according to the *Saracens* doth referre this sieg to the three hundred and foureteenth of *Mahomet Begira*, which meeteth with the yeare of Christs Nativity, nine hundred and siue.

(6) The

(6) The truce yet lasting, the *Danes* in *Northumberland* were nothing quiet, to stay whose irruptions King *Edward* lent a great power, who harried the Country before them, and with much slaughter returned victorious. These daliances of Fortune made the *Danes* very desperate, and therefore to stay the rowling ball before it should passe their goale, they gathered their powers & entred *Mercia*, where with victory and spoile they raged for a time. But *Edward* to aid *Ethelred* his brother in law, and Earle of that Prouince, mulstered his men, and at *Wodnesfeld* neere *wolfstunne* in *Staffordshire* gaue the bataille, wherein the *English* so behaued themselves that the two Pagan-Kings *Cowilsu* & *Healdine*, the two Earles *Vier* & *Scufa*, besides other Nobles & *Commons* innumerable they slew: and now the clouds of these distemperatures being driuen backe, King *Edward* Monarchy ascended the *Horizon*, and the Sunne of his power beganne to shine very bright, therefore he seeking to hold what he had got, set his thoughts to secure his towne with Castles and walles of defence.

(7) These his proceedings caused him to be both beloued and feared; but his mind still free from any ambitious pride, as may appeare by the intercoure betwixt *Leolin* Prince of *Wales* and himselfe, wherof *Wals. Atapaus* maketh mention as followeth. What time *Edward* the Elder (saith he) lay at *Auteleine*, and *Leolin* Prince of *Wales* at *Bethelley*, intending a Party, *Leolin* refused to come downe, or to crosse the Seuerne: Whereupon *Edward* tooke boat and entred the riuer towards him, which when *Leolin* saw, and knew who hee was, he cast off his rich robe wherewith he was clad, and which hee had prepared for that roiall assembly, and entred the riuer breast-hie, where clasping the boat with an imbrace, submissiue said: Most wise and sage King, thy humilitie hath overcome my insolencie, and thy wisdom triumphed ouer my folly; come, get vpon my necke which I haue (foole as I am) lifted up against thee, so shalt thou enter into that land which thy benigne mildnes hath made thine owne this day: and after he had taken him vpon his shoulders, he would needs haue him sit down vpon his roiall robe, and so putting his hands iointly into his, did him homage.

(8) In the twelfth yeare of his raigne, as *Henry Huntington* hath it, *Ethelred* Earle of *Mercia*, who had married *Elfedda* King *Edward*'s sister, departed this life, the hauing borne him one onely daughter named *Elfwen*, whose trauell in childbirth was so grievous, that euer after the forbore the nuptiall imbracements of her husband, allcending that it was an ouer foolish pleasure, which brought with it so great paines; and thereupon changing the wonted affection of her sexe from the bed vnto bataille, gouerned *Mercia* eight yeares after her husbands decease, as another *Zenobia*, and did not a little assist her brother in his warres: for the *Welsh* he pursued as farre at *Breknoke*, which the tooke with their Queene: from the *Danes* hee wonne the Countie of *Darby*, and assailing the towne vpon them, put her selfe in great danger; for enterprising to enter the Gate, shee was resisted by whole multitudes of *Danes*, notwithstanding, she persisted, & got entrance, in which encounter many died, and foure of her chiefe men of war, being Warders of her person euen fast by her side were slaine.

The *Danes* in *Yorkshire* she constrained to bee at her deuotion, so that some of them became her subiects, some vowed to attend in her aide, and some promised to be prest at her disposal. Her policie in warre proued euer the surest; her counsell of State was regarded with the wisest, and her prouidence in building, and repairing Cities for the weale-publick, or fortifying places for munition of warre exceeded others: which shee extended vpon *Chester*, *Tamworth*, *Lichfield*, *Stafford*, *Warwicke*, *Shrewsbury*, *Sedbury*, *Eadsbury*, *Finborow*, *Rincorne*, *Brimsbery*, *Bridge* and others.

This renowned Lady giuing place vnto Nature,

left the warres to bee continued by her brother, her daughter at the disposal of her vnkle, and her body to be buried at *Glocester* in the Monastery of *S. Peter*, which her husband and her selfe had formerly built.

(9) The last battaile of this King against these vnfortunate enemies, was in the Country of the *East Angles*, wherof *Edrick* the *Dane* was King; for hee intending new warres with the *English*; sought to incite other *Danes* to his aide, wherof *Edward* hauing intelligence, preuented his purpose, by his so daune approach into those parts.

Edrick therefore hauing all in a readinesse, rashly encountered with his enemy, and fought a fierce battaile to the great losse of his Army, and dammage of his life; for returning to his Court after so foule a discomforture, became odious to his owne subiects, who violently fell vpon him and murdered him; and them selues brought low by ciuill diffention were shortly made subiect to the *English* King *Edward*, and that Kingdome with *Mercia*, ioined vnto his *West-Saxons*. And now hauing raigned in great warres and honour the space of twenty foure yeares deceased at *Faringdon* in *Berkshire*, the yeare of Christs incarnation, 924. and was buried in the new Monastery of *Winchester*, which his Father begunne, and himselfe wholly finished.

His Wines.

(10) *Eguina* the first wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of a meane Gentleman named *Bercher*, whose eye-pleasing feature and alluring beauty made her to be educated about the degree of her birth, and was brought vp by the nurse of King *Edward* in tender affection and great esteeme. It chanced Prince *Edward* in kindnes came to visite his nurse, where seeing the admirable beauty of the Maide, fell so farre in loue, that hee tooke her to his wife without the consent or knowledge of his father: In which regard she is reputed by some Writers rather his Concubine then his Queene, no other cause mouing them but her meane parentage, and secret making and keeping of this marriage, although there bee some good histories and many likelyhoods to induce that shee was his lawfull Queene.

(11) *Elfedda* the second wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter (as *Mathew of Westminster* reporteth) of an Earle named *Ethelhelme*, and after the Bishop of *Sherborne* maketh mention of an Earle in *Wiltshire* among the *West-Saxons* of the same name, who was in great fauour with King *Elfred*, the father of this King, by whom hee was sent Ambassadour to carry his Almshouses to *Stephen* the sixth, of that name Bishop of *Rome*, in the yeare of our Lord 887. and by all probable conference of name, time, and place, hee seemeth to bee the man that was father to this Queene.

(12) *Edgina*, the third wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter and heire of Earle *Sigeline* Lord of *Atapham*, *Culins*, and *Ieanham* in *Kent*, who was there slaine in bataille against the *Danes*, Anno 927. Shee was married vnto King *Edward* about the fourteenth yeare of his raigne, being the yeare of Grace, 916. Shee was his wife ten yeares, and after his death shee liued a widow all the times of the raignes of King *Ethelstan* her sonne in law, of King *Edmund*, and King *Edred* her owne sonnes, of King *Edwy* her Grand-child, and was liuing in the Raigne of King *Edward* another of her Grand-children, almost fortie yeares after the death of her husband. It is writ of her that in the yeare of Grace, 959. Shee offered her lands and euidences to Christ vpon his Altar at *Canterbury*. Shee deceased the twenty fift of *August* in the fourth yeare of the said King *Edgar*, and of Christ, 963.

His Children.

(13) *Ethelstan*, the eldest sonne of King *Edward*, and the Lady *Eguina*, was borne and growne to good yeeres in the time of the raigne of his Grandfather King *Elfred*, who with his owne hands gaue him the order of Knighthood, after a very honourable manner

Polydar.

Edrick's doings.

The time of King Edward's raigne. His death and buriall.

Eguina.

Prince Edward married Eguina.

Elfedda.

Stephen the sixt. Bishop of Rome.

Edgina.

Two Kings her sonnes.

Ethelstan the first sonne.

Wil. Malmib.

Elfrid the se-
cond sonne.Crowned King
in his fathers
time.Editha the first
daughter.
Mar. Wilmshir.
Polidor.Tamworth Ca-
stell.Elward the third
sonne.Buried at Winche-
ster.Edwine the
fourth sonne.
W. Malmib.James Maier, in
his Annals of
Flanders.Elfreda the se-
cond daughter.Ramsey Mona-
stery.Egwin the third
daughter.

ner of creation, as *William the Monke of Malmsbury*, a great observer of such things, hath left in writing: who reporteth, that he put vpon him a Purple Robe, and girt him with a girdle wrought with pearle, and a Saxon sword in a scabbard of gold, hanging at the faine. He was the Successor of his Father in the *West-Saxons* dominions, and the *English Monarchy*.

(14) *Elfred*, the second sonne of King *Edward* and the Lady *Egwin*, is warranted by the testimony of the story of *Hyde*, to haue been loued of his Father aboue all his other children, that he caused him in his owne lifetime to bee crowned King, and to sit with him in his Seat of Estate, as his Partner in the Kingdome, and that he enjoyed that great honour but for a small time, deceasing shortly after his creation, and long before his fathers death; and was buried in the New Monastery at *Winchester*, which afterwards was remoued to *Hyde*.

(15) *Editha* (whom the *Scottish Writers* call *Beatrice*) the daughter of King *Edward* and the Lady *Egwin*, with great honour was married to *Sybrick*, the Danish King of *Northumberland*, in the first yeere of the raigne of her brother King *Ethelstan*, being the yeere of grace 915. Within one yeere after her marriage, her husband deceased, and his sonne *Guthfrid* succeeded him in his Kingdome. Wherefore the forsaking that Country, obtained of her brothers gift, the Castell of *Tamworth*, in the County of *Warwicke*, where he began a Monastery of Nunnies, and therein liued, died, and was interred, and both the Monastery and Body afterwards was remoued from thence vnto *Poleworth*.

(16) *Elward*, the third son of King *Edward*, & the first of Queene *Elfreda* his second wife, was born, as it seemeth, about the beginning of his Fathers raigne. He was carefully brought vp in the study of Librall Arts, and in all other princely qualities; so that it was expected he should haue succeeded his Father in the Kingdome: but presently vpon his fathers decaise, he deceased himselfe in *Oxford*, and was buried at one time, and in one place with him in the New Monastery at *Winchester*, in the yeere of Christ Iesus 924.

(17) *Edwine*, the fourth sonne of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Elfreda* his second Wife, was very young when his father was buried, and his brother *Ethelstan* crowned. Norwithstanding a deep ielousie possessing the King, that his title was too nere the Crowne, he caused him to be put into a little Pinnesse, without either Tackle or Oares, one only page accompanying him, that his death might be imputed to the waues: whence the young Prince ouercome with griefe, and not able to master his owne passions, cast himselfe headlong into the sea, and his dead body being driuen vpon the coasts of *Flanders*, was taken vp by *Adulphe*, Earle of *Boloin*, his cosen-germane, and honourably buried in the Monastery of Saint *Bertin*, in the Towne of *S. Omers*. Which fact was much lamented by King *Ethelstan*, who greuously punished the suggestions of his owne ielousie, and the procurers of his brothers death, sending great thanks to the Earle that buried him, and rich presents to the Monastery which entombed him, and to appease the ghost of his innocent brother, built the Abbey of *Maldeton* in the County of *Dorset*.

(18) *Elfreda*, the second daughter of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Elfreda* his second Wife, entered into the orders of Religion, and tooke vpon her the profession and vow of Virginity, in the Monastery of *Ramsfey*, situated vpon the Riuier *Teff*, in the County of *Southampton*. In which Monastery, she was first a Nunne, and afterward Abbess during the whole time of her life, which was there spent and ended, and her body in the said Abbey buried.

(19) *Egwin*, the third daughter of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Elfreda* his second Wife, was the second Wife to *Charles the third*, surnamed the Simple, King of *France*, son to King *Lewis* the brother of *Judith*, Queene of *England* before mentioned. She had issue by him *Lewis the third*, surnamed *Be-*

yond-sea, because he was brought vp here in *England* with his Vnkle King *Ethelstan*; and *Gillet Duchesse of Normandy* married to *Rollo the Dane*: who in regard of his marriage, was allowed to bee the first Duke of that Country. This Queene suruiued King *Charles* her Husband; and afterwards was remaried to *Herbert*, the younger Earle of *Vermandoy*; which marriage was taken for so great an indignity, because Earle *Herbert* the elder, father to this Earle, had caused the King her Husband to die in prison, that King *Lewis* her sonne presently pursued her, apprehended, and committed her to the strait custody of Queene *Gerberge* his wife: so as shee had no recourse vnto him, nor issue by him.

(20) *Ethelilda*, the fourth daughter of King *Edward*, and the third of Queene *Elfreda* his second Wife, followed the example of her elder sister *Elfreda*, and became a Nunne in the Monastery of *Wilton*, which was sometime the head Towne giuing name to the whole County of *Wiltshire*, and antiently called *Ellandon*.

(21) *Edhild*, the fifth daughter of King *Edward*, and the fourth of Queene *Elfreda*, was married to *Hugh* surnamed the Great, Earle of *Paris*, Grand-master and Constable of *France*, in the yeere of our Lord 926. being the third of her brother King *Ethelstan* his raigne. This *Hugh* was the sonne of *Robert*, brother to *Endes* King of *France*, and father of King *Hugh Capet*, progenitor of the Kings of *France*, euer thence vnto this day: but shee died before him without any issue by him.

(22) *Edgith*, the sixth daughter of King *Edward* and the fifth of Queene *Elfreda*, was the first wife of *Otho* the first, surnamed the Great, Emperour of the West, sonne to the Emperour *Henry*, surnamed the Falconer. By him she had issue *Ludolfe*, Duke of *Swabe*, *William* Arch-bishop of *Metz*, *Ludgar* married to *Conrad* Duke of *Lorraine*, and *Mechild* Abbess of *Quedlingburg* in *Saxony*: in which Citie she deceased the seuen and twenty of August, in the yeere of Christs Nativity 947. the eleuenth of her husbands Empire, and the first of her brother King *Edred* his raigne in *England*. She was buried at the East end of the North side of a Chapell which her selfe had founded in the same Citie.

(23) *Elgina*, the seuenth daughter of King *Edward*, and the sixth of Queene *Elfreda* his second Wife, was by King *Ethelstan* her brother, with her sister *Egith* sent to the Court of the Emperour, *Henry the first* King of the Saxons in *Germany*, who honourably entertained her, brought her vp with his owne daughters, and after he had married her elder sister to his eldest sonne, he placed her also in marriage with a Duke of *Italy* about the *Alpes*, who is not named of our Writers, but may easily be coniectured by the honourable disposition of the maker of the match, to haue been a Prince of note and account, worthy of her estate and parentage.

(24) *Edmund*, the fifth sonne of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Edgina* his third and last Wife, was borne in the twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of the worlds saluation 921. and at his fathers death little more then three yeeres of age, was notwithstanding by the careful prouision of his mother, brought vp with all princely education conuenient for his yeeres and estate, inasmuch as there was generally a great expectation amongst the people conceiued of him in the life of his brother King *Ethelstan*, vnder whom he learned some experience of seruice in warre, and after whom hee succeeded in the Kingdome of *England*.

(25) *Edred*, the sixth sonne of King *Edward*, and the second of Queene *Edgina* his third Wife, and the youngest sonne of them both, was borne about the two and twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, and yeere of grace 923. which was not long before the death of his father, who left him a little infant in the custody of his mother, by whom hee was carefully brought vp, and prooued a Prince of so great vertue and

Her marriage
with Herbert
dissolved.Ethelilda the
fourth daughter.Edith the fifth
daughter.Edgith the sixth
daughter.Elgina the se-
uenth daughter.Married to
Duke of Italy.Edmund the fifth
sonne.Three yeeres
at his fathers
death.Edred the sixth
sonne.

A good Prince

and valour, as after the death of King *Edmund* his brother, in regard of the minority of his Nephews, hee was with the generall consent, and liking of the whole nation, chosen to be his brothers successor in the kingdome and government ouer them.

(26) *Edburg*, the eight daughter of King *Edward*, and the first of Queene *Edgina*, in her child-hood had her disposition tried, and her course of life disposed by her Father in this manner: he laid before her gorgeous apparrell, and rich Jewels, in one end of a chamber, and the new Testament and Bookes of princely instruction in the other, willing her to make her choise of which she liked best: she presently tooke vp the bookes, and hee in his armes, and kissing her said, *Goe in Gods name whither God hath called thee*, and thereupon placed her in a Monastery at *Winche-*

ster, wherein shee did most vertuously spend her whole life, and in that Abbey was buried.

(27) *Edgina*, the ninth daughter of King *Edward*, and the second of his last Queene, whose name shee bare, is reported in the history of the Monastery of *Hyde* by *Winchester*, and other Writers of our Country, to haue been married to *Lewis* Prince of *Aquitaine* in *France*, which not long before had beene a Kingdome of it selfe, sometime allotted to the portion of *Lewis* the third sonne of the Emperour *Charles the Great*, of which house it seemeth this *Lewis* was; afterward it became a Dukedome, and the possession of an other Family, by whom it came to be the inheritance after the Conquest to the Kings of *England*, which were defended of the house of *Angou*.

Edgina the ninth
daughter.Aquitaine belon-
ging to England.

ETHELSTAN THE TWENTIE FIFT KING OF THE WEST SAXONS, AND THE TWENTIE SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND SVPOSSED ISSUE.



CHAPTER XXXVIII.



Ethelstan, the eldest sonne of King *Edward* (as hath beene said) for the great hopes conceiued of him, was crowned with a greater solemnity then any of his ancestors euer before him. The place was *Kingston* vpon *Thames* in the County of *Surrey*, the yeer of Christ Iesus 924. where, in the midst of the town a high Scaffold was built, and thereon the coronation performed to the open view of all, by *Athelmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, with flouts of oboys as that of *Salomon*.

(2) His beginnings were with troubles, and that rather by reason of friends then force of foes: for it is recorded, that *Elfred* a nobleman, either in fauour of King *Edwards* other sonnes, holding *Ethelstan* a Bastard, or else vpon an ambitious hope blinded of him-

selfe, intended at *Winchester* to haue plucked out the eyes of his Soueraine: but his treason being knowne, before the deed could shew blade, he was apprehended & sent to *Rome* to purge himselfe by oath: where, before the Altar of *S. Peter* and Pope *John* the tenth, he there abured the act, and thereupon fell sodainly down to the earth, so that his seruants tooke and bare him into the English Schoole, where, within three dayes after he died: the Pope denying him christian buriall vntill he knew King *Ethelstans* pleasure.

(3) These stormes ouerpast, as great a cloud seemed to arise vnto *Ethelstans* light, whose eye of ielousie euer followed the ascent, and his care euer opened vnto the intillations of Parasites, amongst whom his Cup-bearer was a chiefe, who brought daily more and more suspicion into the Kings head, that lastly (as wee haue shewed) hee consented to young *Edwines* death, though with too late a sorrow hee repented the same: for besides his seauen yeares penance voluntarily vndergone, to pacifie

Pope John the
tenth.

Parasites.

Edwines death.

The occasion of the founding of *Mildelton* and *Michelineffe* Monasteries.

His Cup-bearer put to death.

Silbrik, *Wit*, *Malmesbury*.

A law against Fellons.

Godfrey and *Anlaf* the sonnes of *Silbrik*.

* *Ludwall* faith *Malmesbury*.

An. Do. 937.

Mat. 11. 10., *Rand. 11. 10.*

King *Constantine* assisteth *Godfrey*.

Wit, *Malmesbury*, *Simon*, *Dunt*, *Ran. 11. 10.*

Anlaf: King of *Ireland*.

Hector Boetius.

Anlaf's policy

Anlaf: his soul dies felicity.

the ghost of his betrayed brother, hee built the two Monasteries of *Mildelton* and *Michelineffe*, as for the most part such seed-plots were euer townes in the furrowes of blood, which happened vpon this occasion: It chanced his Cup-bearer in his seruice vpon a festiual to stumble with the one foote, and recovering himselfe with the other, pleasantly to say, you see how one brother helpeth another; vpon which speech the King with griefe and touch of heart, called to mind the death of his innocent brother, and forthwith commanded execution to be done on him the procurer, to repay his fact with deferred death: & himselfe was euer after more tender and carefull towards his other brethren, with a more respectiue regard, and bestowed his sisters most honorably in marriage, as hath beene said.

(4) At his entrance of government, to discharge the expectations of his subjects, hee endeauoured both by warres and alliances to make them strong and rich. First, therefore entering friendship with *Silbrik* the *Danish* King of *Northumberland*, vpon whom with condition that hee should receiue Baptisme, he bestowed his sister *Editha* in marriage, hee bent himselfe to ordaine Lawes for the weale publique, & those to bind aswell the Clergie as the Layety, out of which first sprang the attachment of Fellons, to take hold of such as stole above twelue pence, & were aboute twelue yeares of age.

(5) But *Silbrik* the *Northumbrian* dying the first yeare of his marriage, and his Queene returning to a religious life, his sonnes *Godfrey* and *Anlaf*, offended that their Pagan-Gods were neglected, and onely by the means of this their fathers last wife, stirred the *Northumbrians* to diquiet the English, which occasioned *Ethelstan* to invade their country, and forced *Anlaf* into *Ireland*, and *Godfrey* into *Scotland*, which last he wrought with *Constantine* their King, that he undertooke to side in his quarrell, with whom joined *Hovel* King of *Wales*. These in a fierce battle hee overcame and constrained them to submit themselves to his will, who knowing the chance of warre to be variable, and pitying the case of these down-cast Princes, restored them presently to their former estates, adding withall this princely saying, that it was more honour to make a King then to be a King.

(6) This notwithstanding, the case of *Godfrey* so moued the spirit of King *Constantine*, that hee againe assisted him in his inroades into the English part, which drew againe King *Ethelstan* into the North: & coming to *Yorkshire* (as he was a man much deuoted to God-ward) turned aside to visite the tombe of *S. John* of *Beuerley*, where earnestly praying for his prosperous successe, for want of richer Jewels, there offered his knife, vowing that if hee returned with conquest, hee would redeeme it with a worthy price, and thus armed with hope, proceeded forward pitching downe his tents at *Brimesburie*, his naue waffling along those seas.

(7) To the aide of *Constantine* came *Anlaf*, called by writers King of the *Irish*, and of the *Iet*, who had married his daughter, a man no doubt both hardy and delperate, as appeared by the Action hee underwent; for it is recorded, that as *Elfred* the English had attempted to know the State of the *Danes*: so this *Dane* at this place did to vnderstand the English: for, disguising himselfe like a Harper, hee went from Tent to Tent, and had access euen into King *Ethelstan*'s presence, vntill hee had learned what he most desired, and then returned againe to his Campe, which part of his was no bolder, or more wisely performed, then was kept secret, and after reuealed by a most faithfull souldier: for *Anlaf* departed & free from pursuit, this souldier made the act known to King *Ethelstan*: who being fore displeased with his enemies escape, imputed the fault vnto him the reuealer: but he replying, made him this answer: I once serued *Anlaf* (said he) under his pay for a souldier, and gaue him the same faith that I doe now vnto

you; if then I should haue betrayed his designs, what trust could your Grace repose in my truth: let him therefore die, but not through my treachery, and by his escape secure your royall selfe from danger; remove your Tent from the place where it stands, lest it vnawares bee happily assaile you.

(8) The King seeing the faith of his souldier, was therewith pacified, and forthwith commanded his Tent to be removed, where presently a Bishoppe new come to his Campe pitched vp his owne, and the night following both himselfe and retinue were slaine by the same *Anlaf* that sought the Kings life in assaulting the place; and pressing forward came to his tent, who awaked with the suddain Allarum, boldly rushed vpon his enemies, & encouraging his men, put them backe with the death of five petty Kings, twelue Dukes, and well neere of the whole Army, which *Anlaf* had brought.

(9) The memory of this man is made the more lasting by a peece of ancient Saxon coine of siluer, inscribed with his name, *ANLAF CYNNE*, which for the antiquity of the thing, and honour of the man, we haue here imprinted, & placed though in the texture of our English Saxon Kings.



(10) To leaue a memoriall of King *Ethelstan*'s great victory, giue me leaue to write what I find; namely, that neere vnto the Castle *Dunbar* in *Scotland*, he praying that his right vnto those parts might be confirmed vnto posterities by a signe, at one blow with his sword stroke an elle deepe into a stone, which stood so clouen a long time after, and vndoubtedly was the whetstone to the first Authors knife: but this is most certaine, that hee joined *Northumberland* to the rest of his Monarchy, and returning to *Beuerley* redeemed his owne knife.

(11) From hence he turned his warres into *Wales*, whose Rulers and Princes hee brought to be his Tributaries, who at *Hereford* entered couenant to pay him yearly twenty pound weight of gold, three hundred of siluer, and twenty five hundred head of cattle, with hawks and hounds to a certaine number, towards which payment by the statutes of *Horell Dha*, the King of *Aberfraw* was charged at sixty six pounds, the Prince *Dineuore*, and the Prince of *Powys* were to pay the like summes.

(12) The Brittaines, which to his time with all equall right inhabited the City of *Excester* with the Saxons, hee expelled into the further promontory of *Cornwal*, and made *Tamar* the confines of his own Empire; so that his dominion was the largest that any Saxon before him had enioied, and his fame the greatest with all foraine Princes, who fought his friendship both with loue and alliance, by marching with his sisters, and presenting him with rich and rare presents; for *Hugh* King of *France* besides other vnestimable Jewels; sent him the sword of *Constantine the Great*, in the hilt whereof (all couered with gold) was one of the nailles that fastned Christ to his Crosse: he sent likewise the spear of *Charles the Great*, reputed to be the same that pierced *Christ*'s side, as also part of the Crosse whereon hee suffered his passion, and a peece of the thorny Crowne where-with his blessed Temples were tormented, and with these came the Banner of *S. Maruice* so often spread by *Charles the Great* in his Christian warres against the *Saracens*: And from *Ortho* the Emperour, who had married his sister, was sent a vessell of precious stones artificially made, wherein were scene Lanships with vines, corne, and men, all of them seeming fo

natu-

naturally to moue, as if they had growne and retained life: And the King of *Norway* sent him a goodly shippe with a guilt sterne, purple sailes, and the decke garnished all with gold.

(13) Of these accounted holy reliques King *Ethelstan* gaue part vnto the Abbey of *S. Swithen* in *Winchester*, and the rest to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, whereof *Adelme* was the founder, and his Tutelar Saint, in honour of whom he bestowed great immunities vpon the towne, and large endowments vpon the Abbey; hee new built the monasteries of *Wilton*, *Michelineffe*, and *Mildelton*, founded *Saint Germans* in *Cornwal*, *Saint Petros* at *Bodman*, the Priory of *Pilton*, new walled and beautified the City of *Excester*, and enriched euery famous Abbey in the land, either with new buildings, Jewels, Books, or Reuenewes.

(14) As also hee did certaine Cities with the Mintage of his money, whereof in *London* were eight houses, at *Winchester* fixe, at *Lewis* two, at *Hastings* two, in *Hampton* two, in *Warham* two, in *Chichester* one, in *Rocheester* three, two for the King, and one for the Bishop, at *Canterbury* seuen; foure for himselfe, two for the Archbishop, and one for the Abbat, although it appeareth the Archbishop had his before the rainge of this King. For among these ancient Saxon-Coines, we find one of *Ceolnoth*, who sae these Archbishop in the yeare 831. which both for the antiquity & authority of truth wee haue here inferred.



(15) This Prince King *Ethelstan* was of an indifferent stature, nor much exceeding the common sort of men, chearefull in countenance, his haire verie yellow, and somewhat slooped forward as he went; for valour inuincible, in resolution constant; and for his curtesie beloued of all; hee reigned in great honour the space of fiftene yeares and odde monethes, and deceased in the City of *Gloucester*, vpon wednesday the seuenteenth of October, and was buried at *Malmesbury* the yeere of Christs Nativity 940. hauing neuer had wife mentioned in our histories.

His supposed Issue.
(16) *Leoneat*, the supposed daughter of King *Ethelstan*, is reported by *Iohn Rouse* and *Papulwick*, writers of the mistrusted story of *Guy of Warwicke* to be married vnto *Reynburn* Earle of *Warwicke*, and sonne to the same *Guy*, whose remembrance and reputation is preferred & kept with no lesse renowne among the common people, for the liberty of *England* saued by his victory in single combat against *Colbrand* the *Dane*, then was *Horatius* the *Romane* for the preferatiō of *Rome*, whose historie I will leaue for others to enlarge that haue more leasure & better inuention.

Abbot's vesture.

The time of his rainge.

Iohn Rouse, *Papulwick*.



EDMUND THE TWENTIE SIXTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, DEATH, WIFE AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XXXIX.

Edmund the fifth sonne of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by Queene *Edgiva* his third and last wife, at the age of nineteen yeeres succeeded his brother King *Ethelstan* in his kingdom, and Monarchy: hee began his rainge the yeare of the worlds saluation 940. and with great solemnity was

crowned at *Kingslan* vpon *Thames*, in the fifth yeare of *Ortho* the first Emperour of that name, and his brother in law; his valour had often beene tried in the warres of King *Ethelstan* against those stout and sturdy enemies the *Danes*, *Scottish*, *Irish*, and *Welshmen*, that often had assailed to disturbe his peace.

(2) *Ethelstan* deceased, and the crowne scarce set vpon King *Edmund*'s head, but that the *Danes* in *Northumberland*, disliking subiection, called againe *Anlaf* out of *Ireland* to be their King; who now in the infancy

Simon Dunl.

Wit. Malm.

An. Do. 942.

Stat. Westm. 1187.

1181. Malm.

An. Do. 944.
Simon Duv.

King Dunm.

1181. Lan. ber.

infancy of *Edmunds* estate, with great power of men purposed to subdue all before him; but *Edmund* as forward, with full resolution ment to keepe what was got, and so gathering his power, proceeded towards the *North*, and at *Leicester* encountered with the *Danes*: howbeit, through the interceding of the Archbishops of *Canterbury* and *York*, *Odo* and *Wolston*, the matter was mitigated before it came to the uttermost.

(3) The next year of his raigne, the said *Anlase* (whom some hold to haue bene the King of *Norway*) being dead, an other *Anlase*, sonne to King *Sithrick*, of whom we haue spoken, intruded vpon the Kingdom of *Northumberland*. These heads, as *Hidra*, springing vp each after others, drew King *Edmund* againe into the *North*, who raging like a prouoked Lion, subdued, as he went, those townes where the *Danes* kept, and got from them *Lincolne*, *Leicester*, *Darbie*, *Stafford*, and *Nottingham*, compelling them to receiue Baptisme, and to become his Subiectes: so that the Country was wholly his vnto *Humber*. These his proceedings caused *Anlase* and *Reinold* the sonnes of the *Danish* *Gurmo*, subduers of *York*, to yeeld themselves wholly to his deuotion, offering him subiection, and withall to receiue the Christian faith: for performance whereof, they likewise receiued Baptisme, vnto whom King *Edmund* was Godfather, to *Reinold* at his Confirmation, and to *Anlase* at the Font: but how soone they fell from both, the sequell shewed; for casting off the faith and fealty thus promised, they stirred the *Northumbrians* to another rebellion, yet with no better success: then desert; for they were forced into a perpetuall exile, and King *Edmund* adioined that Country to his owne gouernment, without the admittance of any Secondary or Vice-roy to rule there vnder him.

(4) *Cumberland* also, which seldome was quiet, hauing bene a Kingdome entire of it selfe, and now aided by *Leolin* King of *Southwales*, he vtterly waisted: and apprehending the two sonnes of *Dunm.* King of that Prouince, commanded the eyes of those ouer-bold Princes to be puld out, and gaue their inheritance to *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, to hold the same by fealty from him. Thus by power and policie clearing those coasts whence the sharpest stormes had continually blowne, hee returned into the *South*, and there set himselfe to ordaine lawes for the good of his people, the which, lest time the consumer of all things might chance to obliterate, were by the labours of the learned *Lambert* translated into Latine, and imprinted in the year 1568. next, to shew his loue to God, and bounty to his Church, he gaue the towne of *Saint Edmondsbury* with the liber-

ties thereof, wholly to that Martyr, and to the Monks that liued in seruing at his Altars.

(5) But as each thing hath his spring, growth, & decay; so all men their dates, howsoever eminent in degree, & the shank of their Compas so set in a center that the Circle of their lines are oftentime abrupt, before it be drawn to the full round: for so with others, we may see in this *Monarch*, who being safely returned from many great dangers of war, at peace in his Pallace, came to a lamentable & v unexpected end: for at his Manor of *Pucle-herkes* in the County of *Gloucester*, whiles hee interposed himselfe betwene his *Sewer* and one *Leone* to part a fray, was, with a thrust through the body, wounded to death the twenty sixt of May, in the year of our saluation 946. when hee had prosperously raigne the space of five yeares and seuen moneths, and his body, with no lesse sorrow then solemnity, was buried at *Glascenbu*.

His Wife.

(6) *Elfgine*, the onely wife of King *Edmund*, hath not her parents declared (for ought I find) by any of our Writers: but this is affirmed, that shee was married vnto him in the first year of his raigne, which was the year of Grace, 940. and that she was his wife foure yeeres & vpward, after whose slaughter she remained a mournfull widdow all the rest of her life, which she spent with so great vertue and opinion of the people, as by the writers of that age shee is commended to posterity by the name of a Saint.

His Issue.

(7) *Edwy*, the eldest sonne of King *Edmund*, and *Queene Elfgine*, his wife, was borne in the second year of his fathers raigne Anno 942. When his father died, hee was but foure yeeres of age, and in respect of his minority was not permitted to succeed him in the Kingdome, but forced to giue place to his vncl *Edred*, vnder whom he liued nine yeeres; and in the tenth, his vncl being dead, and himselfe then growne to the age of thirteene, was admitted to the succession of the Monarchy.

(8) *Edgar* the second sonne of King *Edmund*, and of *Queen Elfgine*, was borne in the third year of his fathers raigne, the year of Christ Iesus 943, and was but three yeeres old when his Father died; notwithstanding, hee proued afterward a Prince of great expectation, and in the second year of King *Edwy* his brothers raigne, being then but fouretee yeeres of age, he was chosen King by the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, both which people he gouerned vnder the title of King of *Mercia*, for the space of two yeeres befor his brothers death, and then succeeded him in the whole Monarchie.



EDRED

EDRED THE TWENTIE SEVENTH KING OF THE WEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE EIGHTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XL.



Edred, the sixth sonne of King *Edward*, borne vnto him by *Queene Edgna* his third and last wife, at the age of twenty three yeeres succeeded his brother King *Edmund* in the monage of his children in all his dominions, and was the twenty seuen King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twentieth Monarch of the *Englishmen*. He began his raigne in the yeere of Mans saluation 946. and was anointed, and crowned at *Kingston* vpon *Thames* in the County of *Surrey* vpon Sunday the seuenteenth day of August by the hands of *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

(2) His Coronation robes scarcely put off; news was brought him that the *Northumbrians* had revolted and stirred a dangerous infurrection; notwithstanding the Couenants that his brother *Edmund* had made with *Malcolme* King of the *Scots* to secure the same. Therefore left deliaies might proue dangerous, with a great Army hee entred into the verge of *Scotland*, without sight of enemy, or any resistance. But peace being concluded betwixt *Edred*, *Malcolme* and the *Northumbrians*; yea and the same confirmed strongly by oath, yet was it little regarded of the last named lurers; for no sooner was *Edred* returned, but that they sent into *Ireland* for *Anlase*, the sonne of *Gurmo* the *Dane*, who had been expelled the Country as we haue said.

(3) *Anlase* gathering a flecte and forces accordingly, came into *Northumberland*, where he was with great ioy receiued and made their King, which title hee maintained for foure yeeres continuance, banding against *Edred*, and still holding him play, till lastly the *Northumbrians* disloiall to both, took their feather out of *Anlase* his plume, and sent him packing to the place, whence he came, electing one *Her-*

icus King in his stead.

(4) *Edred* awaked with the wafts that they made, prepared a iourney into those parts, where with fire and sword hee bare downe all before him; and albeit he was a man religiously bent, yet spared he not the Abbey of *Rippon* from flames, but laid all vnto ashes as he went, the enemy not daring to shew the face. In his returne suspecting no perill, suddenly an hoast brake out of *York*, and fell vpon the Rere-ward of his Army, marching but carelessly, and broken out of their array, whereby many perished before any complete order of resistance could be made. The King seeing this bold attempt of these Rebels, stroke downe his standard, turning his face againe to the *North*, and threatened the reuenge, with the Countries spoile and their liues.

(5) In this plot of sedition *Wolstan* Archbishop of *York* had sowne some seed of treason, both in the assistance of action, and counsell for the enterprise, very ill becomming a man of his ranke: this *Wolfe* therefore hauing thus awaked the *Lion* from rest, was the onely man that fell in his pawes; for the *Northumbrians* expelling their statelesse *Hericus* with submisue teares and golden showers, so pacified the King, that their offences were therewith cleane washed away: but hee good man (a Saint at the last) was mued vp in prison (against whom accusations daily came, and namely, that hee had commanded sundry of the Burgeses of *Thetford* to bee slaine) where hee abode till he was by *Edred* vpon a recurent regard of his calling, released from thence; for as this King is commended for his lenity towards the vertuous; so is he no lesse for his iustice towards the vicious, and for the practise of his Religion, as forward as any, suffering not onely his manners to be reproofed and corrected, (a quality truly roiall, and best becomming Princes) but also (so much below the pitch of foueraigne Maicty) his body to bee chastised at the will and direction of *Dunstan* Abbot

S f f of

of *Glafenbury*, vnto whose custody, he also committed the greatest part of his treasure and richest iewels to be lockt in his chests, and vnder the keyes of this Monastery.

(6) The stately Abbey of *Mieh at Abington* neere *Oxford* built by King *Inas*, but destroyed by the *Danes*, he newly repaired, indowing it with lands & faire reuenues, and confirmed the Charters with seales of gold: hee also ordained *Saint Germans* in *Cornwal* to be a Bishops See, which there continued till by *Canutus* it was annexed to the Episcopall See of *Kyrtin in Denon*, both which Sees were afterward by King *Edward the Confessor* translated to the City of *Excester*: but sith the brightest day hath his night, and the highest tide his present ebbe, what maruaile is it, if then *Edred* in the middest of his strength were seized vpon by sicknesse and death, which surprised him after hee had reigned in great honour nine yeeres and odde moneths, to the great griefe of his Subjects, who solemnly interred him in the old Minster within the City of *Winchester*, the

yeere of Christ Iesus 955. whose bones with other Kings, to this day are preferred in a guilt Coffin, fixed vpon the wall in the fourth side of the Quier.

His Issue.

(7) *Elfed*, the sonne of King *Edred*, was borne before his Father was King; neither find I mention of his Mother, or any act by him done, onely in the sixth yeere of King *Edred* his raigne, which was the yeere of Grace, 952. he is mentioned for a witnesse to his Fathers graunt of lands in *Wittenham*, to *Ethelwolve* a Duke of *England* in those daies, as appeareth by the Charter thereof, bearing date in the yeere afore said.

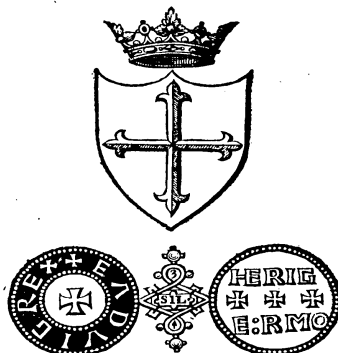
(8) *Bertrid* an other, and as it seemeth an elder sonne of King *Edred*, was borne before his father was King, without any mention also of his Mother, who liuing in the second yeere of his fathers raigne, namely Anno, 948. was written for a witnesse in the same yeere, to his grant of lands in *Bedlaking*, to *Cuthred* one of his Barons, the Charter whereof is extant to bee scene vnto this day.

Elfied.

Bertrid.



EDVVY THE TWENTIE EIGHTH KING OF THE VVEST-SAXONS, AND TWENTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND DEATH.



CHAPTER XLI.

An. Do. 955.

Edw, the eldest sonne of King *Edmund*, after the deceale of his vnclie *Edred*, succeeded him in his dominions, and was the twentieth eighth King of the *West-Saxons*, and the twentieth ninth Monarch of the *Englishmen*: he began his raigne in the yeere of the worlds saluation, 955. and was appointed & crowned at *Kingston* vpon *Thames*, by the hands of *Otho* the 22. Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

(2) Yong hee was in yeeres, and vitious of life, if the Monkish Story-writers of those times his deadly enemies may be credited, not past thir-

Edwy's sinne.

teene when he entred gouernment, and that begun with a capitall sinne: for they report, that vpon the solemne day of his Coronation, and insight of his Nobles, as they sat in Counsell, with shamelesse and vnprincelike lust, he abused a Lady of great estate, & his neere kinswoman, whose husband shortly after he slew, the more freely to possesse his incestuous pleasure: and to fill the penes of his further infamy ready to their hands, that wrote his life, hee was a great enemy vnto the Monkish orders (a sore in those dayes very tender to be touched, and may well be thought the cause of many false aspersions on him,) whom from the Monastery of *Malmesbury Glasenbury* and others, hee expelled, placing married Priests in their roomes: *Dunstan* likewise the Abbot Saint of *Glafenbury* hee banished the Realm, for

St. Fox Abbot Monum.

for his ouer-bold reprehensions; if not rather for retaining the treasure deliuered him by King *Edred*, and demanded againe in his sicknesse; when by the voice (forsooth) of an Angell from heauen, his journey was staid, and those rich Iewels not deliuered the King in his life; I will not say kept backe, lest *Dunstan* with *Balaam* (whose stories are not much vnlike) should bee thought to follow (as he did) the wages of deceit.

(3) Howsoever, the reuerent opinion of the Monks single life, and the conceiued holines of Abbot *Dunstan* in those misty times, did daily counterpoize young *Edwy* in esteeme, which made his best acts construed, and recorded to the worst; insomuch that his Subjects minds, ebbing as the Sea from the full, drew backe the current of their subiectiue affections, and set the eye of obedience vpon Prince *Edgar* his Brother: and albeit his young yeeres may seeme to cleare him from the imputation of so lustful a fact, as he is charged with, at the day of his assuming the Crowne; and the separation from his wife, (as too neere in consanguinity) wrought griefe enough in his distressed heart, yet pittilesse of his estate, and carelesse of their owne allegiance, the *Mercians* with the *Northumbrians* did vterly cast off obedience, and sweare their fealty to *Edgar*, not fully

fourteene yeeres aged: *Edwy* then raigning in a still decaying estate, was held of such his subiects, in no better esteeme, then was *Iehoram* of *Iudah*, who is said to haue liued without being desired: for very griefe whereof after foure yeares raigne hee ended his life, the yeere of our Lord 959: whose body was buried in the Church of the new Abbey of *Iside at Winchester*, erected without the Wall in the North of that City.

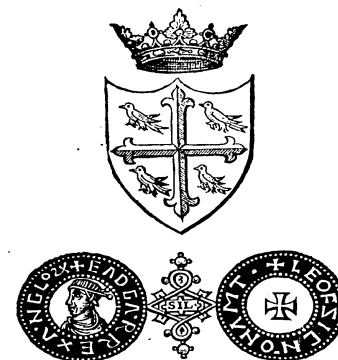
His Wife.

(4) *Elfgine*, the wife of King *Edwy*, was a Lady of great beauty, and nobly descended, yea, and by some deemed somewhat too neare in the blood roiall, to bee matched with him in spousall bed: her fathers name is not recorded, but her mother was *Ethelgine*, whom some scandalized to haue bene his Concubine, and the onely cause of *Dunstan*'s banishment. The subiects disliking of this vnlawfull marriage, & further instigated by the Monks, (whose humorous pleasures, or displeasures could very much sway the state in those daies,) failed by degrees to performe their duties to their King, and her they likewise enforced to a separation, in the third yeere of his regardlesse gouernment, and of Christ Iesus, 958. without other mention of her life or death.

John Capgrave.



EDGAR SVRNAMED THE PEACEABLE THE THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XLII.

An. Do. 959.



succeeded in all his dominions, and was the thirtieth

Edgar, the second son of King *Edmund* hauing reigned two yeeres ouer the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, in the dayes of *Edwy* his Brother, to the great impairing of King *Edwy*'s reputation and esteeme; after his death at sixteen yeeres of age was chosen to

Monarch of the *Englishmen*, or rather now of whole *England*, all other titles of Kingdomes falling vnder his scepter, and becoming Prouinces annexed vnto his absolute Monarchie.

(2) He beganne his raigne in the yeere of Christs Nativity, 959. and was crowned (as some write) the same yeare at *Kingston*, vpon *Thames*, by *Otho* Archbishop of *Canterbury*. But *Randolphus Higden* in his *Polychronicon*, referreth it to the twelfth yeere of his raigne: *William Monke* of *Malmesbury* to the thirtieth yeere of his age, and the *Saxon Chronicle* of

Polydore Virg. Ran. Higden. W. Malin. Saxon Chron.

Monarch 30

of Worcester Church, to the yeere of Christ, 972, and that in the City of Bath, hee was annointed and consecrated with great solemnity by Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury.

Edgar the Peace-
able.

(3) The raigne of this King is said to haue bene altogether in a calme tranquillity, and therefore hee was furnamed the *Peaceable*; his vertues were many, and vices nota few, the one gloriously augmented, and the other fairly excused, by those *Monkish* writers, vnto whose professions he was most fauourable: his Guides were Dunstan Archbishop of Canterbury, Ethelwold Abbot of Gloucestre, and Oswald Bilhop of Worcester, three stout Champions against the married Clergie, (for women in those dayes were great bugs in their eyes,) therefore the married Priests hee displaced, & brought in Monkes of singlelife to possesse their rooms, whose finnes of incontinency grew after to be great, as the world did then witness, which caused *Trensis* the translator of *Higden*, to blame King Edgar, charging him to bee lowly moued in following their counsell against married Clerkes.

Polier lib. 6. cap. 9

vil. Malmsbury.

(4) So doe *Malmsbury* and *Higden* taxe him with too fauourable affections towards the *Danes*, who dwelled alike in euery town with the *English*, though formerly they had fought the destruction of all, and still lay in wait attending for the spoile of his true subiects, who apt enough vnto euil, lerned the beaulty sinne of quaffing, and emptying of cups, which King Edgar was enforced to redresse, by enacting a law against excessive drinking, ordaining a fine by certaine pinnes set in the pot, with penalties to any that should presume to drinke deeper then the marke.

cap 38. Sect. 8.

Cron. Wald.

(5) His policie was no lesse prudent (but much more successful) for the destruction of *Wolues*, that in his daies did great annoiance to the land; for the tribute imposed vpon the Princes of *Wales* by the *English* King *Ethelstan* (as we haue said) he wholly remitted, and in lieu thereof, appointed certaine numbers of *Wolues* yeerely to bee paid, and *Tenaf*, or *Iage* Prince of *North-Wales*, did for his part pay him yeerely three hundred, which continued for three yeeres space, but in the fourth was not a Wolfe to bee found, and so the tribute ceased.

Marimus,
Alfred Rinal.
Rom. High.

(6) His Nauieriall, containing three thousand and fixe hundred ships, he diuided into three parts, appointing euery of them to a seuerall quarter to waffe the Seas, and secure the coasts from Pirates, and forraigne enemies, wherein himselfe euery summer would saile with those in the East parts, vnto those in the West, and sending them backe to their charge, would with the West saile into the North, and with the northerne flecte compassse againe into the East, whereby the seas were scoured, and his Kingdom exceedingly strengthened.

Edgar sheweth
vigilancy.

(7) The like custome vsed he in the winter season in his ieyfts, and circuits throughout his Country, so to take account of the administration of his lawes, and the demeanour of his great men, especially of his *Judges*, whom seuerely he punished, so often as he found the execution of their places ballanced either with bribery or partiality; so that there was neuer lesse robbery, deceit or oppressions, the in the raigne of this worthy King.

Edgar league
with diuers
Kings.

(8) His state thus flourishing in peace and prosperity, he caused diuers Princes to bind themselves vnto his allegiance, but perchance it may iustly be doubted, whether in such performance of homage and seruice, as *Malmsbury*, *Florentius*, *Randolphus*, *Marianus*, *Houeden*, and other writers ascribe to haue bene at the City *Chester*, where (they say) *Kenradie* King of *Scots*, *Malcolme* of *Cumberland*, *Maxemius* an Arch-Pirate, with the petty King of *Wales*, *Duff-nall*, *Griffith*, *Humal*, *Iacob*, and *Indithil*, did with oares row his Barge vpon the river *Dee*, from his Pallace to Saint *Johns* Church, and thence againe backe to his Pallace, himselfe the while steering the helme, and saying in his glory that then his successors might trulie

account themselves *Soueraigne Kings* of England, when they enjoyed such a *Prerogative* of sublimity, and supreme honour: although (saith *M. Fox*) he might much better, and more Christianlike haue said, *God forbid that I should reioice, but in the Croffe of our Lord Iesus Christ*.

Cal. 14.

Polier lib.

(9) Warres he had none in all his raignes, onely towards the end, the *Welshmen* moued some rebellion, which to preuent, hee assembled a mighty Army, and therewith entred into the County of *Glamorgan*, sharply punishing the ringleaders thereof, but his souldiers doing great harms in the country, laden with spoiles for the returne, the King out of his bounty commanded all to be againe restored, whereby hee purchased singular loue and honour of the inhabitants.

Monast. lib. by King Edgar

(10) To his magnanimity was ioined much deuotion, but most especially towards the *Monks*, for whom, and for *Nunnes* hee built and repaired forty seuen *Monasteries*, intending to haue continued their numbervnto fifty, as himselfe testifieth in these words of his Charter.

Ex chart. by

The *Monasteries*, as well of *Monks* as of *Virgins* haue bene destroyed and quite neglected throughout England, which I haue now determined to repaire to the glory of God for my soules health, and so to multiply the number of Gods seruants and handmaidens: and now already I haue set up forty seuen *Monasteries* with *Monks* and *Nunnes* in them, and if Christ spare me life so long, I am determined in offering my duntow munificence to God, to proceed to fifty, euen to the last number of a *Libelle*.

M. Fox in his
Acts and Writ-
ments.

And by this his Charter did not onely approue the enlargement of *S. Maries Monastrie* in *Worcester*, and the restoring of *Volaries* in stead of married Priests, but himselfe either new founded or repaired many others, as the house of *Ely*, *Gloucester*, *Abington*, *Burgh*, *Thorney*, *Ramsey*, *Wilton*, *Winton*, *Winchome* and *Thunstocke* with great cost, and large endowments, hauing the Clergie in an high and reuerent esteeme, and most of all his Confessor *Dunstan*: but with this wheate, there were tares growing, though the late *Monkish* Writers bind them vp for good corne: for some men tell (saith *Randolphus Higden*) that *Edgar* in his beginning was cruell to *Citizens*, and lecherous to maidens, whereof these his actions ensuing beare sufficient witness.

Rom. High.

(11) The first was committed against the virgine *Wolfsild*, a sacred *Nunne* as some affirme, though others somewhat mitigating that sacrilegious offence, haue reported, that she to auoid his fleshly and lasciuious lust, was forced to take the habit of a *Menichion* vpon her, and in the same brought to his bed, wherein the chaste *S. Edith* was begot, and for whom, say they, he underwent his seuen yeeres penance without the wearing of his Crowne.

vil. Malmsbury
Mathew Paris.
Olas. Wylm.

(12) A like offence hee committed against the virgine *Ethelseld*, the daughter of *Ordmar* a Duke among the *East-Angles*, who for her surpassing beauty was furnamed the *White*; on whom he begot his eldest sonne *Edward*, for which fact as *M. Fox* affirmeth, hee did his seuen yeeres penance inioined by *Dunstan*: and indeed by *Osborne* it appeareth, that *Edward* was not legitimate, where he writeth, that the child begotten of the harlot, hee baptized in the holy fontaine of regeneration, and so giuing his name to be called *Edward*, did adopt him to be his sonne. With whom agree *Nicholas Trivet* in his *English* story, written in *French*, *Iohannes Paris* in his *French* story, written in *Latine*, both of them calling *Edward* a sonne illegitimate; as also doth *Vincenius* and *Antoninus*, howbeit *William of Malmsbury*, *Mathew Paris*, *Mathew of Westminster*, *Randolphus* and others, will haue her his first and lawfull wife, and *Edward* in true matrimony to haue descended from them.

Of hyst. in
Dunstan.

Nicholas Trivet
Joan. Paris.

Vincen.
Antonin.

(13) An other instance of his lasciuious life is produced by the forenamed Writers, and thus both occasioned and acted. It chanced *Edgar* to heare a *Virgine* and daughter to a *Westerne Duke*, exceeding

dingly praised for her incomparable beauty, the touch of which firing from his eare rebounded to his heart, and as a bait drew him presently into those parts; where comming to *Andener*, commanded the damsell to his bed: The mother tender of the *Virgins* honour, brought in the darke her maid, but not her daughter, who, all as well pleased the King in his sinfull dalliance: the day approaching, this late laid maid made halt to arise, but the King loth to part yet with his supposed faire Lady, demanded why she made such halt? who answered him, that her taske was great, and hardly would her worke be done, if day should preuent her ere the rose; but yet being staied about her howre, vpon her knees shee made this humble request, that shee might be freed from her shrewde dame, alleging, it was not fitting, that the woman who had tasted the pleasures of a Kings embracements, should endure a seruile ruder vnder the rule of any other. The King perceiving the deceit, and therewith moued to wrath, yet could not recall what hee had done (or rather vndone) and therefore turned his conceiued wrongs vnto a self; but so, that hee both sharply checked the deceiver, and kept this damsell, (whose night-work and pleasure had fully wonne him) for his Concubine, whereby he ruled them that lately had the command of her; and to vse the words of *Malmsbury*, hee loued this Concubine most entirely, keeping true faith of his bed to her alone, vntill the time hee married for his lawfull wife *Elfrida* the daughter of Duke *Ordgarus*.

M. Fox in his
Acts and Writ-
ments.

Ordgarus.

vil.

vil. Malmsbury
Mathew Paris.
Olas. Wylm.

Polier lib. 6.

Of hyst. in
Dunstan.

Nicholas Trivet
Joan. Paris.

Vincen.
Antonin.

Edgar with a
dame.

(14) His last lasciuious Act, was as *Dauids* ioyned with blood, and wrought in manner as followeth. *Fames* laith report of beauteous *Elfrida* (the paragon of her sexe, and wonder of Nature) the only daughter of *Ordgarus* Duke of *Deuonshire*, founded so lowd in those *Westerne* parts, that the Echo thereof was heard into King *Edgars* Court, and entred his eares, which euer lay open, to giue his eyes the scope of desire, and his wanton thoughts the raines of will: to trie the truth whereof, hee secretly sent his minion or fauourite *Earle Ethelwold* of *East-Anglia*, who well could iudge of beauty, and knew the diet of the Kings with Commission, that if the *Pearle* proved so orient, it should be seized for *Edgars* owne wearing, who ment to make her his Queene, and *Ordgarus* the Father of a King.

Ethelwold a iolly young Gallant, posted into *Deuonshire*, and guest-wise visited Duke *Ordgarus* his Court, where seeing the Lady surpassing the report, blamed *Fames* ouer-sight for sounding her praise in so base and leaden a Trumpet; and wholly surprised with her loue, himselfe beganne to wooe the *Virgine*, yea, and with her Fathers good liking, so as the King would giue his assent. *Earle Ethelwold* returning, related that the maide indeed was faire, but yet her beauty much augmented by babling reports, and neither her feature or parts any wise befitting a King. *Edgar* mistrusting no coriuall in his loue, nor dreaming false fellowship in wooing, did with a sleight thought passe ouer *Elfrida*, and pitch his affections the faster another way. *Earle Ethelwold* following the game now a foot, desired *Edgars* assistance to bring it to a stand, pretending not so much for any liking to the Lady, as to raise his owne fortunes to be her fathers heire, to which the King yielded, and for this minion solicited *Ordgarus*, who glad to be shrowded vnder the fauours of such a fauourite, willingly consented, and his daughters destinies assured to *Earle Ethelwold*.

The marriage solemnized, and the fruits thereof a short time enjoyed, the fame of her beauty beganne againe to bee spread, and that with a larger Epithite then formerly it had bene: Whereupon *Edgar* much doubting of double dealing, laid his angle faire to take this great gull, and bearing no shew of wrong or suspect, invited himselfe to hunt in his Parks, and forthwith repairing into those parts, did not a little grace his old seruant, to the great ioy of

Ordgarus the Duke: but *Ethelwold* mistrusting the cause of his comming, thought by one policy to disappoint another: and therefore reucaling the truth to his wife, how in his proceedings hee had wronged her beauty, and deceived his *Soueraigne*, requested her louing assistance to saue now his endangered life, which lay in her power, and of the meanes he thus aduised:

"Like as (saide he) the richest *Diamond* rough and vn-cut, yeelds neither sparkle nor esteeme of great price, nor the gold vnburnished giues better lustre then the base brasse; so beauty and feature clad in meane aray, is either slightly looked at with an vnfix'd eye, or is wholly vnregarded, and held of no worth: for according to the *Prouerbe*, 'cloth is the man, and man is the wretch': then to preuent the thing that I feare, and is likely to proue my present ruine, and thy last wracke; conceale thy great beauty from King *Edgars* eyes, and giue him entertainment in the meane attire: let them (I pray thee) for a time bee the nightly curtaines drawne about our new-Nuptiall bed, and the dayly cloudes to hide thy splendent Sinne from his sharpe, and too too piercing sight, whose vigour & raies will soone set his waxen wings on fire, that ready are to melt at a farre softer heat. Phee (thou fleshly defileth the hand, and we are forced to giue occasion of euill: waile then thy faireness with the scarres of deformity, from his ouer-lauith and vnmastered eyes: for the fairest face draws euery gaze, if not the attempts, and natures endowments, are as the bush for the wine, which being immoderately taken doth surfeit the sense, and is a gaine cast vp with as loathing a taste. Of these dreags drunke *Amnon* after his fill of faire *Thamar*, *Herod* of *Miriam*, & *Aeneas* of *Dido*; yea, and not to seeke examples farre off, King *Edgars* variation in his vnstedfast motion doth easily beuayr it selfe: for could either holy *Wolfsild*, beautiful *Ethelseld*, or the wanton Wench of *Andener*, keepe the needle of his compassse certaine at one point, nothing lesse, but it was still led by the load-stone of his euery mutable and turning affections. But thou wilt say, hee is religious, and by founding of *Monasteries* hath expiated those finnes. Indeed many are built; for which time and posterities must thanke holy *Dunstan*, from whose deuotion those good deeds haue sprung: but is thy person holier then sacred *Wolfsild*; thy birth and beauty greater then *Ethelseld* the *White*, daughter also to a Duke? the former, of an holy *Volary*, hee made the sinke of his pollution; and the later is branded to all ages, by the hatefull name of a Concubine, and her sonne among vs esteemed for a Bastard. These should bee motives to all beauteous and vertuous Ladies, not to sell their honours at so low and too-late repented a price. Neither think (sweet Countesse) that thy husband is zealous, or suspects thy constancy, which I know is great, and thy selfe wholly complete with all honourable vertues: but yet consider I pray thee, that thou art but young, & maist easily be caught, especially of him that is so old a Master of the game: neither perswade thy selfe of such strength, as is able to hold our so great an assault; for men are mighty, but a King is much more. I know thou art wife, and enough hath been said, onely let mee adde this, that euill beginnings haue neuer good ends: and so with a kind kisse, hoping hee had wonne his Wife to his Will, prepared with the first to welcome King *Edgar*.

Lady *Elfrida* thus left to her selfe, began seriously to thinke vpon this Curtaigne Sermon, whose text shee distast, being taken out of an ouer-worne and threed-bare cloth *prouerbe*, as though her fortunes had been wholly residing, and altogether consisting in her parentage and apparell, but nothing at all in any parts of her selfe.

"Hath my beauty (thought she) been courted of a King
SIF 2

Ethelwold
speech to Elfrida

2 Sam. 13:
Josephus.
Phigil Aeneas,
Amnon and
Thamar.

Wolfsild
Ethelseld

Elfrida alone.

« a King, famous by report, compared with *Helens*,
« and now must be hid? Must I falsifie and bely Na-
« tures bounties, mine owne value, and all mens re-
« ports, only to faue his credit, who hath impaired
« mine, and belied my worth? And must I needs de-
« foule my selfe, to be his only faire foule, that hath
« kept me from the State and seat of a Queene? I
« know the name of a Countesse is great, and the
« Wife of an Earle is honourable, yet no more then
« birth and endowments haue assigned for me, had
« my beauty been far lesse then it is. He warnes me of
« the end, when his owne beginnings were with tre-
« chery: tels me the examples of others, but obserues
« none himselfe: he is not ielous, forsooth, and yet I
« must not looke out; I am his faire, but others pitch
« fire, wine, bush, and what not? Not so holy as *Wol-*
« *hild*, nor so white as *Ethelseld*, and yet that must now
« be made far worse then it is. I would men knew the
« heate of that cheeke wherein beauty is bla-
« zed, then would they with lesse suspect suffer our
« faces vnmaskt, to take aire of their eyes, and wee no
« whit condemnable for shewing that which cannot
« be hid, neither in me shall, come of it what will.

And thus resolving to bee a right woman, desired
nothing more then the thing forbidden, and made
preparation to put it in practise. Her body shee en-
dured with the sweetest balmes, displayed her haire,
and bespangled it with pearles, bestrewed her breasts
and bosome with rubies and diamonds, rich Jewels
glittering like starres depended at her necke, and her
other ornaments euery way suitable. And thus, rather
Angell, then Lady-like, shee attended the approach
and entrance of the King, whom with such faire ob-
siance and seemely grace shee receiued, that *Edgars* gree-
die eye presently collecting the raies of her shining
beauty, became a burning glasse to his heare, and the
sparkle of her faire falling into the traine of his loue,
set all his senses on fire: yet dissembling his passions,
he passed on to his game, where hauing the false *E-*
thelseld at aduantage, he ranne him through with a
Iaueline, and rooke faire *Elfrida* to his wife.

(15) These were the vertues and vices of this
King, little in personage, but great in spirit, and the
first vnresisted Monarch of the whole Land, whom all
the other *Saxons* acknowledged their supreme, with-
out diuision of Prouinces or title. He reigned sixteen
yeeres and two moneths in great tranquillity and hon-
our, and died vpon tuesday the eighth of *July*, the
thirty seventh of his age, and yeere of Christ 975.
whose body with all funerall solemnitie was buried
in the Abbey of *Glasterburie*.

His Wives.

(16) *Ethelseld*, the first wife of King *Edgar*, was
surnamed in the Saxon English *Eneba*, in Latine *Can-*
dida, which with vs is *White*, because of her exceeding
great beauty. Shee was the daughter of a Duke a-
mongst the *East-Angles*, named *Ordmar*, and was mar-
ried vnto him the second yeere of his raigne, and the
eighteenth of his age, being the yeere of Christs Na-
tiuitie 961. She was his wife not fully two yeeres, and
died the fourth of his raigne, in Anno 962.

(17) *Elfrida*, the second wife of King *Edgar*, was
the widow of slaughtered *Ethelseld*, of whom wee
haue said. She was daughter to *Ordgarus*, and sister to
Ordulfe, both of them Dukes of *Deuonshire*, and the
Founders of *Taufstoke* Abbey in that Countie: a La-
die of pasing great beauty, and as ambitious as faire:
for after the Kings death, shee procured the murder
of King *Edgar* her sonne in law, that her owne sonne

Ethelred might come to the Crowne: and afterwaris
to pacifie his and her first husbands ghost, and to stop
the peoples speeches of so wicked a fact, shee founded
the Abbeyes of *Ambresbery* & *Whorwell*, in the Coun-
ties of *Wiltshire* and *South-hampton*.

His Children.

(18) *Edward*, the eldest sonne of King *Edgar* and
Queene *Ethelseld* his first wife, was borne in the fourth
yeere of his fathers raigne, and a little before his mo-
thers death, in the yeere of Christ Iesus 962. He was
a child disposed to all vertue, notwithstanding great
meanes was made by his mother in law for the disin-
heriting of him, and the preferment of her owne son
to the succession of the Crowne; yet by prouident
care taken in the life time of his father, he succeeded
him after his death, as right heire both of his king-
dome and conditions.

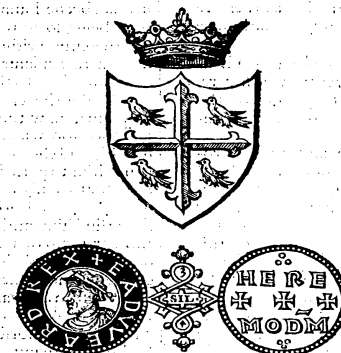
(19) *Edmund*, the second sonne of King *Edgar*, and
the first of Queene *Elfrida* his second wife, was borne
in the seventh yeere of his fathers raigne, being the
yeere of grace 965. He liued but foure yeeres, and
died in his infancie, in the twelfth yeere of his fathers
raigne, and was honourably enterr'd in the Monaste-
rie of *Nunnes*, at *Ramsay* in *Hampshire*, which King *Ed-*
gar had founded.

(20) *Ethelred*, the third sonne of King *Edgar*, and
the second of Queene *Elfrida* his second wife, and the
last of them both, was borne in the eighth yeere of his
fathers raigne, and yeere of saluation 966. He was ver-
tuously inclined, beautifull in complexion, and com-
ly of stature; at the death of his father being but se-
uen yeeres old, and at his brothers murder ten: which
deed he sore lamented, to the great discontentment
of his mother, who for his aduancement had com-
plotted the same, and wherein at those yeeres he vn-
willingly succeeded him.

(21) *Edgith*, the naturall daughter of King *Edgar*,
had to her mother a Lady named *Wolhild*, the daugh-
ter of *Wolhelm*, the sonne of *Byrding*, the sonne of *Ne-*
sting, the two latter bearing in their names the memo-
rie of their fortunes: the last of them being found in
an Eagles nest, by King *Elfredas* he was on hunting.
This *Edgith* was a veiled Nunne in the Monastery of
Wilton, and according to some Authors, made Ab-
besse thereof by her father at fifteene yeeres of age,
saith her Legend. She died the fifteenth day of *Sep-*
tember, the yeere of her age twenty three; the sixt of
her brother King *Ethelredas* raigne, and of Christ Iesus
984. By all which accounts it is manifest, that she was
borne before *Edward*, and by *Master Fox* proued, that
for him, and not for her, King *Edgar* did his seuen
yeeres penance. She is greatly commended for her
chastitie and beauty, which later the somewhat aug-
mented with more curious attire then to her profes-
sion was befitting: for which Bishoppe *Ethelseld*
sharply reprov'd her; who answered him roundly,
that God regarded the heart more then the garment,
and that sins might bee couered as well vnder rags
as robes.

This *Edgith*, as *John Capgrave* reporteth, after the
slaughter of her brother *Edward*, the holy Archbishop
Dunstan would haue aduanced to the Crowne, & inue-
sted her against *Ethelred* the lawfull heire, had he not
by the late experience of *Edwards* fall, vterly refused
that title, which neither belonged to her right, nor
was safe for her person to vndertake. Her body
was buried at *Wilton*, in the Monastery and Church
of *Saint Denisse*, which her selfe had caused to bee
built.

EDWARD SURNAMED THE MARTYR THE THIRTIE ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.



CHAPTER XLIII.



Great were the troubles &
siftings that presently en-
sued the death of King *Ed-*
gar, about the election of
one of his sons to succede;
Queene *Elfrida* with *Al-*
ferus Duke of *Mercia*, and
many other Nobles com-
bined for young *Ethelred*,
disauowing Prince *Edward*

as illegitimate, and therefore not reputable for suc-
cession: against them and *Ethelred* stood *Dunstan* and
the *Monkes*, holding their stances dangerous, & their
new-gotten footing vnsecure, if in the nonage of the
King, these their opposites should rule all vnder him;
whereas *Edward* was altogether wrought in their
mould, whose title they abetted, as being lawfully
borne, and begot in the nuptial bed of Queene *E-*
thelseld. Their claimes thus banded amongst these
State-men, began to be diuerfly affected among the
Commons, and had put the game to the hazard, if the
wisedome of *Dunstan* had not seene to the chafe; for
a Councell being assembled to argue their rights,
the Archbishop came in with his banner and crosse,
and not staying for further debating *de iure*, did *de*
facto, present Prince *Edward* for their lawfull Kings,
and the assembly consisting most of Clergy-men, per-
suading peace, drew the approbation of the rest, and
so was the Prince admitted and proclaimed their So-
ueraigne.

(2) He began his raigne at twelue yeeres of age,
in the yeere of Saluation 975, and was loone after by
Archbishop *Dunstan* crowned King at *Kingston* vpon
Thamesis: being the thirtie one Monarch (since
Henric) of the Englishmen. His beginning was mi-
serably afflicted with barrennesse of the ground, fa-
mine amongst his people, morraine of cattle, and to
their further terror, a fearefull Comet appeared:

which men thought to bee signes from heauen, as
sent from God, for the finnes committed against the
married Clergy, whose cause was much pittied, espe-
cially of the Nobles, & whose complaints of wrongs
they instantly vrged, that without defects they were
expulsed from their ancient possessions; a thing
which neither God nor goodmen euer allowed, and
was contrary to the prescript rule of Christ, that wils
vs to doe, as wee would be done vnto: whereto the
Monkes answered, that Christ respected neither the
person nor place, but onely them that tooke vp the
Crosse of Penance and followed him, as themselves
in their single life pretended to doe. But they good
men little knew the incumbrances of wiuing; for o-
therwise they would haue felt, that the condition of
the married, was more truly a suffering of the Crosse,
and enduring of Penance.

(3) These Church men thus diuided and rent,
were diuersly sided as affection did moue, and that
not onely of the meaner sort, but euen of the Nobles
& great Ones; for the *Mercian* Duke *Alferus* fauou-
ring the iust cause of married Priests, destroyed the
Monasteries in his Prouince, cast out the *Monkes*,
and restored againe the ancient reuencenes to them &
their wiues: contrariwise, in *East-Anglia* the Priests
went to wracke, where the *Monkes* were maintained
by the authority of *Edelwin* their Duke, who in their
quarrell, with the assistance of his brother *Alfred*,
and of *Brightmoth* Earle of *Essex*, raised a mighty Ar-
my, and stood with that power for their defence.

(4) The fire thus blown from a sparke to a flame,
was feared to mount higher, if not quenched in time,
and therefore by mediation, armes laid aside, the
cause was referred to be heard in Councell, & at *Win-*
chester first the assembly was held, where after long
dispute, and much against the *Monkes*, it was greatly
suspected their side had gone down, but that the mat-
ter was referred from them to the *Roude*, placed vp-
on



Dunstan coun-
sell.The Priests' fa-
ciliton of the
Monks.

An. Do. 977.

A heavy mis-
chance.

Polyehr. lib. 6. c. 12.

Priests without
care, but not
without care.

Wil. Malmesbury.

Malm. de gestis
Rois. lib. 1. c. 1.

Malm. de.

on the refectorie Wall, where the Councell sate. To this great Oracle S. Dunstan, desired them deuoutely to pray, and to giue diligent care for an answer: who, with as great bounty as they in deuotion made it not fquemish to giue them this aduice; *God forbid it should be so, God forbid it should be so* (said he,) *you indged well once, and to change that againe is not good.*

This was authority sufficient to suppress the Priests, who now with their wiues went downe the wind; and indeed too blame they were to suspect this their Iudge, who neuer was heard to giue wrong sentence before: but they vngratified men, thought once more to blow the coale, though therewith they were likely to burne their owne lips; for perswading the people, that this was but a subtile practise of the Monks, in placing behind the wall a man of their owne, who through a truncke vttered those words in the mouth of the Roode; it was therefore instantly desired, that the cause might once more come to scanning.

(5) This lastly was granted, and a great assembly congregated at Cleue in Wilshire, whither repaired the Prelates with most of the States of the land, besides Gentlemen and Commons an innumerable sort.

This Synode being set, and the controuersie propounded, a hote and sharpe disputation ensued, and a while was maintained with many bitter inuectiues, ill becomming such persons: But whether through the weakenesse of the foundation, or the ouer-press of weight, or both, the ioynts of this vpper-loft, wherein the Councell was held, suddainly brake, and downe fell the flore with all the people thereon, whereof many were hurt, and some slaine outright, onely Archbishop Dunstan then President, and mouth for the Monks remained unhurt: for the Post whereon his chaire was set (and not without miracle) stood wholly vntouched.

Thus by this fall, fel the cause of the secular Priests; and the Monkish foundations vnderpropped with more surer pillars, Dunstan vnburdened of many imputations, the peoples affections drawne to the Monks, and the Priests at liberty now to accompany their wiues without any care, though not without care; and all this was wrought by the 'prouidence of Dunstan, and his strange preferuation on the post; no lesse wonderfull then that which with the like truth is related of him, how when a huge beam of a house was suncke out of the frame, and like to ruinate the whole building, with onely making of the signe of the Crosse thereon, with his fingers hee made it returne to his former place: so wonderfully potent was he in such woodden miracles. To which, why should wee not giue credite, since the very Harpe which hee had touched could worke miracles? as when of it selfe it founded melodiously that *Hymne, Gaudet in celis anima Sanctorum*, &c. Yea sith the blessed virgine Mary her selfe, is said to haue come to solace him with her songs, *Cantemus Domino Sicut, &c.* For, as for Angels singing familiarly vnto him, and Diuels in shape of dogs, foxes and beares, whipped by him, that was but ordinary; as likewise his making the shee-diuel to roare, when comming to tempt him to dalliance, in shape of a beautifull lassie, hee caught her by the nose with hote burning pincers, and so spoilde a good face. But to leaue those figments wherewith our Monkish stories are stuffed to the deluding of their Readers, and dishonouring of those, whom thereby

they thinke to magnifie; let vs looke backe to yong Prince Edward.

(6) Who in all princely parts was an imitator of his Father, and for his modest gentleness worthily fauoured of all men: but as enuy is alwaies the attendant of vertue; so had he them that much maligned his life, namely, the fauourites of Prince Ethelred, whereof Queene Elfrida his mother was chiefe, who lastly betrayed him, and that in this manner.

(7) King Edward for his disport was hunting in a forrest nere vnto the sea, vpon the south-east shore of the County Dorset, and in the Iland Purbeck; not farre off, vpon a small river, stood pleasantly seated a faire and strong Castle called Corfe, where his mother in law Queene Elfrida, with his brother Prince Ethelred, were then therein residing: Edward that euer had bene louing to both, held it a kind office, now being so nere to visite them with his presence, and thereupon either of purpose or chance singled from his attendants, hee secretly stole from them all, and came alone to the castle gate.

(8) The Queene who had long laine in wait for occasions, now tooke this as brought to her hand, and therefore with a face as meaning no guile, shee humbly and cheerefully gaue the King welcome, desiring him to grace her and her sonne with his presence for that night; but hee with thanks refused the offer, as fearing least his company would soone find him missing, and craued onely of his mother a cup of wine, that in his saddle hee might drinke to her and his brother, and so be gone. The cuppe was no sooner at his mouth, then a knife in his backe, which a seruant appointed by this trecherous Queene stroke into him; who feeling himselfe hurt, set spurs to his horse, thinking to escape to his more faithfull company.

(9) But the wound being mortall, and he fainting through losse of much blood, fell from his horse, and one foot entangled in the stirrups, hee was thereby rufully draged vpon and downe through woods and lands, and lastly left dead at Corfe-gate: which hapned the eighteenth day of May, after hee had reigned three yeares and fixe (some say eight) monethes, the yeare of his age sixteene, and of Christ Iesus 979. His body found, was first buried at Warham without all funeral pompe, but after three yeeres by Duke Aserus remoued, and with great celebrity entered in the Minster of Shaftesbury: and for this vntimely death, hee gained the surname of Martyr.

(10) Queene Elfrida sore repenting her cruell and step-motherly fact, to expiate her guilt, and pacifie the crying bloud of her slaine sonne, buik the two said Monasteries of Almsbury and Worwell in the Counties of Wiltshire and Southampton, in which latter she liued with great repentance and penance vntill the day of her death, and in the same lieth her body entered.

These and other the like foundations built vpon the occasion of rapine & blood, howeouer they may shew the sorrowfull repentance of their founders: yet their stones being laide with the simmond of murder, and the morer tempered with blood, haue felt the wrath of him, who by his Prophet hath pronounced, that from the wall the stone shall crie, and the beam out of the timber shall answere it; *Woe vnto him that buildeth a towne with blood, and erecteth a City by iniquity.*

ETHEL-

ETHELRED COMMONLY CALLED THE VNREADIE, THE TVVO

AND THIRTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WARS, RAIGNE, WIVES AND ISSVES.



CHAPTER XLIII.



Ethelred the sonne of King Edgar, & brother to King Edward the Martyr, at the age of twelue yeeres entered his gouernment ouer the Englishmen, the yeere of mans saluation, 979, and was the two and thirtieth Monarch since King Hen-
gist: he was crowned King

at Kingston vpon Thames the foureteenth of April, being Easter day, by the hands of Dunstan Archbishoppe of Canterbury, who did it much against his will.

(2) He was a man neither forward in action, nor fortunate in proceedings, and therefore commonly called the *Vnready*: his youth was spent in idleness, feeding his senses with all voluptuous baits, his middle yeeres with a careless gouernment, maintaining ciuill dissensions, and his latter end deservingly in continuall resistance of the bloud-thirsty Danes. With these imputations by writers hee is taxed, though we find no such iust cause in recording his life; but to such extreames are euen great Monarches themselves brought, that their breath and dignity once left and laid downe, they are subiect to the censures of euery affectionate and malignant reporter. And that this King lay lyable to such mens humors, the working of Dunstan euer against him, is a sufficient witness, who not onely did refuse to act his Coronation, but would haue preferred Lady Edgith a bastard before him to the Crown, as we haue said. And besides the generall quarrell of the Monks and married Priests, to which later himselfe and his Abettors were better inclined, his iust indignation conceiued against the Bishop of Rochester, and that not pacified without the Bishops

submission and payment of money, was cause enough for those Monkish Writers to brand the *Lords Anointed* with their marks of infamie, vnto whom they impute the miseries of those times, and the destruction of the English by the intruding Danes.

(3) These Danes had kept quiet euer since the disliked raigne of King Edwy, without any notable attempts, for the space of twenty two yeeres: but now perceiving the hearts of the subiects to bee drawn from their Soueraigne, they thought it a sufficient occasion to forward their intendments; and omitting no time, in the second of his raigne with seuen ships they arriued vpon the coast of Kent, spoiling the Country; but most especially the Iland Thanet, from whence they did great hurt likewise to the towne of Southampton.

The English led in dislike of young Ethelreds gouernment, were the rather drawne to impute these and other aduersities to this vnfortunate Prince, by reason of a prediction of Dunstan, who had prophesied, *That they should not be free from blood and sword, till there came a people of an vknowne tongue, that should bring them to liualdome*: and that opinion was skrewed deeper into their fearefull conceit, by a cloud appearing of bloud and fire, immediately after his vnaffected Coronation.

(4) The next yeere, those rousing Danes entred the British Seas, and coasting to Cornwall destroyed there the Abbey of Saint Patrick, Portland in Devonshire, and many other places vpon those shores, the like was done vnto Cheshire by the Norway-Pirates, which broke into those parts in the same yeare.

(5) And these calamities were seconded with others as fearefull, for in the yeare 982. the City London was miserably destroyed and defaced by fire, whose beauty then chiefly extended from Ludgate westward; for, that within the walles, and where the

R r r 2

heart

An. Do. 980.

Polyehr. lib. 8. c. 13.

An. Do. 981.

Simon Dun.

Ran. Higden.

An. Do. 982.

Th. Rudburne,
John Stow.

Polychron. lib. 6. cap. 13.

W. Malmesbury.
Mat. Westmister
Simon Dun.
An. Do. 989.

An. Do. 991.

Mat. Westmister.
Polychron. lib. 6. cap. 13.An. Do. 992.
W. Malmesbury.Elfrick Earle of
Mercia.

An. Do. 993.

Simon Dun.
Polychron.
Mat. Westmister.A Fleet of Danes
on the Thames
besiege London.

heart of the City is now, was then neither beautiful, nor orderly built; what time also raged a sickness till then unknowne in England, which was a strong burning fever, and bloody fluxe, as also scarcity of victuals, and murraine among cattle. This hand of God thus correcting the finnes of all, was received as sent for the offences of some few, and wholly imputed to the King and his Ralliers; Dunstan still prophesying further woes to the land, when himselfe should be dead.

(6) The Danes hereupon more boldly assaulted each shore, and in so many places at once, that the English were to fecke, where first to withstand. In the West they were encountered by Goda Earle of Devonshire, as faith Simon Dunelmensis, by whom they were overthrown, though with the losse of his life, as also of Stermolda man of great esteeme and valour in those parts, who served there vnder him.

(7) In the East their leaders Tuftine and Guthmond warred with better success; for at Malden in Essex they gaue Brightnod the Earle, a great and bloody battaile, wherein himselfe with most of his people were slaine. The Danes thus prospering, more boldly went forward; and where they set their tallants, there they held fast, and lay on the land like vnto Grasshoppers. These euils King Ethelred could not redresse, his strengthes being small, and his subiects affections lesse; therefore calling to Counsell his Statesmen & Peeres, demanded their aduice what was best to be done. Some few of these proffered the King their assistance, but more of them perswaded vnto a composition, whereof Siricius Archbishop of Cantebury was chiefe; and in fine, ten thousand pounds paid to the Danes for their departure.

(8) This golden Mine once entered, was more eagerly digged into, by these still-thirsting Danes, who finding the branch so beneficiall at first, hoped the veine in following, would proue farre more bountifull, and therefore regardless of promise, the next yeere prepared themselves againe for England, and with a great fleet dispatched to sea: the newes whereof strucke such terror into the English hearts, that despairing of hope, they accounted themselves the bond-slaves of misery: The King therefore with much adoe prepared a Nauie, whereof hee made Elfrick Earle of Mercia Admirall; who setting from London vnto the seas, had power sufficient to put backe the enemy: but hee once a traitor could neuer proue true; for, hauing been banished, forgiven, and now taken into fauour, found meanes to be false, and to betray his charge; and sending the enemy intelligence of his power and intents, gaue the way to their escape; and another fleet of Danes encountering with the Kings, at first hee faintly and faintly fought against; and lastly, turned to their side; through which treason many Englishmen died, and the Kings Fleet and power was greatly weakened; but he escaping due punishment himselfe, left his sonne to answer the fault, whose eyes King Ethelred caused to be put out.

(9) About which time also another Danish Fleet entering Humber, wasted the countries of Yorkeshire and Lindsey: against these King Ethelred sent his power, vnder the charge of three valiant but trecherous Captaines, namely, Frena, Godwin and Frederic; for the battle but begun, these with their followers fled away, which was the occasion of a great overthrow of the English; notwithstanding the country people notable to digest their intollerable dealings, fell vpon the Danes, flew some, and chased the rest. At what time also other of the Danes with ninety foure ships sailed vp the riuer Thames, and laid their siege against London, giuing it a great assault; but the Citizens thereof so manfully defended themselves, that they chased the Danes thence to their shame and great losse: yet fell they so foule vpon Essex, Kent, Suffex, and Hampshire, that the King was enforced to compound a peace, with the

payment of sixteene thousand pounds: for confirmation whereof, Ethelred sent to Southampton for Anlaf these Norwegians King, and honourably entertained him at Andener, where the same time he received Baptisme, King Ethelred taking him at the Font for his God-sonne, and with great gifts returned into Denmarke without any further harme done to the English.

(10) But God and destiny suffering it, (that would haue the Saxons to fall before the Danes, as formerly the Brittaines had done before them) no covenant could be so surely made, but was slackly in this performed; for albeit this Anlaf honourably kept both faith and promise, yet others of his Country continued their inuasions, and as an other Hydra shewed their still-reuiuing heads.

(11) For the nineteenth yeare of King Ethelreds most troublefome raigne, and of our saluation 997, the Danes with a great fleet sailed about Cornwall, and came into the mouth of Seuern, robbing, as they went, Devonshire, Cornwall, and South-Wales; and marching further into the Continent, consumed Lydford, and the Abby of Saint Oswald at Essingfocke, thence passing through Dorsetshire with fire & sword, found not a man in the way to resist them, and wintering in the wight liued by spoiles gotten in Hampshire and Suffex.

(12) The next Spring they put into the mouth of Thames, and so by the riuer Medway arrived at Rochester: either the Kentish with their strengthes repaired, but vnfortunately fought, and left the field to the Danes, who shortly after hoisted their sailes, & with a merry gale arrived in Normandy.

(13) King Ethelred thus rid of these vnlooked for guests, sought to remove those leigers that lay in Cumberland, whither hee repaired, and with sore warre wasted the Country, before whose sword the Danes were not able to stand; which somewhat encouraged the spirits of his people, and bettered their conceits towards him: but farre this sunne past without a cloud, nor was his successe entailed to be fortunate.

(14) For the next yeare, those Danes that departed from Kent, came now from Normandy with their full sailes, and landing in Exmouth, their first and greatest fury was against the City of Exeter, which when they fiercely besieged, they were so valiantly beaten by the Citizens, as that enraged about measure with the iniquity of that repulse, they thence as a sodaine flood bare downe all that stood in their way; and then plainly beganne to appeare the rise of the Danes, which euery where lorded it, where they had to doe, and the fall of the Saxons, whose ouertopped Monarchy, and weak wailes now wanted props to hold vp the weights; for the Captains of the English (faith Higden) wanting lore in deeds of Arms, their direction neuer prospered; if ships were made they neuer sped well, but were either chased of the enemy, or destroyed by tempest: if the Nobles euer assembled to consult of the State, that time was rather spent in whetting the spleene each against other, then jointly agreeing how to redresse their present danger, or to repress the common enemy: for most of the Nobles were allied into the Danish bloud, whereby not only the secret of those consultations were reuealed, but being employed in seruice, many of them reuolted to the enemy. The Clergy as backward as any, denied the King their assistance, pleading their exemptions from warre, and priuilege of the Church, when the land lay bleeding and deploing for helpe, and scandalized all his other proceedings for demanding their aide: to these were ioined scarcity, hunger and robberies. These miseries caused the summes of their compositions to be augmented, whose last was sixteene thousand, now twenty thousand, immediately twenty four, then thirty, and lastly, forty thousand pounds, vntill the land was emptied of all the coine; the Kingdome of her glory; the Nobles of courage; the Com-

Mat. Westmister.
Simon Dun.

An. Do. 997.

An. Do. 997.

An. Do. 997.

An. Do. 1000.

Roger Huall
Anul. part.Higden.
Cronica.The Clergy
unaccounted.

The effect.

Commons of their content, and the Soueraigne of his wroated respect and obsequence.

(15) The Danes thus prevailing, did not a little glory in their fortunes, and grieved the poore English, whose seruice they employed to eare and till the ground, whilst themselves were idle, & ate the fruit of their paines, abusing the wives and daughters of their hosts where they lay, and yet in euery place for feare and reuerence were called the Lord-Danes, (which afterwards became a word of derision to such sturdy and lazy lozels) so that the like daies of miserie the land neuer felt. To redresse which, the careful King Ethelred was farre too weak, and therefore intending to doe that by policy, which he could not by strength, he deuised a desperate stratagem that proued the destruction of the Saxons roayall bloud, and conquest of the land to another nation.

(16) For seeking to disburden the Realme of these deuouring Danes, which by open force hee could no waies doe; he attempted in a bloody massacre to destroy them, giuing a secret commission vnto euery City within his dominions, that at an appointed time they should set vpon, and kill all the Danes; the day was the thirteenth of November, being the festiual of S. Brictus, the yeare of Christ lesus 1002, and presently after his marriage with Emma, the flower of Normandy, in confidence of which affinity, hee presumed to do what he did. His command was accordingly performed, and with such rigour, that in Oxford the fearefull Danes for refuge tooke into the Church of S. Erideswyd, as into a Sanctuary of venerable antiquity and priuiledge among ancient Kings; but they in fury regarding neither place nor person, let the Church on fire, wherein were burned a great sort of those Danes with many rich ornaments, and the Library thereof vtterly defaced. At which time (if Malmesbury lay true) King Ethelred himself was in that City, and had summoned a Parliament both of Danes and English, with which euen the King was much grieved: and therefore at his very great cost beautifully repaired the Church, and all the losses accruing by the fire, endowing it with large priuiledges and donations, as appeareth by his owne Charter, mentioning the tenour of that Danish slaughter.

In this massacre, Lady Gunhild, sister to Swaine King of Denmarke, a great and continual friend to the English, with her husband and sonne, together were slaughtered, although the lay in hostage vpon conditions of peace, whose husbands name was Palingus (faith Malmesbury) an Earle of great might, & both of them Christians.

(17) Newes brought into Denmarke of this suddaine stratagem, no neede there was to urge them to reuenge, or to adde more fuel vnto that ouer kindled fire; for preparation being made, the yeere ensuing, Swaine with a great Nauy landed in the West, spoiled the Country, and gaue assault to the City of Exeter, which by the treachery of one Hugh a Norman (whom in the fauour of the Queen, King Ethelred had made Gouverneur of that City) he razed and leuelled with the ground, all along from the Eastgate to the West.

This treason and stirres great of themselves, but made much more ruffill in the relating, caused Ethelred presently to muster his men; ouer whom hee made Earle Edrik (for his countenances surname Stretton) his Generall, who bare a braue shew till it came to the path, and day of battle: but then to couer his treason, he fained himselfe sicke, and left his souldiers to shift as they could. The Danes hereupon rifled Wilton, and passing forward tooke Salisbury in their way, to which they were as welcome as water into ships; but hearing that the King himselfe in person was preparing to giue them battle, they left the land, and tooke againe to sea.

(18) The next yeare following, (which was the twenty foure of King Ethelreds raigne, and of grace, one thousand and foure,) King Swaine with a mighty fleet of ships arrived vpon the coasts of Norfolk,

where landing his men, hee made spoile of all before him, and coming to Norwich lacked the City, with great slaughter of the Citizens; then tooke he Thetford, and set it on fire, notwithstanding hee had entred a truce with them: but for want of victuall which then was scarce in the land, he returned to sea, and so into Denmarke.

(19) Where making preparation for another expedition, increased his Nauie and number of men, and the next Spring arrived at Sandwich, miserably desolating the Countries along the sea side, neuer staying in any certain place; but to prevent the Kings Forces roued from coast to coast, euer carrying to their ships their booties and prayes, and to encrease the calamitie, the haruest was neglected, and in many places spoiled, both for the want of labourers, & by the feet of the souldiers which lay in field all that season, who from place to place trauailed, although in vaine.

Towards the Winter the Danes tooke into the Ile of Wight, and in the deepest time thereof, passed through Hampshire, into Barkeshire, vnto Reading, Wallingford, Colecy, and Easington, making clean worke whereouer they came, for that which they could not carry they consumed with fire, with triumphes euer returning to their ships.

(20) The King lying in Shrewsbury, vnable to resist, called to him his Councell, to consult what was best to be done; whereof Edrik was a principall, and in so high esteeme with the King, that he created him Duke of Mercia, and gaue him his daughter Egith in marriage: notwithstanding, these gluts of fauours wrought only the digestion of fallhood in him, who could taft nothing vnlesse it was saued with treason. This man, then the Kings only Achitophel, perswaded him to pay thirty thousand pounds to the Danes for their peace, whereof no doubt some fell into his owne Coffers.

(21) This intollerable imposition extorted of the Subiects especially at that time when the land was least able, made many suspect great matters against Edrik, and some did not feare to accuse him to his face, to be the onely causer of this payment; charging him as ouer-affectionated to the Danes, and to haue bewrayed the Kings secrets and designs vnto them: but hee seated in the heart of his Soueraigne, rubd off this staine with a few fawnings, and a faire shew, being a man in wit subtile, in speech eloquent, and for riches inferior to none, (as those that could turne euen great streames aside) so that these supposals of treasons (as proceeding from enuy to him for his good seruices) wanne him greater trust, and sent he was Ambassador to the Danes to mediate for peace: where revealing the weakness of the land, and the feares which the English conceived of a conquest, treacherously diffwaded them from giuing eare to any motiues of Truce.

(22) The State of the land thus standing, or rather hanging at suspence, King Ethelred gaue order, that out of euery three hundred and ten hides of land a shippe should bee built, and of euery eight hides a complete Armour furnished. These meeting at Sandwich, and furnished with souldiers, made shew of such resistance, as had not bene scene, although the euent was nothing but a shew. For Wilmot a Noble man of Suffex (banished for some offence by King Ethelred) with twenty Sailes roued vpon the coasts, and by Piracy did much hurt among the English Marchants: wherefore Brittrik the brother of Edrik to winne himselfe honour, got the Kings consent to pursue this grand-Pirate, with fourescore saile of the foresaid ships, threatening to bring in Wilmot either dead or aliue: but his sailes being spread vnder a faire wind, a violent tempest sodainly arose, and outrageously droue his shippes vpon shore, where distressed and torne, their beaten hulls lay vnable to recover themselves, or the Sea: Wilmot taking aduantage of this present mishap, fell fiercely vpon them, and after much slaughter of their

Norwich sacked.

An. D. 1005.

Henry Hunt.

An. D. 1006.

The Danes in the
Ile of Wight.

An. D. 1007.

Edrik an vntuall
Councillor.

Simon Dun.

His accusations.

His subtilty.

His treachery.

An. D. 1008.
An. Reg. 30.Henry Hunting.
Simon Dun.

Mat. Westmister.

Brittrik (chasing
Wilmot) crossed
by tempest.

Money paid the Danes.

An.D. 1009.

Three Danish Captivities.

Money paid the Danes.

Three thousand Pound, faith Simon Dun.

Edrick againe perfidious.

An.D. 1010.

Henry Hunt.

The Danes forage the Countreys before them

An.D. 1011.
Henry Hunt.
Vincennes.

Addit. ad Affrill.

W. Lambert, in Paris.

Polychr. li. 6. c. 16.

An.D. 1012.

Money paid the Danes.

An.D. 1013.

their weather-beaten warders, set them all on fire; so that all this preparation proued not onely vaine, but also very hurtfull.

(23) At the receipt of the said thirty thousand pounds, the Danes departed, in semblance satisfied, and friends with the English, but how long that lasted the sequel shewed: for the next harvest, and yeere of saluation 1009, a great fleet of their ships strongly appointed landed at Sandwich, vnder the conduct of three Danish Princes, *Turkil, Henning, and Anlaf*: these coming to Canterbury, were compounded with by the Citizens, paying a thousand pounds for their departure, who thence in the night, *Suffex* and *Hampshire* made hauoke of all.

King *Ethelred* seeing no truth in their promises, nor quietnesse in State, his lande thus exhausted of prouision and coine, thought it best to adventure once for all, and to commit his cause vnto God, by the fortune of warre. To which end hee gathered his power, and comming vnlooked for, when the enemy was altogether vnprepared, and taken at disadvantage, he had made an end of the quarrell if wicked *Edrick* had not perswaded him from fight, and put him into a causellse feare with his forged tales. The Danes thus escaping returned to Kent, and the winter following lodged their ships in the river *Thames*, whence often they gaue affaires for London, though to little purpose.

(24) Then took they through the *Chiltern* woods vnto *Oxford*, which they fired, and in their returne waited all the countreys on both sides of *Thames*, but hearing that London was prepared against them, they crossed ouer at *Stanes*, passing through *Surrey* into Kent, where they fell to amending their ships, and thence sailing about the coasts of *Suffolke*, tooke *Ipswich*, and pitched their battle vpon *Rigmer*, against *Wick* (Governour of *Norfolke*) and his English, vpon the fift of May, where they wonne the day with a great slaughter made of the *Suffolke*, *Norfolke*, and *Cambridge-shire* men, and after harried those Countreys with the borders of *Lincolne* and *Huntington-shires*, burning *Thetford* and *Cambridge*, and rifling all the *Abbies* and Churches that stood in their way, and then through *Essex* returned vnto their ships.

(25) Neither rested they there long in quiet, ere, as people wholly deuoted to spoile, they brake into *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Northampton-shires*, the chief Towne of which last, they fet on fire after much slaughter of the Inhabitants; and thence entring *Wiltshire* depopulated all before them, which was the leauenth Shire in number that they had laid wast like a solitude.

(26) And now not satisfied with spoil nor bloud-spilling, they prepare a new expedition for *Canterbury*, and in September beleaguered the Citie, which by treason of a Church-man they wonne, tooke *Elphegus* the Arch-Bishop, and slew nine hundred Monks and men of Religion, besides many Citizens, without all mercy: for they tithed the captiue multitudes after an inueterd order, slaying all by nines, and reseruing onely the tenth to liue; so that of all the Monkes in the towne there were but foure saved, and of the lay people foure thousand eight hundred, by which account M. *Lambert* collecteth that there died in this massacre forty three thousand and two hundred persons.

The Archbishop *Elphegus*, for that he refused to charge his Tenants with three thousand pounds to pay for his ranfome, they most cruelly stoned to death at *Greenwich* the nineteenth of April following.

Turkillus the Leader of these murtherers, tooke into his possession all *Northfolke* and *Suffolke*, ouer whom he tyrannized in most savage maner. The rest compounding with the English for eight thousand pound forsook a while quiet among them.

(27) But King *Swaine* hearing of the dissensions, and weaknesse of the land, in the yeare of Grace,

1013, with a great number of ships arriued in the mouth of *Humber*, and entring *Trent* landed at *Gainsborough*, whose terror stroke so deepe into the *Northumbrians* conceits, that they with them of *Lyndsey* yeelded themselves to the yoke of his subiection, so that now ouer all the North from *Watlingstreet* he reigned sole King, and exacted pledges from them for their further obedience. From the North hee sought to spread his wings further into the South, and leauing his sonne *Canute* to take charge of his shippes, and new conquered countreys, sped himselfe through *Mercia* to *Oxford* and *Winchester*, bringing all vnder the power of his command: with which gales of his fortunes, hee was so puffed vp, that thinking nothing vnpossible for him and his Danes to doe, in the heat of his courage he came vnto *London*, and presently begit the walles with a frait siege.

(28) In the City lay vnfortunate King *Ethelred*, who (as *Simon Monke* of *Durham* reporteth) had with him, and vnder his pay *Turkillus* the Danish Prince before spoken of, and forty five Danish ships to defend the coasts. King *Swaine* at his first comming fiercely assaulted the City, hoping his fortunes would haue proued as before; but the presence of the King, and London the eye of the land, made the Citizens aboue measure courageous, who beat the Danes from their walles, and falling forth of the Gates, slew them on heapes, so that *Swaine* himselfe was in great danger, had hee not desperately runne through the midst of his enemies, and by flight escaped their swords; marching both day and night in great feare vntill hee had entred *Bath*, where *Ethelmer* Earle of *Deuonshire* with his Westerne people submitted themselves vnto him. But this last ouerthrow, and want of victuals, caused him after he had receiued a certaine summe of money, to hasten into *Denmarke*, mingling with more power, and better advantage to prosecute the quarrell.

(29) Not long it was ere he returned, and immediately was met by the English, where betwixt them was stricke a fierce battaile, which had been with good successe, had not the treasons of some hindered it, in turning to the Danes. King *Ethelred* therefore seeing himselfe, and land betrayed in this manner, to those few true English that were left, he said this speech as followeth.

(30) If there wanted in me a fatherly care, either for the defence of the Kingdome, or administration of iustice in the common wealth, or in you, the courage of Souldiers for the defence of your native Country; then truly silent would I bee for euer, and beare these calamities with a more dejected mind: but as the case stands (be it as it is) I for my part am resolved to rush into the midst of the enemy, and to lose my life for my Kingdome and Crowne. And you (I am sure) hold it a worthy death that is purchased for the liberties of your selues and kindred; and therein I pray you let vs all die, for I see both God and destiny against vs, and the ruine of the English nation brought almost to the last period; for wee are overcome not by weapons and hostile warre, but by treason and domestick fallhood; our Navy betrayed into the Danes hands, our battaile weakened by the revolt of our Captaines, our designs betrayed to them by our owne Counsellors, and they also enforcing compositions of dishonourable peace, I my selfe disesteemed, and in scorn termed *Ethelred* the vnready; your valour and loialties betrayed by your owne leaders, and all our poverty yeerely augmented by the payment of their *Dane-gilt*, which how to redresse God onely knoweth, and wee are to seeke; for if we pay money for peace, yea, and that confirmed by oth, these enemies soone breake it, as a people that neither regard God nor man, contrary to equity and the lawes of warre, or of nations: and so farre off is all hope of better successe, as we haue cause

Simon Dun.

Canute.

London being

Simon Dun.
Mat. Westm.
Henry Hunt.

Polychr.

An.D. 1014.
An. Reg. 15.W. Lambert.
Mat. Westm.

A Battaille betweene Danish English.

Ethelred Oration.

W. Lambert.
Mat. Westm.
Henry Hunt.
Polychr. li. 6. c. 16.

An.D. 1015

W. Lambert.
Mat. Westm.

"to

"to feare the losse of our Kingdom, and you the extinct of the English nations renowne; therefore seeing the enemies are at hand, and their hands at our throats; let vs by foresight and counsell saue our owne liues, or else by courage heare our swords in their bowels: either of which I am willing to enter into, to secure our estate and nation from an irrecoverable ruine.

(31) This lamentable Oration deliuered from the passions of a iustly-penitue King, touched the hearers to the heartes, and almost distracted their afflicted minds: to abide battaile they saw it was bootlesse, the treason of their leaders so many times defeating their victories, to yeeld themselves to the enemy, would but beginne their seruitude and misery, and to flee before them, their eternall ignominy and reproch.

Thus their opinions were canauled, but nothing put in practice, whereas meane while the Danes went forward with victories, and had got the most part of the land, yea and London also by submission; wherewith vnfortunate *Ethelred* more and more dejected, sent his wife *Emma* with his two sonnes by her, vnto her brother *Richard Duke of Normandy*, and for his owne safest refuge committed himselfe vnto *Turkil* the Dane, in whose shippes he remained a while at *Greenewich*, and from thence went into the Isle of *Wight*, where he abode most part of the winter, and thence sailed into *Normandy* to his wife and brother, leauing the Danes lording it in his realm.

(32) These were the daies of Englands mourning, hee being vnable to maintaine her defenders, and yet enforced to nourish and cherish her deuourers: for the Danes in two factions most cruelly afflicted the land like two milstones crushing & grinding the grain. *Swaine* as an absolute King, extorted of the English both victuals and pay for his souldiers; and *Turkil* on the other side, in defence of the English, commanded the like for his ships and men; so that the Danes had all, and the English maintained. Neither were churches free from their spoils, (whom other Conquerors haue held most impious to violate,) but either suffered the flames of their consuming fire, or were forced to purchase their standings with great summes of money. Such composition King *Swaine* demanded for the preferuacion of *S. Edmunds* Monastery in *Suffolke*, which becaue the Inhabitants refused to pay, he threatened spoile both to the place, & to the Martyrs bones there entred; in the midst of which iolity (saith *Houeden*) he suddenly cried out that he was stricken by *S. Edmund* with a sword, being then in the midst of his Nobles, and no man seeing from whose hand it came; and so with great horrour and torment, three daies after vpon the third of February ended his life at *Thetford* (others say at *Gainsborough*;) but with his death died not the title of the Danes, who immediately aduanced *Canute* his sonne for their King.

(33) The English that liked nothing lesse then bondage, especially vnder such tyrannizing intruders, thought now or neuer the time to shake off the yoke; and therefore with great ioy and hast sent into *Normandy* for their native King. *Ethelred* now not vnready for the recouering of his right, foreflew no meane either to hasten or strengthen the enterprise, and hauing the assistance of his brother of *Normandy*, in the Lent following landed in *England*, vnto whom resorted the people from all parts, accounting it their greatest ioy to see the face of their King.

(34) *Canute* then at *Gainsborough*, Souldier-like mustered and managed his men, and holding it good policie to keepe that by bounty, which his father had got by tyranny, made no spare to purchase the hearts of the English, by which meane those of *Lyndsey* became his Creatures, with an agreement to find him both horse and men against their owne King and Country.

Ethelred therefore now raging for reuenge, with a

mighty host entered *Lyndsey*, where hee burnt all the Country, and put the inhabitants to the sword. *Canute* not able to resist this puissant Army, held the sea more safe for him, then the land; and entring *Humber*, sailed to *Sandwich*, where being stricken at the miseries of these his confederates, requited King *Ethelred's* friends with the like, and commanded that those pledges which had beene deliuered by the Nobles vnto his Father, should haue their noses slit, and their hands cut off, which cruelty acted, hee failed to *Denmarke*, as hopelesse of any good issue in *England*.

(35) But *Turkil* the Dane, retained (as we said) into King *Ethelred's* pay, seeing successe so suddenly altered, fore repented him of his revolt from the Danes, and knowing now the time to recouer his reputation, with nine of his shippes sailed into *Denmarke*, instantly importuning *Canute* to address againe for *England*, allading the feares and weaknesse of the people, the beauty and fertility of the land, an *Eden*, in respect of their owne barren feat, and (which did most moue) himselfe would asist, when the English least thought it: with these and the like hee spurred him on, who of himselfe was forward in a full curriere.

Canute therefore with the aide of his brother *Harold*, rigged forth a Naue of two hundred saile, all furnished with souldiers and abilliments of warre, whose terror landed in *England* before him, and his power by report made greater then it was, and to encrease the terror of this fearefull enemy, the sea with a spring-tide brake into this land, and destroyed both townes and many inhabitants, a signe foreshewing (as was thought) the successe of that fleet, borne hitherward vpon those waues; and to encrease the English miseries, thirty thousand pound was then collected by way of Tribute to pay the Danish auxiliary Naue lying before *Greenewich*. The States also conuening in a grand Councell at *Oxford* to determine vpon the great affaires of the Kingdom, were diuided into factions, and two Noblemen of the Danes there murdered by practice of *Edrick* the Traitor. These (I say) were accounted ominous amongst the English, that made each mole-hill to seeme a mountaine, and euery shadow the shew of an enemy.

(36) In the meane while *Canute* had landed at *Sandwich*, and given a great ouerthrow to the English; entred Kent, and by his sword had made way through the Countreys of *Dorset*, *Somerset*, and *Wilton*.

Ethelred lying dangerously sicke at *Colham*, the managing of these warres was transferred to Prince *Edmund* his sonne, who preparing to meete the enemy with his Army in the field, had suddenly notice that *Edrick* his brother in law ment to betray him into his enemies hands; which newes stricke a great astonishment vnto his heart, and caused him to reitrait his host into a place of security, wherby *Edrick* perceiving his trecherous purposes were disclosed, gaue more open prooffe of his intentions, flying to the enemy with forty of the Kings shippes; whereupon all the west Countreys submitted themselves vnto *Canute*.

(37) By this time King *Ethelred* had recouered his sicknesse, and minding reuenge on his most wicked sonne *Edrick*, with purpose to trie his last wicketunes by hazard of fight, summoned all his forces to meete him at a certaine day and place; where being assembled, he was instantly warned not to giue battaile, for that his owne subjects ment to betray him.

King *Ethelred* euer vnfortunate in this, to find treasons amongst them that ought him most trust, withdrew himselfe to *London*, whose seruice against the Danes he had lately seene, and therefore accounted his person most sure in their walles. Prince *Edmund* with his power posted ouer *Humber*, where obtaining Earle *Vred* to side in his quarrell, entred

T t t

He is chased by

Mat. Westm.
W. Lambert.

Turkil inciteth Canute against England.

Canute and his Naue.

Money collected for the Danes.

W. Lambert.
Henry Hunt.
Mat. Westm.
Simon Dun.

Mat. Westm.

Simon Dun.

An.D. 1016.

Londons fidelity.

the Countreys of *Stafford, Leicester, and Shropshires*; not sparing to exercise any cruelty vpon the inhabitants, as a condigne recompence for their revolt. Neither did *Cannut* for his part spare the Kings subiects, but through *Buckingham, Bedford, Huntington, Nottingham, Lincoln, and Yorkshires*, made spoile of all, so that the miserable *English* went to wracke on all sides; in somuch that *Vredalfo* forsaking *Edmund*, became subiect to *Cannut*: whereupon *Edmund* halted to *London* to ioinc his strength with his Fathers, and *Cannut* with no lesse speed failed about the Coasts into *Thamesis*, preparing his Armie for the sieg of *London*.

Ethelred dieth.

The time of his reigning.

His Tombe in S. Pauls in London.

Fox Martyrrolage in King. Egberts life ex lib. J. Jor. nalenf.

Polyer. li. 6. ca. 13.

Elgina the first wife, by name called Elfside.

Emme the second wife.

Ethelstan the eldest sonne.

by vntimely death in the warres of the *Danes*, raging then most extremely, which was the thirthe thord of his Fathers raigne, and of Christs Natiuitie 1011.

(43) *Egbert*, the second sonne of King *Ethelred*, and Queene *Elgina* his first wife, seemeth to haue bene borne two yeeres after his brother *Ethelstan*, in the tenth yeere of his Fathers raigne, and yeere of our Lord 988, and to haue deceased in the very prime of his youth before the death of his father, or of his elder brother, and before hee had done any thing in his life worthy of remembrance after his death.

(44) *Edmund*, the third sonne of King *Ethelred* & Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was borne in the eleuenth yeere of his fathers raigne, and of Grace 989 and of all his fathers Children proued to be the onely man that set his helping hand to the redresse of the estate of his Country distressed by the miserable oppressions of the *Danes*, which hee pursued with such exceeding toile, and restlesse hazards of his body, as he was therefore named *Iron-side*, and when hee had followed those warres with great courage the space of seuentene yeeres vnder his Father, being come to twenty fouen of his owne age, hee succeeded him in his Kingdome and troubles, as presently shall be shewed.

(45) *Edred*, the fourth sonne of King *Ethelred*, and of Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was born about the foureteenth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of Grace 992. His name is continually set downe, as a witness in the testees of his fathers Charters, vntill the thirthe fift yeere of his raigne, by which it appeareth that hee liued vnto the two and twentieth yeere of his owne age, although I find no mention of him, or of any thing done by him in any of our histories, and it seemeth he died at that time, because his name is left out of the Charters after that yeere.

(46) *Edwy*, the fift sonne of King *Ethelred*, and Queene *Elgina* his first wife, suruiued his father and all his brethren, and liued in the raigne of *Cannut* the *Dane*, who being iealous of his new-gotten estate, and fearefull of the dangers that might accrew vnto him by this *Edwy*, and such others of the *English* blood roiall, practised to haue him murdered, which was accordingly done by them, whom hee most fauoured, and least suspected, the yeere of our saluation, 1017.

(47) *Edgar*, the sixt sonne of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was borne about the twentieth yeere of his fathers raigne, being the yeere of our Lord God nine hundred ninctie and eight. He seemeth by the Testees of his fathers Charters, to haue bene liuing in the one and twentieth of his raigne, but being no more found in any of them after, may be supposed by all coniectures, to haue died in, or about the same yeere, being but the eleuenth after his owne birth, and the seuenth before his fathers death.

(48) The eldest daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgina* his first wife, although her name bee not to bee found in any writer of those times, appeareth notwithstanding, to be married to one *Ethelstan*, a Noble man of *England*, who was the principall Commander of *Cambridge-shire* men, at the great battle fought betweene them and the *Danes*, wherein the *English-men* had the ouerthrow; and this sonne in law of King *Ethelred*, with the rest of the chiefe Leaders, were slaine in the yeere of Christs Natiuitie 1010, being the two and thirtieth of his father in lawes raigne.

(49) *Edgith*, the second daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was married to *Edrik* Duke of *Mercia*, who for his courteousnesse in getting was surnamed *Streathstone*: This *Edrik* was the sonne of one *Egelrik* surnamed *Leofwin*, an elder brother to *Egelmere* the grandfather of *Goodwin* Duke of the *West-Saxons*; and being but meanelly borne, was thus highly aduanced by this King; notwithstanding he

Egbert the second sonne.

Edmund the third sonne.

Edred the fourth sonne.

Edwy the fifth sonne.

Edgar the sixt sonne.

The eldest daughter.

Edgith the second daughter.

he was euer a traitor to his Countre, and a fauourer of the *Danes*, betraying both him, and King *Edmund* his sonne to King *Cannut*, that he thereby might gette new preferments by him, who worthily rewarded him as a traitor and put him to death.

(50) *Elfsine*, the third daughter of King *Ethelred* and of Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was the second wife of *Vred* surnamed the *Bold*, sonne of Earle *Waldefe* the elder, Earle of *Northumberland*, by whom shee had one onely child, a daughter, named *Alagith*, married to a Noble-man called *Maldred*, the sonne of *Cinan*; shee was mother of *Coppatricke*, who was Earle of *Northumberland* in the time of *William* the Conquerour, and forced by his displeasure to fly into *Scotland*, where hee abode and was ancestor to the Earles of *Dunbar* and of *March* in that Countre.

(51) *Gode*, the fourth and youngest daughter of King *Ethelred* and Queene *Elgina* his first wife, was first married to one *Walter de Maigne* a Noble-man of *Normandy*, greatly fauoured by King *Edward* her brother, who liued not long after the marriage, and left issue by her a sonne named *Rodulfe*, whom King *Edward* his vncle created Earle of *Hereford*. This Earle *Rodulfe*, died the one and twentieth of December, in the thirteenth yeere of his vnclcs raigne, and was buried at *Peterborough*; leaving issue a young sonne named *Harald*, created afterwards by King *William* the Conqueror, Baron of *Sudeley* in the Countie of *Gloucester*, and Ancestor to the Barons of that place succeeding, and of the Lord *Chandois* of *Sudeley* now being. This Lady *Gode*, after the decease of the said *Water de Maigne*, was remarried to *Euface* the elder,

Earle of *Bulbigne* in *Picardy*, a man of great valour in those parts of *France*, and a most faithfull friend to King *Edward* her brother; which Earle was grand-father to *Godfrey of Bulbigne*, King of *Ierusalem*; albeit it seemeth he had no issue by this Lady.

(52) *Edward*, the seuenth sonne of King *Ethelred*, and his first by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was borne at *Islupe* in the Countie of *Oxford*, and brought vp in *France* all the time of his youth; with his vnclc *Richard* the third of that name, Duke of *Normandy*, mistrusting his safety in *England* vnder King *Cannut* the *Dane*, although hee had married his mother; but hee found the time more dangerous by the vlage of his brother *Elfred*, at his being heere in the raigne of King *Harald* (sonne of the *Dane*). Notwithstanding hee returned home, when *Hardiknut* the other sonne (being his halfe brother) was King, and was honourably receiued and entertained by him, and after his death succeeded him in the Kingdom of *England*.

(53) *Elfred*, the eight sonne of King *Ethelred*, and his second by Queene *Emme* his second wife, was concuied into *Normandie* for feare of King *Cannut*, with his eldest brother *Edward*, and with him returned into *England* to see his mother, then being at *Winchester*, in the second yeere of King *Harald* surnamed *Harefoote*; by whose practize hee was trained towards *London*, apprehended by the way at *Guilford* in *Surrey*, deprived of his cie-fight, and committed prisoner to the Monastery of *Elie*; his *Normans* that came with him most cruelly murdered, and hee himselfe soone after deceasing, was buried in the Church of the said Monasterie.

Edward the seuenth sonne.

Elfred the eight sonne.



EDMUND SVRNAMED IRON-SIDE THE THIRTIE THREE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS WARRES, ACTS, RAIGNE, WIFE, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XLV.



Edmund, the third sonne of King *Ethelred*, and the eldest liuing at his Fathers death, succeeded him both in his dominions, & in his troubled estate against the *Danes*; entering his gouernement in the moneth of *April*, and crowned at *Kingston* vp

on *Thamesis*, by *Liuingus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the yeere of mans saluation 1016. Notwithstanding, a great part of the *English*, considering the pusill-fance of the *Danes*, both feared and fauoured *Cannut*, especially, a great part of the Clergy, who at *Southampton* ordained him their King, swearing to him the fealty of true subiection; but the *Londoners* stood most firme to Prince *Edmund*, and were principall Actors for his election.

(2) In ruengu whereof *Cannut* who had besieged

Henry Hunting.
Simon Dun.Proffer of single
combat.An.D.1016.
In the Rogation
weekes.

Polydor.

Simon Dun.
Mait. Wess.Wm. Malmesbury.
Edrich's canon.

Edrich excus.

ged the Citie before the death of King *Ethelred*, caused his ships now to be towed, and drawne vp the *Thames* vnto the west side of the bridge, and from the river with a deepe and large Trench encompassed the City, shutting vp all entrance or egress of any: but the Citizens manfully stood in resistance, whereto the comming of their new King for their succour, did not a little encourage them, and daunted the *Danes*, who now thought it best to breake vp their siege and be gone: and the rather (saith the Author of *Encomium Emmae*) for that King *Edmund* sent *Canute* a peremptory challenge of single combat, which he neither accepted, nor yet staied the siege to trie his chance; but waying his anchors failed along the Coast to the Ile of *Sheepie*, where he wintred with his Naue and men.

(3) But loth to lose opportunity, when time serued for warres, on the fodeine he assailed the west of *England*, and brought much of those parts vnder his command: to meet whom the restlesse *Ironside* prepared, and with such small power as his leasure would admit to leaue, he halted into *Dorsetshire*, where *Canute* was forwarding his owne fortunes, and at *Penham* neere *Gillingham*, each met other in the field, wherein a fore battaile was fought, and bloody to the *Danes*, where many of them were put to the sword, and the rest to flight.

(4) *Canute* immediately tooke into *Winchester*, to secure himselfe from danger, and the rest elcaped towards *Salisbury*, and there begit the Citie with a strait siege. King *Edmund* as ready to faue, as they to destroy, made presently thitherward with his small and ouercured company, whom *Canute*, waiting for aduantage, followed with a great host, and in *Worcestershire*, at a place called *Sherston*, in the fight of his enemy pitched his battaile. To the aide of *Edmund* came many of the *English*, so that his Army was greatly encreased, and their courages inhaunted, which made the *Danish* souldiers somewhat droope.

(5) Notwithstanding, vpon the twentieth of *June*, 1016. their battailes ioined, and with equall fortune continued all the day, vntill the night constrained them to part.

(6) But their blood not cold, the next day they buckled together againe with no lesse courage then before, till at length the *Danes* were going down, & the *English* in great forwardnes of victory: which when the Traitor *Edrik* perceived, he cut off the head of a souldier, whose name was *Osmear*, like vnto King *Edmund* both in haire and countenance, and shaking his bloody sword with the halfe-galping head, cried vnto the host of the *English*: *Flie yee wretches, flie, and get away for your King is slaine, behold here is his head, therefore seeke now to saue your owne liues.*

(7) But *Edmund* hauing present notice of this treacherous stratageme, and seeing his men ready to giue ouer the fight, hastened himselfe where he might be best seene, encouraging his Army to stand to it like true *Englishmen*, and posting from ranke to ranke, both performed the parts of a wise General, and vnderwent the dangers of the meanest souldier: his men seeing his presence, & the apparant treachery of Duke *Edrik*, bent their bows against the traitour, and had shot him to death, had he not presently auoided to the enemy: but the night approaching, parted againe the battaile of this second day: Duke *Edrik* excusing his fact, as being meerely mistaken in the countenance of the man, and thirsting to faue the blood of the *English*, was taken againe into fauour, and bare himselfe outwardly faire for his Country.

(8) The third day appearing, both the Armies prepared for battaile, but yet stood still without any attempt, onely refreshing their wearied, and almost tired bodies, and burying the dead slaine in the two daies fights before.

(9) The night following, *Canute* in great si-

lence brake vp his Campe, and marched very fast towards *London*, against whose Citizens he carried great spleene, and most earnestly desired the conquest of the Citie, which in a fort was still besieged by the *Danish* ships.

(10) The Centinels the next morning certified King *Edmund* (who was addressing himselfe for the battaile) of the luddaine departure of his enemies, whereupon he was ready to prevent their designs, followed them by tract euen vnto *London*: where with small adoe, hee removed their siege, and entered the City in manner of triumph. The *Danes* thus discomfited, great hope was conceiued, that these faire proceedings would haue a prosperous end.

(11) *Edmund*, therefore following the aduantage of their discouragements, two dayes after at *Brentford* bad them their battaile, and that with their great ouerthrow, notwithstanding, in passing the *Thames* at the same place, he lost many of his men, who were drowned before they could recouer the shore: vpon which losse the Traitor *Edrik* plaied, who earlt had much feared the downfall of the *Danes*. For hereupon hee perfwaded his brother in law King *Edmund* to come to truce with *Canute*, which as he confidently affirmed, should be to the great benefite and contentment of *Edmund*: *Canute* himselfe so plotting it, that by his meanes hee might continue his hopes, and bring his enemy into his danger.

(12) The affaires thus standing, King *Edmund* returned into the West, and *Canute* with spoiles vnto his shippes that were in *Medway*, not far from *Rochester*, where hea while lay still to learne what *Edmund* meant to doe; who contrariwise louing nothing lesse then to linger his businesse, made preparation against those truce-breakers that had waited the Country in their returne, and with a great Army entred *Kent*, where he pitched down his tents neere vnto *Oxford*.

Canute, who had prepared himselfe in most warlike array to meete his approach, beganne the battaile in a furious manner, which continued verie bloody for foure howres space, vntill the foot of his vaward beganne to shrink, which when hee perceived, he drew his horsemen for their aide: but whilest the one gaue hastily back, & the other made as slowly forward, the array of the whole army was broken, and the *Danes* slaine on all hands: for it is reported that *Canute* lost foure thousand five hundred men, and King *Edmund* onely fix hundred; the rest of these *Danes* trusting to their legs, whom if *Edmund* had pursued in chase, it is thought, that day had ended the warres betwixt those two Nations for euer: but Destiny, that would haue the *Saxons* downe, who had raised themselves by the fals of the *Britaines*, made *Edrik* her instrument, & mall of the *English*, who kept King *Edmunds* hasty foot from following his enemies, by guilefull vrging the danger of ambush, and the ouer-wearied bodies of his souldiers, so that *Canute* thereby had leasure in safety to passe ouer into *Essex*.

(13) Where beginning againe, with the increase of his power to depouile all the Country before him, brought feare to the inhabitants, and to himselfe submission of many *English*. King *Edmund* therefore made preparation thitherward, and at *Asldone* three miles from *Saffron-Walden*, gaue battaile to *Canute*, wherein a bloody slaughter ensued, though a while with equal chance of foile or of victory, vntill lastly the *Danes* beganne to giue backe, which when the euer-treacherous *Edrik* perceived, he went with his strength, vnto their side, and maintained their battaile, which otherwise was at point to be lost, whereby the *Danes* regained the day, and the betrayed *English*, the ouerthrow. There died of *Edmunds* Nobility, Duke *Alfred*, Duke *Godwin*, Duke *Athelward*, Duke *Athelwin*, and Earle *Vrechell*, with *Cadnoth* Bishop of *Lincolne*, and *Wolfe* Abbot of

Canute marched
to London.Dislodged by
Edmund.Edrik's wild
counsel.

Henry Hen.

Edmund's prepa-
rations.Polydor.
Fabian.
Ran. Higden.
Mait. Wess.
Henry Hen.
Wm. Malin.A battaile be-
tweene Edm-
und & Canute.Wm. Malin.
Simon Dun.
Ran. Higden.

of *Ramsay*, besides other of the Clergy that were come thither to pray for the preservation of the King and his Army. The remembrance of which field is retained vnto this day, by certain small hills there remaining, whence haue bene digged the bones of men, Armour, and the water-chaines of horse-brides.

(14) King *Edmund* thus traitorously forced to retire from the field, on foot marched vnto *Gloucester* with a very small Army, leaving *Canute* ouer-swollen in conceit for this his great victorie, vnto whom then the *Londoners* submitted, and so did many other great townes of Name; after which hee followed *Edmund* into the West; who now like a Tygar robbed of her Whelpes, seeking the reuenge of his lost day, gathered a most puissant Army, meaning to trie the vttermost chance of Fate, or Battaille. Their hostes meete at *Dearhurst* neere vnto the river *Seuerne*, where they were resolutely bent to establish the ones title with the others downefall; and now being ready to ioyne, a certaine Captaine of vncertaine name, stept forth (as is reported) betwixt the two Armies, and vttered in effect this speech.

"(15) Many battailes haue bene fought, and too much blood already spilt for the foueraignie of this Land, betwixt these two fierce Nations, and the valours of the Generals, Captaines and Souldiers sufficiently tried; wherein euen fortune her selfe seemeth to haue bene conquered; for if one Battaille were wonne, it was not long kept, neither the loser so weakened, but that hee had both courage and power to winne the next: what is the marke then that you aime at? is it honour and fame? Titles indeed which accompany war; but neither long enjoyed, nor much attained vnto by the common Souldiers, by whose valours and blood it is for the most part wonne. Let him therefore that would weare the Diademe, beare the hazard himselfe, without the confusi-on of so many men, and either trie the fortune of a single combat, who shall command, and who obey, or diuide betwixt them the Kingdome, which may suffice two, that hath main-tained seuen.

(16) Some affirme that this speech was Duke *Edriks*, but I hardly beleue so good a motion should proceede from so bad a man; by whom so euer vttered, it was acceptably received by *Edmund* and *Canute*, who thereupon in sight of their Armies, entred into a small Island, embraced about with the armes of *Seuern*, called *Aney*, adioyning vnto the City *Gloucester*, where those princes in complete Armour at first assailed each other most dangerously on horsebacke, and after as valiantly on foot. The *Ironside* was strong, and fought for his Kingdome; the *Dane* not so tall, but euer-y way as stout, fought for his honour, and so the combat continued with an absolute resolution, till at length *Canute* hauing received a dangerous wound and seeing himselfe overmatched in strength, wished a compromise, and thus spake to *Edmund* with a loud voice.

"What necessity should thus moue vs most valiant Prince, that for the obtaining of a Title, we should thus endanger our liues? better it were to lay ma-tice and Armour aside, and to condescend to a lo-ving agreement: let vs therefore now become sworn brothers, and diuide the Kingdome betwixt vs, and in such league of amity, that each of vs may vse the o-thers part as his owne; so shall this land be peace-ably governed; and we jointly assistant to each others necessity.

Whereupon they both cast downe their swords, embracing as friends with the great ioy and shou-ting of both their Armies, who stood before doubt-fully waivering betwixt hope and feare, and looking for their owne fortunes, according to the successe of their Champions.

Thus was the Kingdome diuided betwixt those two Princes; *Edmund* enioying that part that lay coasted vpon *France*, and *Canute* entring vpon the rest.

(17) Thus then the *Saxon* Monarchy spent to the last period, and their tottering crowne fast grasped with a hard *Danish* hand, was suddenly yorne from the *Ironside* helmet, by his plotted and hastned death. For Duke *Edrick* a very compound of treachons, glutted with the fauours of both the Kings, to strue himselfe deeper into *Canute* his conceit, continued the end of renowned *Edmund*: who being retired to a place for natures necessity, was thrust from vnder the draught into his body with a sharpe speare; which done, the treacherous *Edrick* cutting off his Soueraignes head, presented it to *Canute* with these fawning salutations. *All hail, thou now sole Monarch of England; for, here behold the head of thy Copartner, which for thy sake I haue adu-entured to cut off.*

Canute, though ambitious inough of soueraignie-ty, yet of princely disposition, abashed, & fore grie-ued at so vnworthy and disloyall an attempt, repli-ed, and vowed, that in reward of that seruice, the brin-gers owne head should be aduanced about all the peeres of his kingdome. Which high honour whiles this pro-digious wretch greedily expected, (and indeed for atime, saith *Malmesbury*, hee found some shew of fa-our with the King:) soone after, by the Kings com-mand, his head bad his shoulders farewell, and was placed vpon the highest Gate to ouerlook London.

(18) The traitorous death of this worthy Prince, as some affirme, was acted at *Oxford*; yet the Au-thor that wrote *Encomium Emmae*, and liued the same time, blancheth the matter, saying that hee died of a naturall death in *London*: God minding his owne doctrine, that a Kingdome diuided in it selfe, cannot long stand, and pitying the *English*, tooke away *Edmund*, lest if the Kings had continued long together, they should both haue liued in danger, and the Realme in continuall trouble.

That hee died in *London*, *Simon* the Monke of *Durham* agreeeth, and saith further, it chanced a-bout the Feast of *S. Andrew*: and *Marianus* is of the same opinion, being the yeere of Christ, 1016. When soeuer, or howe soeuer, his Raigne was but se-uen monethes, and his body buried at *Glastebury*; neere vnto his Grandfather King *Edgar*.

(19) He was of personage tall, for courage, har-dy, strong of limmes, and well could endure the trauels of warre, in so much that some deeme the surname *Ironside*, giuen him onely vpon that occa-sion. With him fell the glory of the *English*, and the aged body of their fore bruiued Monarchy seemed to bee buried with him in the same Sepul-chre.

His wife.

(20) *Algoth*, the wife of King *Edmund*, was the widow of *Sigeferth*, the sonne of *Engin* a *Danish* Nobleman of *Northumberland*; which *Sigeferth*, with his brother *Morcar*, was murdered at *Oxford* by the treason of the neuer-faithfull *Edrik*: & this Lady being of great beauty, and noble parentage after the death of her husband, and the seizure of his lands, was by King *Ethelred*, committed in charge to the Monastery of *Malmesbury*, where *Edmund* seeing her, grew in great loue, and there married her a-gainst the liking of his father, in Anno. 1015.

His issue.

(21) *Edward* the eldest son of King *Edmund*, and Queen *Algoth* his wife, was surnamed the *Outlaw*, be-cause hee liued out of *England* in *Hungary* as a bani-shed man, through the raigne of *Canute*, and of his sonnes the *Danes*. But when his vncle King *Ed-ward* the *Confessor*, had obtained the *English* crown, hee

The Kingdome
parted between
them.Edmund mur-
dered.
A speeche
Higden.Canute puni-
sheth the traitors

Wm. Malmesbury.

Old Manu-
fact.
Ran. Higden.Simon Dunel.
Marian. Scotus.
Edmunds raigne.
Polydor.The feature of
Edmund.Edward the out-
law.

His wife.

he was by him recalled, and most honourably in his Court enterained, till lastly, hee was taken away by death in the City of London, the yeere of Christ, 1057. He married *Agatha* sister to Queene *Sophia*, wife to *Salomon* King of Hungary, and daughter to the Emperour *Henrie* the second; by whom hee had *Edgar*, surnamed *Etheling*, confirmed heire apparant by *Edward Confessor*, his great Vncle; which title notwithstanding, proceeded no further, for that hee was depriued thereof by *Harold* his Protector.

His daughters.

The daughters of this *Edward*, as after shall be said, were *Margaret* and *Christina*, the younger of which became a valed Nunne at *Ramsay* in *Hampshire*, where shee in that deuotion spent her life, and was there interred.

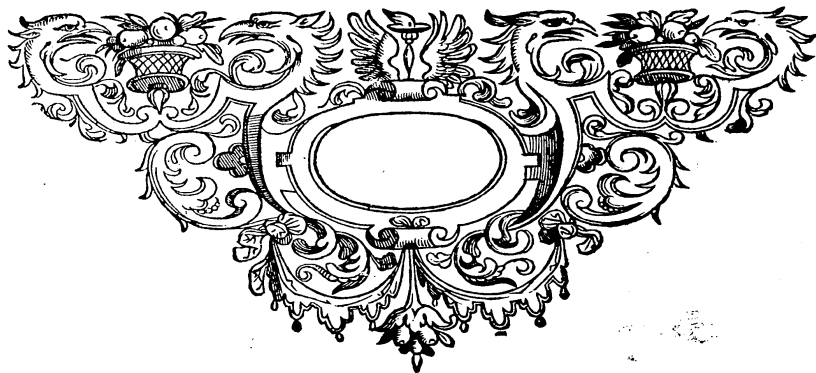
Margaret the elder, and afterward sole heire vnto the *Saxon* Monarchy, married *Malcolme* the third of that name, King of *Scotland*, and commonly called *Canmore*: from which princely bed in a lineall descent, our high and mighty Monarch, King *JAMES* the first, doth in his most roiall person vnite the *Britaines*, *Saxons*, *English*, *Normans*, and *Scot-*

tish imperiall Crownes in one.

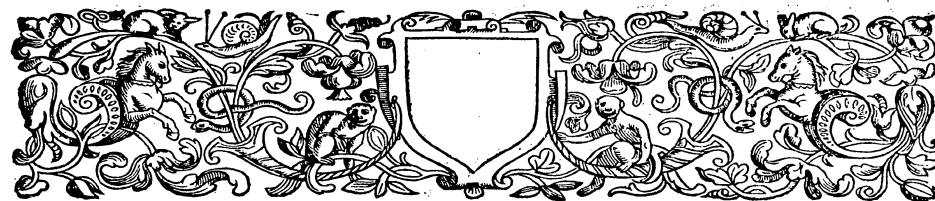
(22) *Edmund*, the second and yongest sonne of King *Edmund*, and of Queene *Algeith* his wife, after his fathers decease being a Child, was with his brother *Edward*, sent by *Canute* to *Olave* King of *Sweden* his halfe brother, to the intent, that he by murder should make them both away: but this King taking pittie on the innocent Childrens estate, sent them to *Salomon* King of *Hungarie*, to the intent to haue them saued, where they were receiued with great fauour and honour: and *Mathew* of *Westminster* reporteth, that this Prince married the daughter of the same King; and other Writers of these times, that he died in the same Country without any issue of his body.

(23) These two sonnes of the *Ironside* thus posted away, and the crowne already set vpon the *Danes* head, had not the meanes of themselves to displace it, nor the *English*, hearts to assit them to their right: so that they rather secured themselves from violent deaths in this their exile, then made claime to that which was vnrrecoverable, and left the *Danes* quietly to possesse the land, which so long they had molested with their sturdy Armes.

The End of the Seuenth Booke.



THE



THE ORIGINALL OF THE DANES. THEIR MANNERS. RELIGION, AND INVASIONS OF ENGLAND, THE RAIGNES OF THEIR KINGS HERE, VNTILL THE CROWNE REVERTED AGAINE TO THE SAXONS; WORNE BY KING EDWARD THE CONFESSOR, AND AFTER HIM BY HAROLD THE LAST KING OF THEIR RACE.

CHAPTER I.



The Spirit of God in his sacred writings, to shew his all-commanding power ouer Kingdomes and Nations, compareth the transmigrations of people from country to country, vnto the transfusion of wine from vessel to vessel: and those that are at rest with sinne, to the settling vpon their lees, as *Noah* did, against whom hee cursed that hand that was negligent in his worke of reuenge, and the sword that was not sheathed in their blood. Euen so the sinnes of the *Saxons* growne now to the full, and their dregs as it were suncke vnto the bottome, they were emptied by the *Danes* from their owne vessels, and their bottles broken that had vented their red & bloody wines: in lieu whereof, the Lord then gaue them the cuppe of his wrath, whose dregs hee had formerly (by their own hands) wrung out vpon other nations.

(2) For these *Saxons* that had enlarged their kingdomes by the blood of the *Britaines*, and built their nests high vpon the Cedars of others, (as the Prophet speaketh) committed an euill couerousnesse vnto their owne habitations, and were stricken by the same measure that they had measured vnto others. When as the *Danes* often attempting the lands inuasion; and the subuersion of the *English* estate, made way with their swords through all the Prouinces in the realme; and lastly advanced the crowne vpon their owne helmets; which whiles it so stood, was worne with great honour, especially of *Canute* the first and their greatest.

(3) Astonishing this Nations originall, and first place of residing, seeing themselves know nothing at all, we cannot determine, but supposing them with *Franciscus Irenicus*, to be a branch of the ancient *Germans*, and knowing them by the testimonies of al others, to inhabit in the same Country among

them, we need not to doubt, but that their conditions and customes were much alike. Of the former, what we haue obserued, is already set downe, where we spake of our *Saxons*; & now of these later, what is supposed for truth shall be produced.

(4) These *Danes* so often mentioned by our historians, for the great afflictors of the *English* state and peace, were a people descended from the *Seythians*, as *Andrew Velleius* a learned *Danish* Writer reporteth: but *Dudo* of *S. Quintin* (an ancient Author) will haue them to come from *Scandia*, an Iland situated north-ward, not farre from the continent of *Denmarke*: which his opinion seemeth vnto some to be strengthened by *Ptolemie* the *Alexandrian*, who in his Geography placeth the people *Dauciones* (the supposed Ancestors of those *Danes*) in this Iland *Scandia*, at such time as himselfe wrote, which was in the raigne of *Hadrian* the Emperour, and about the yeere of Christs natiuitie 133. But whereof the root had beginning, the branches did farre spread themselves into the vpper *Germany*, and parts of *Normay*, and *Sweyden*, whose faire fruit more particularly filled that promontory, which tongue-like lieth into the Ocean on the north, being anciently called of the learned, *Cimbria Chersonesus*, where, (as *Tacitus* saith) was the uttermost end of Nature, and of the world; a strange conceit indeed; and yet more strange was their opinion, who were persuaded that the sound and noise of the Sunne was there heard at his daile rising and setting in those seas. But from more warrantable witnesses it is reported, that this was the very place which the *Tutes* and *Angles* abandoned, when they removed their Colonies for *Britaine*.

(5) In this place then the *Danes* laid first the foundation of their Kingdom; which, from the word *Mare*, signifying not a limit, but a region, was named *Den-marck*. But touching the former part of that compounded name, the truth and original occasion is not so soone found out: for the searching eye of truth hath long since scene into the receiued fable of *Danm* their first King, and Giant-like sonne of *Humblus*, though

And. Velleius.
Dudo, S. Quint.

Ptol. Geograp.
where some read
Dauciones.

Tacit. Hist. Germ.

Andrew Vell'g.

*Verfegem. Ant.
cap 6.*

though *Verfegem* of late holds it more certaine in the fearch of originals, to follow the grounded opinion that ancient Tradition hath held, then at random to feeke them elfe-where: as thefe *Danes* (faith he) from *Dan*, and the *Britaines* from *Brute*; which truly for truth I hold much alike, and will herein make doubt as many more of riper judgement before me haue done.

*Iofephus Antiq.
lib. 18. cap. 6.*

(6) For *Goropius Becanus* deduceth the name *Dane* from *Da-hen*, fignifying a Henne, or rather (as fome will) a fighting Cocke; *Iunius*, from *Den*, fignifying Firre-trees, which doe there abound. *Andrew Vellej* from a people in *Seythia* named *Dabæ*, of whom *Iofephus* maketh mention in his eighteenth booke, and placeth them by the *Sace*.

Jonas Iacob.

Ethelward our English hiftorian will haue them named from the faire City *Dovia*. And *Ionas Iacobus Venufinus*, a diligent fearcher of Antiquities, out of *Pomponius Mela*, findeth the names of certaine *Bays*, opening into thofe parts, which now the *Danes* inhabite, to haue bene ancientlie written *CDAN* and *CDANONVM*; which Orthographic and Pronuntiation to the Latines was both harfh and hard, and therefore they added a vowel, and wrote it *CODANVM* and *CODANONIA*, whereof (it may be thought) thefe people giuen much to piracies, were knowne and called by that name, as breaking out of thofe *Codanian* fea. Some others from *Protonie* haue thought, that from his *Danciones* placed in *Scandia*, and corruptly fo written for *Danciones*, the name of thefe *Danes* hath bene deriued; whereto the necceffity of the place induceth much.

Cambd. Brit.

Dudo.

(7) For Nations Originals may well bee compared vnto a fpring, whose current furcharged with continuall fupply of more, firft filleth the neere Channells; which done, they paffe further, and at length are (oftentimes) diuided into many and great ftreames: and euen fo thefe *Danes*, (faith *Dudo* of *S. Quintins*) after they had in heat, and lafciuious luft ingendred an innumerable offspring, fwarmed out of *Scandia* like bees out of their hives, & that both on diuers occasions, and in very barbarous manner; for growne to ripenefle of yeeres, & falling at ftrife with their Fathers and Grand-fires, yea, and moft commonly, among themfelues for lands and liuely-hood, neceffity compelled them to difburden the land thus ouerflowed, for the better maintenance of the refidue, and to banifh by lot (after their ancient cuftome) a multitude of their youth, that might conquire by their fwords, in forraigne Realmes, places to liue in.

Thefe then thrust out of their owne, fell vpon other lands with no leffe danger then the falling of a fword out of the fheath, or rather, as the breaking

in of a tempeftuous fea vpon the neighbouring grounds, fore diftreffing their neighbour nations, & among them *England* not the leaft, as fhall be faid.

(8) And yet their name was not much notified to the world before the raigne of *Iuftinian* the Emperour, about the yeere of mans faluation, 570, but then rousing vpon the coasts of *England*, & *France*, in exercifing Piracies, were noted by writers by the name *Wiccings*, for that *Wiccings* in the *Saxon* tongue, as *Africius* witneffeth doth fignifie a Pirate; they were alfo called *Pagani*, for that they were not Christians; but by the *English* *Denifcan*, and alfo *Heathen-mon*, as being *Ethnickes*.

(9) The manner of their Religion, or rather fuperftition and Idolatry, was much like vnto the other *Germans* and *Saxons*, whose principall God and Nationall reputed-Patron, was *Thur*, vnto whom the fourth day of the weeke for his feruice was afsigned, whereof as yet it beareth his name *Thursday*; who in his robes was fet vpon a fumptuous bed, the Canopie whereof was befpanned with ftarres of gold; vnto him they performed their chiefe deuotions, and afcribed al their fortunes in their affaires; as the forefaid *Dudo* doth more particularly relate.

They (faith he) facrificed vnto *Thur*, whom they worfhipped in old time as their Lord, for whom they killed not many fheepe, oxen, or other cattle, but offered vnto him mens blond, thinking that to be the moft pretious oblation of all others; whom, when the Priest by cafting of lots had deftinated to death, they were all at once deadlie fmitten vpon the head with oxe-yokes; and euerie one thus choften for lot, hauing as one ftoke his braines dafhed out, was laid along on the ground, and there with a narrow prying was fought out the *Fibra*, or veine of the heart on the left fide, whence drawing the blond, as their cuftome was, and therewith befmeared the heads of their deereft friends, forthwith they boife failes, thinking their Gods well pleafed with fuch facrifices, and fore-deeming happie fucceffe to their intended voiage.

(10) *Diemar* the Bifhop (fomewhat ancienter then *Dudo*) recordeth another deteftable fuperftition vied by the *Danes* to purchafe the fauour of their Gods. Because (faith he) I haue heard wonderfull reports of the ancient facrifices which the *Danes* and *Normans* vfed, I will not let them paffe untouched. In thofe parts there is a place, and the chiefe it is of that Kingdome, called *Lederum*, in a Province named *Selon*, where euerie ninth yeare, in the month of January, after the time in which we celebrate the Natiuitie of our Lord, they all afsemble together, and there they kill and facrifice vnto their Gods ninety and nine men, and as many horfes, with dogs, and alfo cocks, in ftead of hawkes, afjuring themfelues that hereby their Gods are fully pleafed and pacified. And thus much may ferue for a taft and view of their cuftoms, names and originals.

Cambd. Brit.

*The Religion
the Danes.*

Verfegem.

Dudo.

Cambd. Brit.



THE



THE DANES FIRST ATTEMPTS AGAINST ENGLAND.

CHAPTER II.



Hough many were the Piracies of the *Danes* on the coasts of *France* and this our Island in former times; yet their arriual heere, which gaue firft breath to their enfuing conquefts, was not till the wane of the *Saxon* Monarchie, about the yeere of Christs Incarnation feuen hundred eighty feuen, in the raigne of *Brightrik* King of the *West-Saxons*: in whose dominions, after fome proffer at *Portland*, they firft came to land at *Teigne-mouth* in *Devon-shire*; being lent then with three Ships onely, to efpie the wealth of this Countie, the forces of the Inhabitants, the commodities of the Hauens, and aduantage of arriual for a greater power, which was to follow them. The Kings Lieutenants and Prefect for that place, vnderftanding of their landing, went himfelfe to demand the reafon thereof; and attempting to lay hands on fome to carrie them to the Kings prefence, hee was there flaine; which they tooke as a fortunate prefage of the victories wherewith they afterward ouerran this Kingdome; though for the prefent the inhabitants enraged with the loffe of their Chiefe, addreffing them in great numbers to reuenge, forced fome to lofe their liues by the fword, the reft to fawe them by flight to their fhips.

(2) Norwithftanding their former preparations, they were contented to deferre their returne till the dayes of *King Egbert*, whose raigne (as elfewhere we haue touched) they diquieted with three feuerall inuafions; the firft in the North, the fecond in *Wales*, the laft in *Kent*; in all which, the King though with many loffes, and hazards of his owne perion, yet with great refolutions perfifted, till hee had difburdened his land of fo dangerous guefts. But thofe *Flefh-flies* hauing once taftef the fweet, though often beaten off, would not long bee kept away, but could eafily take, or make occasions of freft attempts; infomuch that after their firft footing they continued here their cruelties, rapine and fpoile the fpace of two hundred and eightene yeeres, neuer intermitting, till they had got the garland vpon their owne heads. The way whereunto was made vpon this enfuing occafion.

(3) *Osbright* a *Northumbrian* Viceroy, deputed by the *West-Saxons*, by chance, as hee followed his difport in Hunting, came to the houfe of a Noble man, named *Beorn-Bocador*, whose Lady of paffing feature (in his abfence) gaue him honourable entertainment, and intertained both himfelfe and traine, to repofe themfelues there a while, after their wearifome delights. The *Vice-roy* already enflamed with her beauty, accepted her courteous offer, not fo

much to tafte her meates, as to fufcite his eyes with her rare beauty, and lafciuiously to dore in his owne affections. The dinner ended, and all ready to depart, as though fome weighty matters were to be handled, he commanded an auoidance from the Prefence, and taking the Lady into a withdrawing Chamber, vnder pretence of fecret conference, greatly tending to the aduancement of her Lord & felfe, moft vnobably, being not able to preuaile by finooth perfuafions, did by force violate her conftant chaftity. Which difhonour thus recieued, and her minde diftracted like to *Thamar*, at her husbands returne, all afhamed to behold his face whose bed had fo benee wronged, with floods of teares fhee thus fet open the fluces of her paffions.

(4) Had thy fortunes accorded to thine owne defert, or thy choise proceeded as by vow was obliged, then had no ftaine of blemifh touched thine honour, nor caufe of fufpition once approched thy thought: or had my felfe benee my felfe, thefe blufhing cheekes had not inuited thy fharp piercing eye to looke into my guilty and defiled breaft, which now thou maift fee diftornifhed of honour, and the clofet of pure chaftity broken vp; onely the heart and foule is cleane, yet feares the tainture of this polluted caske, and would haue paffage (by thy reuenging hand) from this loathfome pri- fon and filthy trunket. I muft confeffe our fexe is weake, and accompanied with many faults, yet none excufable, how fmall fouer; much leffe the greateft, which fhame doth follow, and inward guilt continually attendeth; yours, is created more inuolable and firme, both againft allurements and enforcements: by whose conftancy as our flexible weakenes is guarded, fo our true honours by your iuft Armes fhould bee protected. O *Beorn, Beorn*, (for husband I dare not call thee) reuenge therefore my wrongs, that am now made thy fhame and fcanale of my fexe, vpon that monfter, nay *Diuell*, *Osbright*, (O that very name corrupts my breath, and I want words to deplore my grieve) who hath no law but his luft, nor meafure of his actions but his power, nor pruiledge for his loathfome life, but his greatneffe, whiles we with a felfe-feare, and feruile flatterie make our balenefle with crouching obedience, & beare the wrongs of his moft vile adulteries. Thou yet art free from fuch diiected and degenerate thoughts, nor haft thou fmoothed him in his wicked and cuer-working vices: be fil thy felf then, and truly Noble as thou art. It may be for his place thou oweft him refpect; but what therewith the loffe of honour thine affection, but not thy bed; thy Loue but not thy beloued, yet haft thou loft at once all thefe, and he thy only becauer: thou wafte my ftay whileft I ftayed by thee; and now being downe, reuenge

1. S. 4. 13. 19.

"venge my fall: the instinct of nature doth pittie our weaknesse, the law of Nations doth maintaine our honour, and the sword of Knighthood is sworn by to be vntilheathed for our iust defence; much more the linke of wedlocke claimes it, which hath lockt two hearts in one; but alas, that ward is broken, and I am thy shame, who might haue bene thine honour. Reuenge thy selfe therefore both on him and mee, else shall this hand let out the Ghost that shall still attend thee with acclamations, till thou reuenge my stained blood.

(5) *Born* vnwonted thus to bee welcommed, much amazed at his wiles maladies, with gentle words drew from her the particulars of her inward griefe, who reuealed (as well as shame, and teares, and sobs, would suffer) the manner of the deed, still vrging reuenge for the wrong. *Born* touched thus to the quick, to pacifie his distressed wife, did not a litle dissemble his wrath, and excusing the fact, with the power of a Prince that might command, and her owne weaknesse vnable to resist the strength of a man: Commended much her loue and constancy; and alledging his wrongs to bee equal with hers, if not greater, in regard of their sexe, willed her to set her string to his tune till fitt opportunity would serue to strike: but shee distasting that sweet comfort, wrested her passion into so high a strain, that nothing could be heard but reuenge & blood.

(6) *Born* thus instigated by the continuall cries of his wife, whose rape already of it selfe had giuen sufficient cause of wrath: first consulting with his neerest friends, was offered their assistance against that wicked and libidinous Prince, and then repairing to his Court, in presence of them all, made knowne his vnufferable wrongs, and with viter defiance departed, threatening his death.

This Nobleman in his youth had been brought vp in *Denmarke*, and is reported to haue been allied into the *Danish* roiall blood. Hee therefore accounted this nation the surest vnto himselfe, and the fittest in will and power to enter his quarrell: so comming to *Gaderick* King of that Country, made his case knowne, instantly desiring his aide against the villanie of *Osbright*.

Gadericke glad to haue some quartell to enter *Britaine*, leuied an Armie with all speed, and preparation made for all things necessarie, sendeth forth *Inguar* and *Hubba* two brethren to command in chiefe, ouer an innumerable multitude of his *Danes*: which two hee thought at this time the fittest for the attempt, not onely for their well approued resolution and valour, but also for that hee knew them to bee, on particular motives (which vually more affect then doth a common cause) implacably enraged against the *English*, on an occasion vnfortunately happening, but most lamentably pursued: which it will not bee amisse here to annexe.

Flora's history
* That is Leath-
er-briche.

(7) A certaine *Danish* Nobleman of the roiall lineage named * *Lothbroke*, Father to this *Inguar* & *Hubba*, being vpon the shore, his Hawke in flying, the game fell into the Sea, which to recouer, hee entred a little Schiffe or Cock-boat, nothing foreseeing the danger that immediately did ensue: for a sodaine tempest arising, carried the boat into the deepe, and droue him vpon the coast of *Norffolke*, where hee came to land at the Port called *Redham*, and was no sooner scene, but hee was taken for a spie, and presently sent to *Edmund*, King then of that prouince, who in his answeres sufficiently cleared that suspicion, when also declaring his birth & misfortune, he was honourably entertained in the Court of the *East-Angles*: to whom the King much esteemed for his other good parts; but for his dexterity and expertnesse in hawking, held him in a speciall regard; in somuch that the Kings Falconer named *Berieke*, conceiued both such secret enuie and deadly hatred thereat, that hauing him alone in a wood, he cowardly murdered him, & hid his dead body in a Bush.

(8) *Lothbroke* in the Kings presence and Court was soone mist and diligent inquisition made could not bee found vntill his Spaniell, which would not forsake his dead Masters corps, came fawninglie vnto the King, as seeming to begger reuenge on so bloody an Act, which he did more then once, & at length being obserued, and followed by the trace, the dead body was found; and *Berieke* conuicted for the murder, his iudgement was to bee put into *Lothbrokes* boat, and that without either tackle or Oare, as he therein arrived, and so left to the seas mercy to be saued by destiny, or swallowed vp by iust desert.

But behold the event; the Boat returned to the same place, and vpon the same coast arrived from whence it had bene driuen, even in *Denmarke*, where *Berieke* being known, and hands laid on him, to free himselfe from the punishment of his butcherly fact, he added treason to murder, laying it to the charge of innocent King *Edmund*.

(9) In reuenge whereof, and likewise in *Gadericks* quarrell, *Inguar* and *Hubba*, sons to the murdered Prince, being now made Generals of the Army of the *Danes*, first arriving at *Holdernes*, burnt vp the Country, and without mercy massacred all before them, sparing neither sexe, nor calling, nor age; and surprizing *Torke*, which *Osbright* had taken for his refuge, there slew that lustfull Prince with all his forces, and possessed that City; and afterwards burling into *Norffolke*, sent this message vnto King *Edmund*. *That Inguar the most victorious Prince, dread both by sea and land, hauing subdued diuers Countries vnto his subiection, and now arrived in those parts where hee meant to winter, charged Edmund to divide with him his riches, and to become his vassalle and seruant.*

The King astoned at this strange and vnexpected Ambassage, consulted with his Councell, where one of his Bishops (then his Secretary, and a principall man) vied persuasions to him to yeeld, for preventing greater mischief; who notwithstanding returned this answer: *God tell your Lord, that Edmund the Christian King, for the loue of this temporall life, will not subiect himselfe to a Heathen and Pagan Duke.* Whereupon *Inguar* and *Hubba*, with the furious troupes of their *Danes*, pursued the King to *Thetford*; and (as *Fabian* saith) to *Framingham*, others to *Halesdon*; where hee pittying the terrible slaughter of his people, yeelded himselfe to their persecutions; and for that hee would not deny Christ, and his Christian faith, was bound to a tree or Stake, and with their arrowes so shot to death: whose body was afterward there buried, and thereupon tooke the name of *S. Edmunds-bury*; as wee haue formerly touched in his raigne, Lib. 7. cap. 11.

(10) Whether these were the very true causes, or some other, which drew these *Danes* hither, most certaine it is and too lamentable experience shewed, that hither they came (by Writers account) about the yeere of Christ eight hundred, and in the daies of King *Brightick*. Neither want there Authors who alcribe certain predictions to haue fore-runne the yeere 800. made vnfortunate by their first attempts; fore-shewed seuen yeeres before, by showers of blood falling from heauen, and bloody Croffes markt therewith vpon the garments of men, reported by the learned *Alcuinus*, who was instructor to *Charles the Great*, and borne in the county of *Torke*, where this wonder happened: which himselfe saw & testified vnto *Ethelbert* King of that Prouince, as *Malmibury* hath written, and was thought by *Houeden*, *Higden*, *Fabian* and others, to haue bene sent for signes before their bloody assaults, which beganne at the day-spring of the *Saxons* Monarchy, when it promised a most faire ascent to their heires succeeding, but mounted to the highest, againe declined as the setting Sunne, and fell vnder the cloudes of their owne ruines, so carried by the iust reuenging hand of God: for those *Saxons* hauing by blood and warre vnto the *Brit-*

Murder wile

and reuenged blood.

names of their land and right, by blood and warre, were by these *Pagan-Danes* so vicesantly molested, that no place was freed from their tyranny, nor any state sure, long to hold that, which they enioyed, nor their liues secured from a daily expectation of their sauage swords.

(11) Whose many inuasions and cruell proceedings against this land and nation, are already shewed in the raignes of these *Saxon* Kings, who then felt their heavy strokes in warre, hauing nothing almost memorable otherwise, to enlarge their fames and stories with, besides these their valours in resisting so mighty and almost vnrepugnable an enemy. Therefore omitting to repeat such things as in their successions are handled, we will fall neerer the time of the wished harvest of their full Conquests: some what remembering the Reader here, of those bloudie affaires, which the *English* at seuerall times felt and endured.

(12) Such was the murder of holy *Edmund* King of the *East-Angles*, with *Danish* arrowes martyred to death as hee stoode bound vnto a stake, euer-calling on the name of Iesus: Of *Ella* and *Osbright* Gouvernours of *Northumberland* by them slaine, and that Prouince for a long time after by them enioyed, and made subiect to their furies: Of *Burdred* King of *Mercia*, by them expelled, who with his Queene *Ethelswith*, were forced to abandon their Kingdome, leaving it to the possession of these *Pagan* intruders, and to seeke their securities in forreine Countries, where at *Rome* in *Italy* hee died, and at *Padua* his wife, as hath bene said: Of *Ethelred* King of the *West-Saxons*, that in one yeeres continuance fought nine bloudie battles against them, in the last whereof at *Asteten* hee receiued his death wound, and this Kingdome an vncurable blow: Of *Elfred* that most famous and learned King of the *West-Saxons* also, driuen by them to such distress, that hee was forced to leaue his Princely Court, and to remaine secret in a

Rob. Fabian
169.
Polyg. li. 1. c.
Abbas Eliu
c. 10.

Alcuinus.

1071. Malmib.
Roger Houed.
Rob. Higden.
Rob. Fabian

poore Cow-herds house vnknowne and disguised, in the Isle of *Eshelingsy* in the County of *Sommerfet*; and thence to aduenteure himselfe among the *Danish* host, as a base Mintrell and Contemprible make-sport; till hee had perfectly learned their secrets, and after with his sword through the thickest of those Enemies, made a way to his owne most glorious Monarchie.

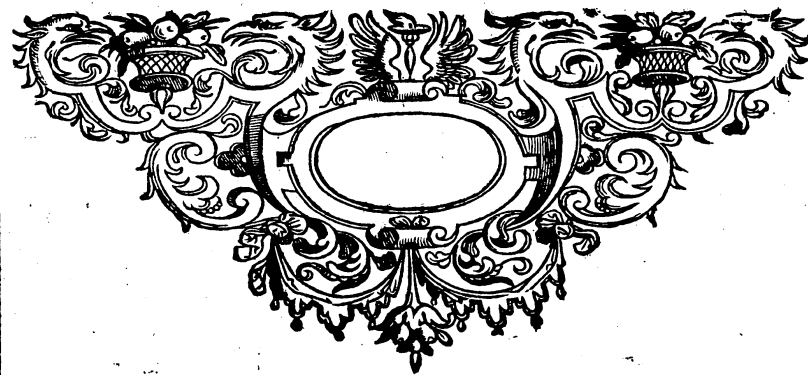
(13) To speake nothing of the desolations left in euerie Prouince, Towne, and Place, where they came, laying all leauell with the ground, as prints of their foote-steppe where they had troden: Their cruell and mercilesse dealings towards holy and religious persons, with the ruination of Churches, and other places for Oratorie, is most lamentable to bee rehearsed or remembred: and among many others, the faire & beautifull Monasteries of *Braauey*, *Crowland*, *Peterborough*, *Ely*, and *Coldingham*, were made subiect to their desolations: In the last whereof, Lady *Ebbe* with her chaste Nunnies, to auoid their language and filthie pollutions, cutte off their owne noses and vpper-lippes, least the baite of their beauties should prouee the bane of their honours & honestie.

The most greuous tribute and exactions laied vpon the poore Inhabitants in general, and great sums of money, paid in such afflicted & vnseasonable times, imposed by the name of *Dane-gilt*, did from ten thousand, arise to forty thousand pounds, yearly gathered for them in *England*. Their sturdy behauiour and Lord-like carriage against the *English*, in all places where euer they sojourned, was with such subiection of the poore Owners, that they abused both wife, daughter, and maide, and were of all called the *Lord-Danes*, till lastly they were Lords in deede of the Land, and swaied the Scepter at their owne pleasures; which how it was attained vnto, wee haue before declared, and how it was worne and continued, wee are now presently to speake.

Henry Stuart, high
Ang. lib. 15.
Rand. Hig.

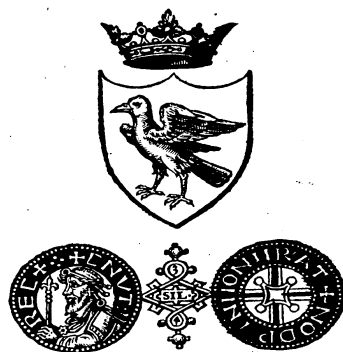
John Samp.
Hibern. byler.

Some say forty
eight thousand,
Langues saith
fifty.



CANVTVS

CANVTVS THE FIRST DANISH
KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND AND
THE THIRTIE FOVRTH MONARCH OF
THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS ACTS,
RAIGNE, WIVES, AND
ISSE.



CHAPTER III.

An.D. 1017.



He failes of the *Danes* thus ouer-filled with the gales of their swelling fortunes, and themselves arrived at the Port of their long sought souerainety, cast anchor as it were at the haven of their wished desire, and prepared themselves to a settled rest: for

Polychr. li. 6. c. 18.

Canutus possesse of halfe the Kingdome by composition with *Edmund*, now after his death seized vpon the whole; and that all things (as was pretended) might proceed with iustice, and concord, he called a Councell of the *English* Nobility at *London*; wherein was propounded, whether, in the agreement betwixt *Edmund* and him, any claime of title to the Crowne, had bene referred, for King *Edmunds* brethren or sonnes. The *English* that had paid a very deere rate for their ouerbold resistance before, nor daring now to buy, with too late repentance, the wrath of this *Dane*, absolutely answered, No; and hauing learned to appease Princes with flattery, offered their swords against any such claimes, and tooke themselves the Oath of allegiance vnto *Canutus*; who beeing a very wife and politike Prince, thought neuer the better of them for such their doings; whose truths thus failing towards their naturall Princes, could neuer (hee well knew) stand firme for him or his forreine posteritie.

Peare makes
Coutersers.

(2) But being thus cleared of all other opposites, hee prepared with great royalty for his Coronation, which was performed at *London*, by the hands of *Lyningus* surnamed *Elflane*, Archbishop of *Canterburie*, in the yere of Christ Iesus 1017. beeing the second King of *Denmarke* of that Name, the first of *England*,

and the thirty fourth Monarch of this Land. His first designs for the establishment of the Crowne to himselfe and *Danish* issue, was a care to preuent others neere vnto the claime, and therefore, taking counsell with *Edrike*, banished *Edwin*, who for his melancholy and regardlesse deportment, was commonly called, the King of *Churles*, son of King *Ethelred*, and brother of *Edmund*; notwithstanding, hee was guilefully recalled, and treacherously murdered by his owne men, whose bodie they buried at *Tauelstocke* in *Deuon-shire*.

(3) One cloud thus ouer-blowne, two others appeared, far more dangerous in *Canutus* sight; namely *Edward* and *Edmund* the sonnes of the *Iron-side*, whom albeit their yongue yeeres might haue freed from suspition of conspiracies, and their gentle dispositions from enuying his glory, yet the bright raies of a *Diadem* to dazle his ielous eie, that euer he saw (to his owne seeming) the reflection thereof shine from their faces: but ashamed (saith *Higden*) to lay hand on them himselfe, sent them to his halfe brother of *Sweden*, to be made away, as we haue said. In the doubtfull times betwixt *Edmund* and *Canutus*, when the scale of warre was held of either hands alike, Queene *Emma* had sent *Edward*, and *Alfred* (her sonnes by King *Ethelred*) vnto her brother Duke *Richard* of *Normandy*; whereby (we see) the Land was emptied of the *English* blood Roiall, and the Crowne left for the *Dane* without competition.

(4) Who now seeking to hold fast the Scepter thus grasped, sought the alliance of the *Norman* Duke by the espousing of his sister, faire *Emma*; a suite founding but harshly in the eares of the *English*, yea and most of all vnto her selfe, as deeming the linke of loue verie slender, that might bee broken by the same hand, which was the death of her Husband: Notwithstanding,

withstanding, after good deliberation, knowing him childlesse of any lawfull successor, vpon couenants agreed, that the issue of her body by him, should inherite the *English* Crowne: the suit was granted; hoping also, if that failed betwixt them, to establish her other sonnes by King *Ethelred*.

This prouident respect so pleased the subiects, that it both drew the hearts of the *English* vnto *Canutus*, and their loue vnto *Emma* in a surpassing measure, as the booke penned to her praise, and written in that age, intitled *Encomium Emmae*, sufficiently doth shew.

(5) Neither was her louing care limited onlie to her sonnes, but further extended towards the Common-wealth, being much pestered then with his *Danes*, that lay lazie and idle as drones in the hute: who at her instigations were sent into *Denmarke*; & left they should through discontents make any stirres either here or there, had a largesse (to buy their contentment) of fourescore and two thousand pounds.

(6) *Canutus* his next care for the maintenance of his owne safety, and the continuance of his new got Empire, was the establishment of good lawes (which if duly executed, are the very sinewes and strongest guards of all States) to be administred and practised both on the *English* and *Dane* alike: wherefore calling a Parliament of his Peeres vnto *Oxford*, there established many wholsom Acts both for the Clergy and Laitie to obserue; some of which were diuulged by the praise-worthy care of a studious Antiquarie, and a few as touching Religion, as a reliquie of the rest, we thinke it not amisse to giue the Reader a tast of.

(7) And first, for the celebration of Gods most diuine seruice it was ordained, that all decent ceremonies tending to the encrease of reuerence and deuotion, should be vsed, as need required.

That vpon the Lords Sabbath, publike Faires, Markets, Synods, Conuenticles, Huntings, & all secular actions should not bee exercised, vnlesse some weighty and vrgent necessity required it.

That every Christian should thrice in the yere adressed himselfe to the receiuing of the blessed sacrament of the Lords Supper.

That if a Minister of the Altar killed a man, or else committed any notorious crime, hee should be deprived both from his order and dignity.

That the married woman convicted for adultery should haue her nose and eares cut off.

That a widow marrying within the space of twelue moneths after her husbands decease should lose her iointer.

(8) These & many other were made, whereby sinne was much restrained, and this realme peaceably and iustly gouerned. As likewise sundry other Countries were by his godly and roiall care; as in especiall is recorded of a yong Gentleman of the *Danish* roiall blood, named *Odin*, whom King *Canute* brought ouer with him into *England*, to be here trained vp in learning, where he profited so well, as also by his traualle through *France* (whereby hee much encreased both his knowledge and experience) that he attained the surname of *Sapient*, and the *Philosopher*, and therefore was called *Odin-char*, for the deere esteeme wherein all men held him. This man by his preaching in *Finland*, *Zeland*, *Scandia*, and *Swenland*, conuerted great multitudes to the faith of Christ.

(9) But in *Denmarke* things proceeded not so well, for in the absence of *Canutus*, and yere of Christs humanity 1019, the *Vandals* sore annoyed his subiects: hee therefore, in the third of his raigne, with a great host of the *English* passed ouer the seas, and bad his enemies battaile, which as *Mathew of Westminster* writeth, went fore against him the first day; and preparing againe for the next, Earle *Goodwine*, who was General of the *English*, attempted a great enterprize: for in the dead of the night, hee with his souldiers set vpon the Campe of the *Vandals*, and

with a great slaughter of their souldiers, made the two Princes, *Vissus* and *Anlaue* to flie the field.

Canute ignorant of this acted enterprize, had notice in the morning that the *English* were fled, for that their station was left, and not a man found: wherefore following the track, euen to the enemies campe; by streames of blood, and dead bodies of the *Vandals*; hee saw the great ouerthrow that the *English* had giuen them, for which hee euer after held them in great estimation.

(10) *Albertus Krantius*, the *Danish* historian, reporteth that *Olafus* King of *Sweden*, hauing assailed *Canute* against *Edmund* the *Ironside*, and seeing himselfe to be neglected in the composition betwixt them, moued such stirres in *Denmarke*, that *Canutus* was forced thither againe; where by the prowesse of his *English* hee repulsed *Olafus*, who lastly was slaine by his owne subiects.

(11) *William of Malmesbury* and *Mathew of Westminster* record, that in the yere 1032, hee vnderooke an expedition into *Scotland*, with prosperous successe against *Malcolm* the King thereof, with two other Princes called *Melbeath* and *Lehmare*. But being at length ouerburdened as it were with his owne greatnesse, and forfeited with glory, which sometimes he had so greedily desired (as euen the greatest earthly delights haue their fulnes) hee resolved on a more peaceable course of life, and to affect a higher and heavenly glory, which hath neuer satiety or end. And therefore his deuotion being great vnto Godward, on a zealous intent, (such a zeale as *S. Paul* commended in the deuout *Isaiahs*) hee tooke a journey to *Rome*, to visite the sepulchres of *S. Peter* and *Paul* in the fifteenth yere of his raig; & thence sent his letters to his *English* Bishops and Nobility, beginning thus.

(12) *Canute* King of all *England*, *Denmarke*, *Norway* and *Sweden*, to *Alnothus* Metropolitan, &c. Wherein hauing first set downe the reason of his pilgrimage to *Rome*, which was especially to honour *S. Peter*, as hee had bene taught by *Wisemen*, that *S. Peter* had receiued from Christ the great power of binding and loosing, and was also the Key-bearer of heauen-gates, for which cause (left *S. Peter* should not open the same vnto him when hee should come thither) he held it most behouefull for him to procure his Patronage more then all the rest of Saints; then making relation of his honourable entertainment with the Emperour, Pope, and other forreine Princes, sheweth what complaint hee had made against the excesiue exactions and huge summes of money extorted by the Pope from the *English* Arch-Bishops, at such time as they receiued their *Palles* from *Rome*; for redresse whereof, and of other abulcs, the Pope in a solemn assembly of foure Arch-Bishops, twenty Bishops, and an innumerable multitude of Princes and Nobles obliged himselfe: And thence proceedeth in vowing the whole remainder of his life and reign, to the onely seruice of God, and due administration of Iustice to his people; to which end, hee first giues command to his Counsellours, that thence forward they dare not, for whatsoever respect, to giue way or conniueance to any the least iniustice in his Kingdom; and next to his Officers of Iustice, that as they tender his roiall fauour and their owne liues, they sweare not from Equity in execution of their places, in respect of any man whatsoever, no not, for the enriching of the Kings owne Coffers, because (saith hee) I hold it not needefull, that treasure should be heaped together for mee, by any vnjust exactions: and so concludeth with a strict charge to all his Bishops and Iustices, vpon their allegiance both to God and himselfe, to take order in his absence, that Gods Church, and his Ministers, bee not defrauded of their Tithes and rights, whereof hee vowes at his returne to take a most seuer account.

(13) By this his great care of his owne saluation, and his peoples tranquillity, we may see the zeale of those darke daies, to haue bene accompanied with

Henry Hunting.
Polychr.
Fabian.

Alb. Krantius.

An.D. 1028.
Wm. Malmesbury.
Mat. Westminster

Rom. 10. 2.

Wm. Malm.

Canutus compli-
neth of the Popes
extortions in
England.His godly refo-
lution touching
his owne actions.Touching his
Counsellours.Touching his
Iudges and Ius-
ticiaries.Touching his
Treasure.Touching Gods
Church.

Apocal. 3. 7.

His Munificence

His magnificent buildings, &c.

J. H. C. de Brankford.

S. Augustine's arine at a high rate.

Canutus his flatterers.

Henry Hunt.

Mat. 8. 16. 17. Exod. 14. 21.

His humility.

Peter Pildan.

John Coffer.

Simon Dun.

the workes of true pietie; whose carnall applications of the spirituall texts, may well condemne these cleerer times, and daies of more brightnes, wherein wee know, that this Key-keeper of heauen, is no other but the verie Christ, who hath the Key of David, which openeth and no man shutteth, and shutteth and no man openeth. And that this Kings zeale might bee further scene, by his magnificke works, he beganne to manifest it euen at Rome, where giuing many large gifts vnto S. Peters Church, hee also made free the Saxons Schoole from all tributes.

(14) In Essex hee built the Church of Ashdon, where hee had the victory against King Edmund. In Norfolk the Abbey of S. Benets, which saint he greatly reuerenced; and in Suffolke with an especial deuotion built and endowed the Monastery of S. Edmund, which Saint he most dreadly feared: for it is reported, that the seeming-ghost of Edmund often affrighted him; for which cause, as also to expiate the finnes of his father, who had done great damage to his possession, hee inuerged the same with a deepe ditch, and offered vp his Crowne vpon the Martyrs Tombe. Most rich and roiall leuels hee gaue the Church of Winchester, wherof one, is recorded to bee a Crosse, worth as much as the whole reuenue of England amounted to in one yeare: vnto Coventry hee gaue the Arme of S. Augustine the great Doctor, which he bought at Papia in his returne from Rome, and for which hee paid an hundred talents of siluer, and one of gold.

(15) The magnificent greatnes of this glorious King, so ouerflowed in the mouthes of his flatterers, that they extolled him, with Alexander, Cyrus, and Caesar, and to be possessed with power, more then humane: to conuict these his fawning ouerprizers, being then at Southampton, he commanded (saith Henry of Huntington) that his chaire should be set on the shore, when the sea beganne to flow, and then in the presence of his many attendants, spake "thus to that Element. Thou art part of my dominion, and the ground whereon I sit is mine, neither was there euer any that durst disobey my command, or breaking it, escaped unpunished, I charge thee therefore presume not into my land, neither wet thou these robes of thy Lord: but the Sea (which obeyeth only one Lord) giuing no heed to his threats, kept on the vsuall course of tide, first wetting his skirts, and after his thighs; when suddenly rising to giue way for the still approaching waues, he thus spake in the hearing of all: Let the worlds inhabitants know, that vaine and weak is the power of their Kings; and that none is worthy the name of King, but he that keeps both heauen, earth and sea in obedience, and bindeth them in the euertlasting law of subiection. After which time he would neuer suffer the Crowne to bee set vpon his head, but presently crowned therewith, the picture of our Sauour on the Crosse at Winchester: vnto such strong illusions were those godly Princes lead, by the guides that euer made gaine of their deuotions.

(16) From the example of this Canutus (saith Peter Picautensis Chancellor of Paris) arose the custome to hang vp the Armor of worthy men in Churches, as offerings consecrated vnto Him, in whose battails they had purchased renowne, either by victory and life, or in their Countries seruice attained to an honourable death. And surely, howeouer this King is taxed of ambition, pride and vaine-glory, for which some haue not flucked to say, that he made his iourney to Rome, rather to shew his pompe and riches, then for any humble deuotion or religious intent, yet by many his intercurrent actions and lawes of piety enacted, hee may iustly bee cleared of that imputation; as also by the testimony of Simon Monk of Dunham, who reporteth his humility to be such, that with his owne hands he did helpe to remoue the body of S. Alphegu at the translation of it from

London vnto Canterbury, whom the Danes (notwithstanding his Archiepiscopall & sacred calling) before had martyred at Greenwich: and by the testimony of Gaido, Polydore, Languet, and others, he was a Prince of such temperance and iustice, that no other in this West of the World was so highly renowned, or might bee compared vnto him in heroicall vertues, or true humility.

(17) Saxo Grammaticus, & Albertus Krantius the Writers of the Danish histories, deduce Canutus by a lineall succession through the line of their Kings in this manner: Hee was (say they) the sonne of King Swaine (surnamed Ting-kay) by Sigred his wife, the widow of Erick, by whom he had Olaf Scotenning King of Sweiden: vnto which Swaine the bare also Oftrid a daughter, the mother of Thira, the mother of King Swyne the younger. The elder Swyne was the sonne of King Harold, surnamed Blaaland, by Gunhild his Queene, who bare him also Iring King of Northumberland, and Gunhild Queene of North-Wales. The father of Harold was King Gormund, whose Queene was Thira the daughter of King Ethelred, the twenty third Monarch of England, who bare vnto him the said Harold, and another Canute both most valiant Princes; which two Gallants inuading this land, were (for their brauer resolutions) by their Grandfather proclaimed heires apparant to all his dominions: the credite of which relations I leaue to my forenamed Authors; but Canute (the elder brother) died very soone after, being deadly wounded in the siege of Dublin in Ireland; where perceiuing death at hand, hee gaue strict charge to his attendants, to keepe the same verie secret till the City were taken, that so neither his owne Army should bee daunted, nor the enemy encouraged by the losse of the Generall. Gormund, his aged Father, (to digresse but in a word) so incredibly loved him, that hee had vowed to kill with his owne hands any person who should tell him the newes of his sonnes death: which when Thira his mother now heard of, shee vied this policie to make it known to the King her husband. Shee prepared mourning apparel for him, and all other things fitting for funerall exequies, laying aside all Regall robes, and ceremonies of princely state, without intimating any cause of this sad solemnity; which the old King no sooner perceiued, but he lamentably cried out, woe is me, I know my sonne is dead; and with exccesive griefe he presently died. But to returne from that Canutus, to close vp the raigne of this our Monarch in hand.

(18) In whom the Danish glories haue ascended to the highest, beganne now againe to decline towards their wane by the death of this great King; who, after hee had in great glory reigned aboue nineteen yeeres, deceased at Shaftesbury in the county of Dorset the twelfth of November, the yeere of Christs Incarnation, 1035, and was buried in the Church of the old Monastery at Winchester, which being after new built, his bones with many other English Saxon Kings were taken vp, and are preserved in gult coffers fixed vpon the wals of the Quire in that Cathedrall Church.

His Wines.

(19) Algiue, by most writers, a concubine to King Canutus, was the daughter of a Mercian Duke named Elfbelme, who is said to haue bene Earle of Northampton; and her Mothers name was Vfrune, Inheriatrix of the Towne Hampton in Staffordshire, from her called Vfrun-Hampton, now Waller-hampton: This Lady Algiue to make Canutus more firme to her loue, her selfe being barren, is reported to haue fained Child-birth and to haue laid in her bed the sonne of a Priest, whom Canute tooke to be his owne, and named him Swaine; him afterwards hee created King of Norway, which lately hee had conquered from Olaf called the Martyr. The like policie, saith Higden and others,

Polydore, Anglib. Languet.

Saxo Grammaticus, Albertus Krantius.

Simundus, Grammaticus.

Helmshimund, of Ireland.

Albertus, Krantius.

others, hee vied in bringing forth Harold her second sonne, who was (say they) the sonne of a Sowter; notwithstanding I thinke the condition of the mother, who liued in disdaine, and died in disgrace, rather caused this report to be blazed, then any such balenes of birth in the sonnes.

(20) Emma, the second wife of King Canute, was the widow of King Ethelred the Pious; and from the time of her first marriage was called in England, Elfgine, after the name of most of the former Queens, which had succeeded Saint Elfgine. Shee was married vnto him in the moneth of Iuly, and yeere of Christs Iesus one thousand and seuentene, being the first yeere of his raigne: whose wife shee was eightene yeeres, and furiuing, kept still at Winchester, vnto which Church shee gaue nine Manours, according to the number of those fyre Plow-shares that shee was forced to goe vpon, for her purgation, in the raigne of Edward her sonne, as shall bee said. This Church shee adorned with many goodly vestures, and verie rich Iewelles: and deceasing in this City the fixt of March, the yeere of Grace one thousand fiftie and two and ninth of her sonne King Edwards raigne, was buried in the Church of S. Swythine neere vnto Canutus her husband.

His Issue.

(21) Swyne, the eldest sonne of Canute by Lady Alfgine, was borne before his father was King of England; and before his fathers death, was constituted King of Norway, lately conquered from King Olaf the Martyr; where hee beganne his Raigne, in the yeere of mans saluation one thousand thirty and fise, being the eighteenth of his fathers Raigne in England; and after he had with dislikes ruled that Realme, the space of fise yeeres hee was reiected of the Norwegians his subiects, and deceasing without heire of his body, left the Kingdom to the native heire, Magnus, the sonne of Olaf, who had bene wrongfully dispossessed by Canute.

(22) Harold, the second sonne of King Canute and of Lady Alfgine, was also borne before his father obtained the English Crown, & for his exceeding swiftnes was surnamed Hare-foote. He remained with his father in England, after he had disposed of Denmark to Hardi-canute, and Norway to Swyne, his brethren, expecting something in reuerfion. But perceiuing at his fathers death, that England was also appointed to his brother Hardi-canute, hee tooke the aduantage

of his absence, and assumed the Souerainety of this Kingdome to himselfe.

(23) Hardi-canute, the third sonne of King Canute, and his first by Queene Emma his wife, was borne about the beginning of his fathers Raigne, and towards the end of the same, was constituted King of the Danes, and deligned to succcede him after his death in the Kingdome of England: But being absent then in Denmark, was disappointed by his brother Harold, who succeeded his father, after whose death he also succceeded him.

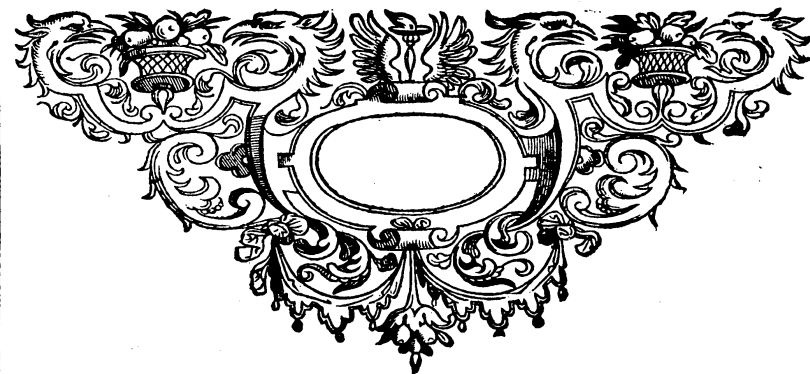
(24) Gunhilda, the daughter of King Canute, and of Emma his Queene, was the first wife of Henrie the Third, Romane Emperour, sonne of the Emperour Conrad, the second of that name surnamed Salike: shee was a Lady of a surpassing beauty, which either moued her husbands mind vnto iclouffe, or the ouer-lauish report thereof to breede surmize of incontinencie; for accused shee was of adulterie, and to defend her cause by combat, none could be found, till lastly her Page, brought with her from England, seeing no other would aduenture for her innocencie, entred the list, himselfe but a youth, in regard of the other Combatant being a Giant-like man; yet in fight at one blow, cutting the sinewes of his enemies legge, with another hee feld him to the ground, where presently with his sword, hee tooke his head from the shoulders, and so redeemed his Ladies life. After which hard vifage, the Empreffe Gunhilda forsooke her husbands bed, and by no meanes could bee brought againe vnto the same, but tooke the holy vail of a Nunne in the Town of Burges in Flanders; where she spent the rest of her life, and after her death was buried in the Collegiate Church of S. Donatian, being the principall of that town, where her Monument remaineth besides the north dore of the same Church vnto this day.

(25) Another Lady of the like sanctity, is reported to be the daughter of King Canute, and the second wife of Godefricke Prince of the Vandals; by whom he had Henry King of that Nation. They both are said to haue suffered Martyrdom for the faith of Christ; he first at the City of Lenzim, and the after at Michelenburg, being most cruelly tortured to death with whips. This Lady vpon sundry strong inducements cannot be reputed legitimate, which moued Andrew Vellej, a Danish Writer in our time, to be therein of a diuers opinion from Adam of Brene, and Helmolde, who liued fise hundred yeeres before him,

Wil. Malmsb. de gest. regum. Ang. cap. 12.

Ran. Higden. in Polycr. lib. 6. ca. 21.

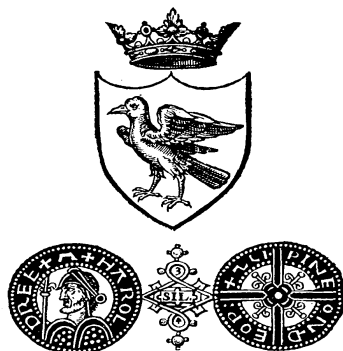
Henry Hunt. lib. 6. Martin Scott. Rob. Fabian.



HAROLD



HAROLD, THE SECOND DANISH KING RAIGNING IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE FIFT MONARCH OF THE LAND, HIS RAIGNE, AND ACTS.



CHAPTER III.

An.D. 1036.

Mat. Westmister.
19th. Malins.

Petor de Jban.

Henry Hunt.

Florianscu.



ANYTYS being dead, & Hardicanute his sonne by Queene Emma then in Denmarke; Harold his elder (but base brother) forefollowed not the opportunity offered; for seeing himselfe in his fathers life time neglected, and by will at his death, Eng-

land with that of Denmarke heaped vpon Hardicanute: as quicke in apprehension, as hee was of footman-shippe (whereof arose the surname Hare-foot,) made strong his side by the Londoners, and Danes, Mercians, & Northumbrians very many, yea and some great Personages amongst them, affecting his claime: but Goodwin of Kent who had the Queene and her treasure in keeping, stood in his way, pretending himselfe Guardian of her Children, & the will of Canutus, who appointed his sonne by her to succede.

(2) The opposition grew strong, and the factions ripened, euen ready to secede, onely the lingering of Hardicanute gaue leaue vnto Harold to better his side by daily supplics, and the feares of ciuill sedition moued the Nobility to argue with wordes and not weapons, the title depending betwixt these two brethren. At Oxford they met, where the presence of the one, downe-peized the absence of the other, so that their voices went onely with Harold, and presently proclaimed and consecrated him King.

(3) He beganne his raigne the yeere of Christs humanity, 1036. and was very solemnly crowned at Oxford by Ethelthus Archbishoppe of Canterbury, though for a time, hee was very unwilling to performe that seruice; for it is reported, that hee hauing the regall scepter and Crowne in his custody,

with an oath refused to consecrate any other for King, so long as the Queenes children were liuing; For (said he) Canutus committed them to my trust and assurance, and to them will I giue my faith and allegiance. This Scepter and Crowne therefore I here lay downe vpon this Altar; neither doe I denie, nor deliuer them to you; but I require by the Apostolike authority, all Bishops, that none of them presume to take the same away, neither therewith that they consecrate you for King: as for your selfe if you dare, you may vsurpe that which I haue committed to God on this his Table.

Notwithstanding that great thunderclappe was allaid with the shoures of golden promils, of his iust and religious Gouernment intended, though present experience manifested the contrary.

(4) For faith the auncient Writer of the booke called Encomium Emma: Harold no sooner was established King, but that he sought means how to rid Queene Emma out of the way, and that secretly, for openly hee durst not attempt any thing against her: Shee in silence kept her selfe quiet, looking for the issue of his designs. But Harold maliciously purposing, to take counsell how hee might traine into his Hays the sonnes of Queene Emma, that so all occasion of dangers against him might at once for all bee cut off: many proiects propounded, this lastly tooke effect: that a letter should be counterfeited in Queene Emma's name, vnto her sonnes Edward and Alfred, to instigate them to attempt the crowne vsurped by Harold, against their right, the tenure whereof we haue thought good here to insert.

(5) Emma, Queene onely in name, to Edward and Alfred her sonnes, sendeth motherly greetings. Whilest feuerally wee bewaile the death of our Soueraigne, my Lord and your Father, and your selues (deare sonnes) still more and more dispossessed from the Kingdome, your lawfull inheritance, I greatly maruaile what you determine to do,

Edm.
Emma.

"doe, sith you know, that the delay of attempts giues the vürper more leasure to lay his foundation, and more safely to set thereon his intended buildings; for incessantly hee posteth from towne to towne, and from City to City, to make the Lords and Rulers thereof his, either by threats, prayers, or present rewards. But this in priuate they signifie, that they had rather one of you their Natiues should raigne ouer them, then this vürper & Danish stranger. Wherefore my desire is, that either of you secretly, and with all speed come vnto mee, whereby wee may aduise together what is to be done in this so great an enterprise: then whose good successe, I desire nothing more. Falle not therefore to send word by this my messenger, how you meane to proceed: and so fare yee well, my dearest bowels, & very inwards of my heart.

(6) These letters thus carried and cunningly deliuered, were digested as fauouring of no falsehood; and by the bringers, others returned, that Alfred should come shortly ouer to attend his mothers designs: these, brought vnto Harold, the coastes were fore-laid, and longing expectation attended the prey. Alfred as forward to set on his voyage, made Baldwin Earle of Flanders his; and some few Bulloggers increasing his Fleet, hee tooke the seas for England: where comming to shore, Earle Goodwin met him, and binding his assurance with his corporal oath, became his liege-man, and guide to Queene Emma; but being wrought firme for Harold, treacherously led these strangers a contrary way, and at Guisford lodged them in seuerall companies, making knowne to the King what he had done: who forthwith apprehended them euen in their beds, and in the morning as chained prisoners, committing them to laughter, contrary to the wonted manner of military decimation, did spare

and exempt onely euery tenth man for seruice or sale: Prince Alfred himselfe was sent prisoner to the Isle of Ely, where hauing his eyes inhumanly put out, liued not long after in torment and griefe.

(7) Some adde vnto the former, an other, much more horrible kind of cruelty, as that his belly was opened, and one end of his bowels drawn out, and fastned to a stake, his body pricked with sharpe needles, or poinards, was forced about till all his entrails were extraisted, in which most sauage torture hee ended his innocent life.

(8) Harold thus freed from one, the other hee thought would no further attempt; and therefore the more boldly set himselfe against their mother Queene Emma, whose goods he confiscated, and banished her out of the Realme: who thus distressed, was honourably receiued, and for three yeeres space maintained by Baldwin Earle of Flanders.

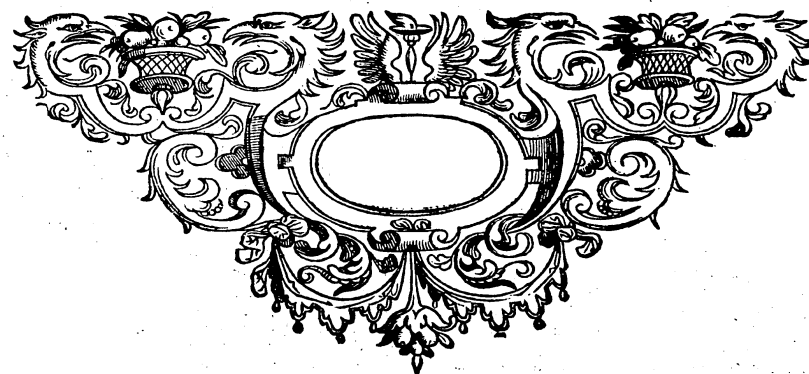
(9) The Dane then seeing his hazards thus prevented, sought so to secure himselfe, and with fixe-teen shippes of the Danish Fleet kept the seas, which continued euer in readinesse, and waded from Port to Port; to the maintenance whereof, he charged the English with great paines, to their no little grudge & repining; whereby he lost the loue of his subiects before it had well taken root in their hearts.

(10) Neither yet held hee on long in these disroiall courtes, for that his speedy death did cut off the infancy of a longer life; and is said to haue died at Oxford in the month of April, the yeere of Christs Iesus, 1040, after hee had raigned foure yeeres & some moneths: whose body was at first interred at Westminster, hauing bene neither in warres so hardy, nor in government so prosperous, as his Father Canut before him had bene, nor left behind him eyther wife or children, to suruiue his person, or reuiue his name.

Rand Higdon, in
Polychr. lib. 6.
cap. 31.

19th. Malins.

Henry Hunting.

Malms.
Hen Hunting.
Stow.

Xxx 1

HARDICANUTE

Hardi-Canute.

HARDICANUTE, THE THIRD DANISH KING THAT RAIGNED IN ENGLAND, AND THE THIRTIE SIXT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, AND DEATH.



CHAPTER V.

An.D. 1040.

Simon Daniel.
Blat. Westm. Monaster.

LHe States of the land, as well English as Danes, that had stood for *Harold*, both in obtaining and keeping the Crowne, now seeing him fallen, thought it best to make way for their peace, before *Hardicanute* by his sword should purchase their subiection; therefore with all hast they sent into *Denmarke*, with proffers of the scepter, and their forward allegiance only vnto him. Those parts beyond seas, were not then so subiective, as to build his hopes there vpon any sure ground; for the *Norwegians* had thrust out his halfe-brother *Sweyne*, and had elected *Magnus* the son of *Olaffe* for their King; so that small assurance could he perceiue of any quiet common-weale amongst them: and therefore fore-slowing not the offer, immediately imbarke his men of warre, and with so fauourable a wind tooke seas; that he arriued vpon the coast of *Kent*, the first day after hee had set saile out of *Denmarke*; and with great pompe conueied to *London*, was there proclaimed *Englands* King.

(2) Hee beganne his Raigne in the yeere of Grace one thousand and forty, and was crowned in *London* by *Elnothus* Arch-bishoppe of *Canterbury*; beeing the thirty sixt Monarch of the *English-men*: his raigne was spent in doing nothing, vnlesse you will say, in doing cuill hee did something.

(3) For no sooner had he a power to command, but he forthwith commanded the body of his halfe-brother the deceased King, to bee digged vp, and with spitefull disgrace to bee throwne into *Thames*, where it remained vntill a Fisherman found it, and buried it in the Church-yard of *S. Clement* without

Temple-Barre, commonly called *Saint Clement-Danes*, for that (saith *Stow*) it was the burying place of the *Danes*: this crueltie shewed, was pretended for the hard vsage of Queene *Emma* his mother, though partly spiced with reuenge for his vsurpation of the Crowne against him.

(4) Yet is worthily to be commended, for the reuerent regard hee bare to his Mother, and louing affection to his Brother; for no sooner was hee risen out of the throne of his Coronation, but that hee sent honorable Embassage vnto Earle *Baldwine*, with many thanks to him, for her princely vsage, and for herto returne into *England* to her former estate, and place of Queene. His brother Prince *Edward* comming ouer to visite them both, was most honourably receiued, retained, and dismissed; and these are the vertues regardable in this King.

(5) But his vices were more, and concerned more personnes; for a great Epicure hee was, and giuen much vnto Cuppes, whereby hee trained the body to belly cheere, and sense to be subiect to sloth and drunkenness; foure times euery day were his tables spread, and plenteously with all Cates furnished, euery commanding that his courtiers, guests, and seruants, should rather leaue, for superfluity, then call, for lack: which howsoeuer it was in him accounted for Roiall bounty, yet it caused in the people (who vse to praise the Soueraignes vertues, but imitate his vices) a riotous loosenesse, and the Common-weale to lie sicke of consumptions, bred by such excess of those grosse humours in her body.

(6) This wrought in him a carelesse neglect of government in State, so that the whole managing thereof was committed to his mother Queene *Emma*, a woman extremely couetous, and to *Goodwin*, the rich and politicke Earle of *Kent*, who seeing the present state carried wholly away with present pleasures

Monarch

John Stow in
Survey of LondonHenry Hauard
with Adm.
dever, Aug.
Rend. Higd.
Palmer, Lib.

with Mal.

asures, thought that a fitt subiect for him to worke vpon; for the King not married (vnlesse it were to his lewd will) and *Edward* likely to succede, of an ouer soft temperance, hee thought these both might proue aduantageous to his ambition, and therefore berought him, how the crowne might bee worne by him or his.

(7) Therefore, to separate the hearts of the subiects from the Prince (then which, there can bee no greater a wound vnto both,) hee caused the King to impose heavy tributes vpon the *English*, onely to pay the *Danes* in his Fleet, appointing euery common Souldier and Mariner, to receiue eight markes in money, & euery officer and Markster twelue; which amounted to the summe of thirty two thousand, one hundred forty seven pounds: for the payment whereof, there was so great a grudge, that two of the Collectors, *Thurslane* and *Feader* were slaine by the Citizens of *Worcester*, which caused their City to be burnt, and part of the country spoiled by the Kings commaund, and their Bishop *Alfred* expelled the See, till with money hee had purchased his peace. This Bishops hands (as was said) were deepe in the murder of Prince *Alfred*, the Kings halfe brother, whom we spake of; yea, and *Goodwin* himselfe was put to his purgation by oath, for the clearing of his suspicions in that treacherous and brutish fact: which oath was the lighter vrged, and the easier receiued for his rich and bounteous gifts, immediately before presented to the King, and that was a shippe, whose sterne was of gold, with fourescore souldiers therein placed, all vniformely and richlie suited. On their heads they all wore guilt Burgenets, and on their bodies a triple guilt habergion, a sword with guilt hilts girded to their waistes, a battaile-axe (after the manner of the *Danes*) on their left shoulders, a target with guilt bosses borne in their left hands, a dart in the right, their armes bound about with two bracelets of gold, containing fixteene ounces in weight.

(8) *Aimundus Bremenfis* writing the Stories of those times; sheweth, that the three sonnes of *Canute* were possessed of the three Kingdomes, *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*, though the father by Will, had disposed of the first otherwise; which moued *Hardi-Canute* much to maligne the roialtie of *Harold*, whose Crowne by birth and couenant belonged to him; and therefore with great preparation, intending to recouer his right, hee entered the Sea, and came into *Flanders*, where hauing notice of the vsurpers death, his rage was staied, and he peaceably came in, and receiued the Crowne.

(9) And that *Swein* (called the Younger) King of *Denmarke*, to assit his vnkle *Hardi-Canute* against *Harold* the vsurper of *Englands* Crowne, with a great Armie prepared thitherward; and taking the Seas, were by tempest driuen vpon the coasts of *Hadeloe*, where his Armie doing some hurt, was set vpon and discomfited by the souldiers of the Arch-bishoppe: himselfe amongst them being taken prisoner, and brought into the presence of the Arch-bishop, was by him most honourably receiued, and conueied vnto *Breme*, who there entered a league with him, and

with gifts and other complements; after a few daies; suffered him to depart; who likewise hearing of the death of King *Harold*, returned backe to his owne Countrey, where shortly after he was much molested by *Magnus* the sonne of *Oluf*, then raigning King ouer the *Norwegians*.

(10) *Hardi-Canute* in *England*, hearing of those stirres, thought it his part to aid his Nephew King *Sweyn*, against the inuasions of *Magnus*; and therefore hee lent one *Saene* his kinsman, with an Armie of the *English*, to reestabliish King *Sweyn* in his Throne. These entred *Norway*, and the Field against the *Norwegians*, but by them were so ouerlaid, that hee left *Magnus* the vanquisher, and returned againe for *England*; but before hee could arriue the Shore, King *Hardi-Canute* was dead, with whom dyed the issue of that warre; whose death was suddaine; and after this manner.

(11) At the celebration of a great marriage, contracted betwixt a Danish Lord, called *Canut-Prudan*, and Lady *Githa*, the daughter of a Noble-man, whose name was *Ofgot Clappa*; in a solemne assembly, & banquet at *Lambeth* the eight of Iune, reuelling and carousing amidst his cups, hee suddainly fel down without speech or breath: whose losse was the lesse lamented for his excess, riotousnesse, and vnwonted exactions: but chiefly because a much better was then to succede him; hauing himselfe had neither wife nor child that is read off. Yea, so farre were all sorts from bewailing him, that in regard of the freedome from the Danish yoke, which they attained by his decease, euery since among the common people; the day of his death is annually celebrated with open pastimes in the streets (as the old *Romanes* kept their *fugalia*, for chaffing out of their Kings,) which time is now called *Hof tide* or *Hux-tide*, signifying a time of *fornie* or contempt, which fell vpon the *Danes* by his death.

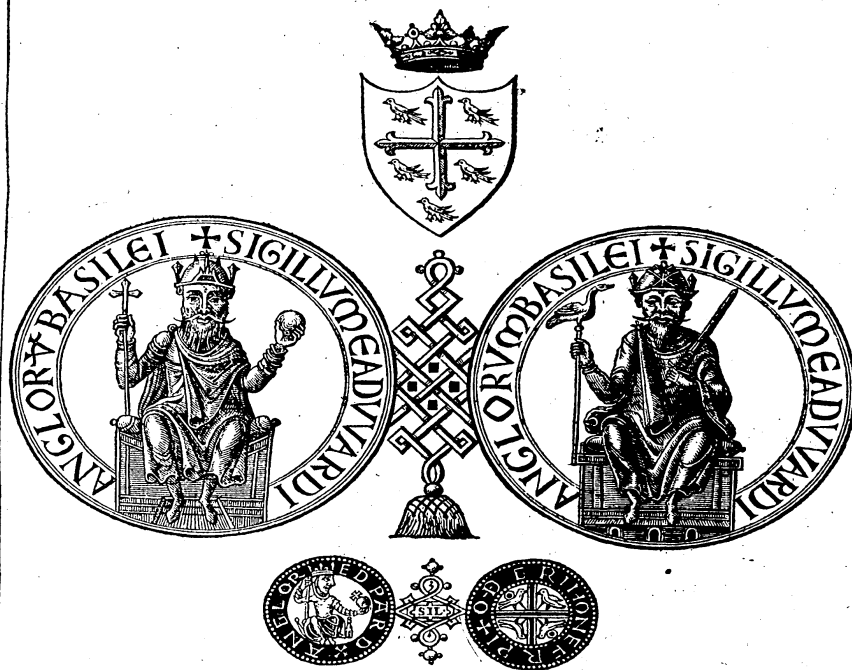
His body with all due obsequies was interred at *Winchester* by his fathers, after hee had voluptuously raigned two yeeres lacking ten daies, and departed his life and kingdom the yeere of Christ Iesus, 1042.

(12) With the death of this King died all rule of the *Danes* in this land, and the sacred sparke of the *Saxons* fire (through three of their successions) buried in their owne ashes, beganne now to take flame and to burne most bright, which was Prince *Edward* (now commonly called the Confessor) the sonne of King *Ethelred*, and albeit there were others betwixt him and the crowne, as namely, *Edward* and *Edmund* the sonnes of the *Iron-side*, yet the one dying in *Hungarie* without issue of body, the other there liuing as a banished man (by surname the *Out-law*) was neither so well regarded, nor thought so worthy of gouernement, as this other *Edward* was, whom therefore they sent for, and with so great applause and acclamations proclaimed, that the present ioy seemed to prognosticate a perpetual happinesse to the *English*, who had beene most miserably afflicted by the *Danes*, for the space of two hundred forty two yeeres; though this line againe failed, before it was well begunne.

idem. H. 5. 111.

Simon Dug.
Blat. 12. 11.Lambert Peramb.
in Sandwich.See booke 7. cap.
44. 168. 2.

EDVARD THE CONFESSOR.
SONNE OF KING ETHELRED, THE
THIRTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE
ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, VER-
TVES, AND MAR-
RIAGE.



CHAPTER VI.

An.D. 1042.
Henry I. standing.



Edward, the Third of that Name before the Conquest, half-brother to the deceased *Harold Canute*, and sonne to King *Ethelred* by Queene *Emma* his wife, was by the proud care of a Mothers affection, (when the variable successe of Warre, doubt-

fully depended betwixt *Edmund the English*, and *Canutus the Dane*) sent into *Normandy* to Duke *Richard* her Brother, there to be secured from all domesticall stirres: and now, before the dead corps could be entered, with a generall consent of the Nobles was elected their King.

(2) I know well that in the legend of this holy mans life, more things are recorded, then with facie of truth may be either belueed, or deliuered; as that

he was chosen King by consent of Parliament, when as yet he was in his mothers wombe, *Ethelred* his Father at the same time hauing many other sonnes alieue; as also when the destroying *Danes* had extinguished by their warres almost the whole *Royall* issue of the *English*, the holy Monke *Brightwold*, of *Glasterbury* deploring their losse, and the Lands miserable estate, had in vision this *Edward*, then an Exile, presented vnto him by the Apostle *S. Peter* himselfe, who then anointing him King in his sight, telling him that his Raigne should be peaceable, and twenty three yeeres for continuance; *Brightwold* yet vnatisfied who should next succede, demanded the resolution, and was answered by *Peter*, that the *Kingdome of England* was Gods owne *Kingdome*; for whose successors himselfe would provide. With such vaine predictions our otherwife true Stories are ouer-charged; which moued *Comincus* the worthy *French* Historian, to tax the *English* with ouer much credulitie that way.

(3) But

(3) But most true it is, that the *English* Nobilitie disclaiming all *Danish* subiection, presently vpon the death of King *Harold*, enacted, That none of their blood should any more raigne ouer them: putting this their decree in execution by cashiering all *Danes* from the Castles, Forts, and Garrison Townes throughout all the Land, whence some euen of their Blood Royall were forced to depart. Then sending securitie into *Normandy*, with proffer of the Crowne vnto Prince *Edward*, had his consent, and assistance of Duke *William* his colen germane.

(4) This *Edward* (as elsewhere hath been said) was borne at *Slip* neere vnto *Oxford*, and tenderly educated by Queene *Emma* his Mother; and after his Fathers death, for safety sent into *France*; where, by his sweet conuersation hee gained the loue of all, and as much himselfe affected those strangers, which was some blemish of policie in the face of his gouernment, when he had got the Diadem, as being of disposition ouer-soft, and euer too pliant (an imperfection in a Soueraigne) to take the impress of any stamp. In which mould, the aspiring *Goodwin* Earle of *Kent*, doth cast the fabrick of his owne designs; who had made away *Alfred*, his younger, but of a more resolute spirit, that so the basis of his owne pillar (whose top in time he hoped to crowne) might be set, if not vpon, yet with the neereft to the Throne.

(5) Hee therefore, the formost both in will and power, vied both to establish Prince *Edward* in his right, being seconded by *Leofrick* Earle of *Chester*, and *Lyungus* Bishop of *Worcester*, and indeed with the generall assistance of all the *English*, who now were so ialous of all forraigne powers, that they forbade an ouergreat traine of *Normans*, (though coming for his aid) to attend their new-chosen King.

(6) His Coronation was at *Winchester*, with great concourse of people, and the celebration performed by *Edine*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, vpon the very day of Christ his resurrection, (being also a new-rising day to the *English* Nation) the yeere of grace 1042. himselfe being aged then towards forty, and was in number the thirtieth Monarch of *England*, where he reigned with such Iustice & Piety, that he obtained the venerable name of *Saint*, and vnto posterities is distinguished from the other *Edwards*, by the adiectiue *Confessor*.

(7) In the entrance of his gouernement, to witnes his loue to his people, hee fought euery way the furtherance of their wealth, and afterwards remitted the most heauy Tribute of forty thousand pounds yearly gathered by the name of *Dane-gilt*, which had bin imposed by his Father, and payed for forty yeeres continuance, out of the lands of all, except only the Clergie, because, (say our ancient lawes,) the Kings reposed more confidence in the prayers of holy Church, then in the power of Armies. Then, from the diuers Lawes of the *Mercians*, *West-Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Northumbrians*, he selected the best, and made of them one body certaine, and written in Latin, (that all men of anie learning might know wheron to rely) to be the touch of his Common-wealths Pleas, and the squire by which he would haue euery right to be measured; being (in a sort) the fountaine of those, which at this day we terme the Common Lawes, though the formes of pleading & proceffe therein, were afterward brought in by the Conquest.

(8) The raigne of this King by most writers records, was more spent in peace & works of true piety, then in warres, and blood, though some dissensions happened both domestically, and forreine: for about the yeare one thousand forty five, and third of his Raig, a royal Navy was rigged in *Sandwich* hauen, against *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who then intended to invade *England*, and indeed had so done, if the wars of *Sweyn* King of *Denmark* had not diuerted his purpose.

(9) This *Sweyn* was the sonne of Duke *Wolfe* by *Ostryth* his Duchesse, sister to *Harold Canut*, who as I find written in the manuscript of *Atmundus Bremenensis*, being in possession of two kingdomes, prepared his Na-

uy for the conquest of *England* also. But, (saith hee) King *Edward* gouerning that Kingdome with great Iustice and Loue, chose rather his peace with proffers of Tribute, and promises that after his death the Crowne should be his, yea though himselfe should haue children: howbeit this seemeth not to sound for truth; For *Sweyn* sending his Ambassadors vnto *Edward* to craue ayde against *Magnus* (his grievous and mortall Enemy, could obtain none, and *Harold Harfager*, the successor of *Magnus*, and enemy to *Sweyn*, presently thereupon sent vnto *Edward* for a league of amity, which was ratified firmly betwixt them.

(10) Neither may wee thinke that euer hee meant his Crowne that way; for that besides the decree enacted against all *Danish* claims, his desire to establish it in the *English* blood is most manifest, by sending for *Edward* his Nephew, the sonne of *Edmund Iron-side*, remaining in *Hungary*, and that so long out of *England* that hee was called the *Outlawe*; who coming ouer, brought with him his wife *Agatha*, and children, *Edgar* a sonne, and *Margaret* and *Christian* his daughters; him *Edward* meant to haue made heire to the Crowne, had he not beene precluded by hasty death, whereupon the King deligned young *Edgar*, his sonne, the heire apparent, and gaue him the surname of *Adeling*, a name of great honor appropriated to the Princes of the blood, and men capable of the Crowne.

(11) Besides these former attempts, certaine *Danish* Pirates entred the Port of *Sandwich*, which with all the Sea-Coats of *Essex* they spoiled, and in *Flaunders* made Marchandize of their prey. The *Irish* likewise with thirty fixe shippes entred *Seuern*, and with the assistance of *Griffith* King of *South-Wales* burnt or slew all that they found, against whom *Alfred* Bishop of *Worcester* went and fought, but with such success, that many of his Souldiers were slaine, and the rest put to flight; which made the *Welshmen* far more bold, and *Reese*, the brother of *Griffith*, make many incursions to fetch preyes out of *England*, till at length he was slaine at *Bulenden*, and his head presented to King *Edward* at *Glooucester*.

(12) His domestical molestations, were chiefly by Earle *Goodwin* and his sonnes; and those first springing vpon this following occasion. Enflame the elder, Earle of *Bulloigne*, who had married *Goda*, sister by the fathers side to King *Edward*, came into *England* to visite him then lying at *Glooucester*, and returning homeward, at *Canterbury* his Herberger dealing roughlie with a Burgeisse for lodgings, caused his owne death; which when his Lord heard of, thirsting for reuenge, he slew eigheteene Citizens in the heat of his furie: the *Canterburians* in as great a rage gotte them to armour, and slew twenty of his retinue, wounding many more, and made the Earle to recoil; whose greuous complaint comming to the King, he commanded *Goodwin* to see execution done vpon the offenders. Earle *Goodwin* not hasty to follow his commission, aduised the King to examining the cause before he massacred his true subiects at the instigation of Strangers; whereat King *Edward* was highly offended, and *Goodwin* thereby gained great loue of the Commons. This occasioned *Robert Gometicensis* a *Norman*, first made Bishop of *London*, and after Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, to spread the Curtaine of disfauour betwixt *Goodwin* and the King, virging his refusal as an Act of Contempt, wherein more dangers might lie hid then were to be suffered; whereupon *Edward* called an assembly of Estates, appointing a day of meeting at *Glooucester*.

(13) The Commons (whose common guile is deadly to hate all strangers, though many times well deseruing) now seeing Earle *Goodwin* in danger for their good, were easily drawne to assist him and his cause, and in warlike manner garded his person, at *Reuerstane* not farre from the King. The Estates assembled, and *Goodwin* sent for, he refused to come, pretending seruice against the *Welsh*, then ready to make inroades, and that his presence was more need-

Yyy 1 full

Math. 11. 11.

King Edward de-
signeth the
Crowne to an
English-man.In the sixt yere
of his raigne,
Henry I.An.D. 1053.
Mat. 11. 11. 12.
Chron. of Wales.

Wil. Malmsbury.

Rand. Big.

Malm. 11.

full there, then at Court; albeit the *Welsh-men* cleared themselves by sending their Ambassadors vnto the King. The suspitions increasing, great preparation on both sides was made; to assit the King came *Leofricke* the worthy Earle of *Chester*, *Sigward* the stout Earle of *Northumberland*, and *Rodulfe* Earle of *Hereford* his silter *Godas* sonne, by her first husband *walter de Maigne*.

(14) To *Goodwin* repaired his people of *Southerie* and *Kent*, and to him were brought by *Swaine* his sonne, the men of *Oxford*, *Sommerfet*, *Hereford*, *Gloucester*, and *Berk-shires*; vnto whom, *Harold* his other sonne, ioined those of *Essex*, *Norfolke*, *Suffolke*, *Cambridge*, and *Huntingdon-shires*, so that his host was exceedingly great, and his mind thereby so inflated, that from *Langton*, where hee lay, hee sent a bold and Traiterous demand to the King, to haue Earle *Eustace of Bulloigne* with all his *French* and *Normans* (that kept then in the Cattle of *Douer*) to bee deliuered vnto him, and his sonnes: which beeing (as good reason was) refused, the Battle was prepared, and brought to the verie point of hazard and ruine of all: For in that quarrell were assembled the greatest Peeres, and Lords of the Land, the Kings loue faying very much with many, but yet the hatred towards Strangers possesing the hearts of more. The beginning thus doubtfull, and the end like to prooue dangerous; the matter both with great foresight and prouidence was referred vnto Parliament, to bee holden at *London* with all conuenient haif, whereunto pledges were both giuen and receiued on either parts.

(15) King *Edward* strongly guarded with an Army of the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians*, entred *London*, and *Goodwin* with his sonnes in warlike manner came into *Southwarke* to his owne house. But his Army wauering, and (as bad caufes & confidences make men doe) suspecting the worst, by little and little thrunk away from him: which knowne to the King, he presently pronounced sentence of banishment vnto *Goodwin* and his sue sonnes, without further proceeding by way of Parliament, as was determined. *Goodwin* therefore with great riches and his three sonnes, *Swaine*, *Tostie*, and *Girib*, sailed into *Flanders*, and *Harold* with his brother *Leofwine*, from *Bristow* passed into *Ireland*; who were no sooner gone, but the King proclaimed them Out-lawes, and gaue the Earldome of *Harold* vnto *Algar*, the son of *Leofricke*, Earle of *Chester*. This *Leofricke* is he, which at his Counteies request freed the Citie *Couentrie* of their importable tribute imposed, as we haue elsewhere said.

(16) In the second yeere of *Goodwins* banishment, both himselfe and those his sonnes with him, hauing gotten ships conuenient for warre, in manner of Pirates came vpon the coasts of *Kent* and *Suffex*, doing much harme, and returning with spoiles: the like did *Harold* and *Leofwin* from *Scotland*, vpon the westerne coasts of *Sommerfet* and *Denonshires*, who thence coasting about the point of *Cornwall*, ioined their Fleet with their Fathers, in the Ile of *Wight*.

(17) Against them King *Edward* prepared, & himselfe, though aged, with a Naue of fixtie ships well furnished for warre, meant to haue made an end of that businesse, by the destruction of his aduersaries: but the Nauies ready to ioine battell, God rooke the cause into his owne hand, and with a thicke fogge so ouer-spread the seas, that one Fleet could not thereby see another; in which, *Goodwin* and his complices by contrary windes were driuen to the place from whence they came. King *Edward* till in iacalouse of *Goodwins* returne, rigged forth forty tall ships to secure the seas, which kept not so strong a watch, but that *Goodwin* got by them, soliciting the people of *Kent*, *Suffex*, and *Surrey* vnto his aid, and entring *Thames*, did the like vnto them in *London*, who accepted of his arriuage, though King *Edward* lay there: so that without disturbance his Nauie fell vp with the tide, through the south Arch of the Bridge, & a mighty army to his aid mustered vpon the same side of the riuer.

(18) The Nobilitie then seeing side against side, and all of them mere *English*, ready to hazard their blood in the quarrels of Strangers, wrought so with *Edward* and *Goodwin*, that they came vnto peace, and pledges were againe deliuered for the performance, whereof *Wilmo* the sonne of Earle *Goodwin*, and *Hacum* the sonne of *Swaine* his eldest, were sent to Duke *William of Normandy*: so great a trust hee euer reposed in Strangers. This *Swaine*, vpon a remorse of conscience for the blood he had spilt, and especially for the slaughter of *Beorne* his cofen & intercessor, who fled to the King for his peace, vnderooke a pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, and in his returne died in *Licia*, whether through an extremity of cold, or by the hands of *Saracens*, that spoiled all they met, it is vncertaine.

(19) *Goodwin* now restored, and in great credit with the King, cast the eye of disdaine vpon the Arch-Bishop *Robert* (as common fauorites emulate each others), and himselfe being a man eloquent and politike, so possessed the King both against him and his *Normans*, that he requited his owne banishment, with all theirs out of *England*, some few excepted, that were fauoured by the *English*: and now promising himselfe much honour and authority, was suddenly cut off by the stroke of death, surprizing him as hee sat at Table with the King vpon Monday in the Easter weeke, but died not till the Thursday following, which happened at *Winchefer*, where hee was buried.

(20) Besides these former forraine and ciuil molestations, other calamities happened to the Land; for in the yeare of Grace 1047. and moneth of January, there fell so great a Snow, which couered the ground vnto the middle of *March*, that Cattle & Fowles perished abundantly: and on the first day of that Month the yere following, a strange and terrible Earth-quake happened, which seemed to rent the ground afunder, and withall such *Lightnings*, as burnt vp the Cornes, growing in the fields, wherby an excessive *Dearth* followed: so that his raigne was neither so peaceable nor prosperous, as *Brighwald* the Monke dreamed it should be. But as all these were scourges sent from God vpon the Land for sin, so both Prince, Pastors, and people, had all generally their part thereof, as being ioinely the causers of the same.

(21) For the King, in case of these Strangers, put the Land more then once in danger to bee lost: and himselfe refraining the bed of his vertuous wife committed thereby the offence forbidden by the Apostle, and caused her his Queene, either to commit or be accused to haue committed adultery. The Clergie likewise altogether vnlearned, wanton, and vicious: for the Prelats neglecting the offices of Episcopall function, which was to tender the affaires of the Church, and to feed the flocke of Christ, liued themselves idle, and couetous, addicted wholly to the pomp of the world, and voluptuous life, little caring for the Churches & soules committed to their charge: and if any told them (saith *Higden*) that their liues ought to be holy, & their conuersation without Couetousnes, according to the sacred prescript, and vertuous examples of their Elders, they would scoffingly put them off with, *Nunc aliud tempus, alii pro tempore mores; Times haue mutations, Somus mens falsions*: and thus, (saith he,) they plained the roughnes of their doings with smoothnes of their answers. Briefly, the whole people were so loose and riotous, that as *Gervasius Dorobornensis* recordeth, they fell so fast to commit wickednes, as to bee ignorant of sinfull crimes, was then held to be a great crime in itselfe. And by the testimony of *Alamesbury*, the finnes of those times euidently foreshowed a generall destruction: for the *Englishmen* (saith hee) transformed themselves into the strange manners of the *French*, and that not only in speech and behaviour, but in their deeds, and Charters: their vse was then to goe fantastically appointed, their garments reaching but to the mid knee: their heads *borne*, and their beards shauen all but the upper lippe, which grew with long mustaches; continually wearing maske bracelets of gold about

their armes, carrying markes vpon their skinnie pouncies in sundry Colours; and the Clergie contenting themselves with triuall literature, could scarcely hacke and hew out the words of the Sacrament. These then were *Englands* dolorous times both of blindness & lewdnesse, drawing downe Gods wrath for their destruction.

(22) But howsoeuer this King is reported to bee louing and facile towards Strangers, (which in it selfe is a princely vertue if it be opportunely and warily vsed): yet to his owne Mother, and Wife, vnaturally ouer rigorous, imprisoning and bereauing them both all Prince-like honour. Against Queene *Emma*, his Mother, were instigators *Robert Arch-Bishop of Canterbury*, and Earle *Goodwin of Kent*, the two greatest fauorites of the King. The causes objected were, her marriagewith *Canut* the Capitall enemy of *England*; her regardlesse of succouring himselfe and his brother in their exiles, whome (as was alleged) shee continued to haue made away, and that vnder colour of priuate deuotions, shee had vled the company of *Alwine* Bishop of *Winchefer* ouer familiarly, to her great dishonour and the Kings disgrace: for these and the like, hee tooke away all her Jewels, and other substance, and committed her to safe custody in the Abbey of *Werwell*.

(23) Indeede *Malmisbury* doth tax her to haue beene intariably couetous, and that shee was more tenderly affectionate to her *Danish*, then *English* children, wherby her loue was measured to their fathers. But for the imputation of her incontinencie, the washed it off with as sharpe a triall as any that is recorded for truth, by vndergoing that ouer-hard law *Ordaliu*, when in presence of the King her Son, & many of his Peeres, shee passed ouer betweene nine plough-shares glowing red hot, bare-footed & blind-folded, without any hurt; vling this speech to her leaders, as not knowing hee was past all danger, *O Lord when shall I come to the place of my purgation*: but hauing her eyes vncovered and seeing her selfe cleerly escaped, fell vpon her knees, and with teares gaue thanks to her Deliuerer, wherby shee recouered, both the loue and her former estate of the King, with the good esteeme and applause of the people: in memory wherof shee gaue nine Mannors (according to the number of plough-shares) to the Minister of *Winchefer*, (wherin shee had that triall), and adorned the same with many rich ornaments; as likewise the King, repenting the wrong hee did her, bestowed on the same place the Island (so then it was) called *Portland* in *Dorsetshire*, being about seven miles in compasse: for so the chance, in those daies, was set, that whosoever lost, the monks did winne.

(24) Neither were this Kings proceedings better with his owne Wife, howsoeuer some haue cloaked that *Fraud* (so the Apostle tearmes it) vnder the faire robe of Chastity. For hee marrying *Editha*, a Lady incomparable both for beauty and vertue, in whose breast (saith *Alamesbury*) there was a Schoole of all Liberal sciences, refused her Bed: but whether it were for his debility, or hatred to *Goodwin* her father, or loue of Virginitie, I determine not; but am fully perswaded, that the accusation of Adultery wherewith *Robert* the Arch-bishop did charge her, was more vpon enuy to her father, then truth of so foule a fact in her, whose vertues were so many, and so memorabile, by report of Authors, that were euen witness themselves; for *Ingulphus* that had oftentimes conference with her, doth thus of her relate.

There was giuen (saith hee) vnto King *Edward* for his Queene and wife, the daughter of *Goodwin*, a most beautifull *Damosell*, *Egitha* by name, excellent well learned; in her demeanure, and whole course of life a *Virgine* most chait, humble, and vncincedly holy, no way sauouring of her Fathers, or Brethrens barbarousnesse, but mild, modest, faithfull, and innocent, nor euer hurtfull to any; in somuch, that this verue was applied to her:

Sicut Spina Rosam, genuit Godwinus Egicham.
From prickled stake, as sweetest Rose:
So Egith faire, from Goodwin growes.

All these notwithstanding, the King expelled her his Court and Bed, and that with no little disgrace; for taking all her goods from her, euen to the vttermost farthing, committed her prisoner to the Monasterie of *Wilton*, attended onely with one maid, where shee, for a whole yeeres space almost, in teares and prayers expected the day of her release and comfort: All which vnprincelie, and vn-Spouslike vlage, as the King pretended, and said, was, because shee only should not lue in comfort, when as her Parents and Brethren were banished the Realme: an vniust sentence surely, and vn-befitting a Saint, thus to punish the finnes of the fathers vpon their children, contrary to the prescript rule of God, who by his Prophet complaineth against such iniustice, and regulateth it with this iust verdict, *T has soule that sinneth shall die*: and for her pure and vn-violated chaity, himselfe on his death-bed spake, saying, that openly shee was his wife, but in secret embracing as his owne sister.

(25) Yet behold the blindness, and partiality of those times, wherein for this his only refusal of nuptiall duties, the penciles of those that should haue shewed his true face to posterities, haue so embellished the portraiture and lineaments, that vnto the beholder hee seemeth now no mortall creature; his miracles and forelayings answerable to most of the Prophets. Which here to infern in so worthy a subiect and holy Kings life, were both to fill vp with a needlesse surcharge, whole leaues of Times waste abuses, and to breed a suspicion of those other things in him, which we know for found truth; as was his gift from God, through his holy inuocations, and touch of the place affected, to cure the disease called *Struma*, now the *Kings Evil*, which vnto this day in his successors, hath been experienced vpon many such healings, by the touch of those gracious hands who haue held the Scepter, as Gods Vicegerents of this most blessed and happy Kingdome. That hee had the spirit of Prophecie, many haue thought, as also the notice of his owne death, some constantly affirme; by a King sent him from *Ierusalem*, the same that hee long time before had giuen to a pilgrime: but these with his other miraculous cures, his sight of the *Danes* destruction, and the *Seven Sleepers* in the *Mount Cellion* besides *Ephesus*, with infinite others, I leaue to his Legend-writers, and *Aluredus Riualensis* to relate, who haue writen his many miracles with no sparing pen. Most true it is that of a little Monastery dedicated to *S. Peter* in the west of *London* by the riuer of *Thames*, hee made a most beautifull and faire Church, where hee likewise provided for his owne Sepulcher, and another dedicated to *S. Margaret*, standing without the Abbey: this of *Westminster* hee endowed with very rich reuenues, and confirmed their Charters vnder his Broad Seale, being the first of the Kings of *England*, who vied that large and stately impression in their Royall Charters and Patents: the very true form wherof, according to the rude sculpture of those elder times, we haue portraited in the front of this Chapter, as we intend likewise to doe in the rest succeeding; wherof this vlt at least, (if no other) may be made, that by benefit of those patterns, men may know from what Princes they first received the Charters of their ancient possessions, and Patents of their honours, which the Princes stile (many beeing of one name) cannot sufficiently make knowne.

The said Church of *Westminster* hee built for the discharge of his vowed pilgrimage to *Ierusalem*, & that in such sumptuous manner, that it was in those daies the Patern to all other stately buildings. Hee founded also the Colledge of *S. Mary Ouerie* in the county of *Devon*, and gaue vnto it the Village of *Otereg*, and remoued the Bishoppes See from *Cridington* to *Excester*, as a place of farre more dignity; where the King taking the right hand, and the Queene the left, led *Leofricke* from the high Altar, and installed him the first Bishop of that See: Finally, when hee had reigned the space of twentie yeeres, six moneths, and twenty seuen daies; hee died the fourth of January, the yeere of had

Rand. Higden,
Matt. West,
Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.
Rand. Higden,
Matt. West,
Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.
Rand. Higden,
Matt. West,
Simon Dun.

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Rand. Higden,
Matt. West,
Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.
Rand. Higden,
Matt. West,
Simon Dun.

Wil. Malm.

Ezek. 18. 4.

Edward vlt.

Edward legend,
eiusdem vita M. S.

Saint Peter himselfe came down from heauen to the first dedication of that place, it the fore-laid M. S. or not, T. Clifford.

Simon Dun.

King Edward the founder of S. Mary Overy Colledge. Stow 114.

Christ Iesus one thousand sixtie six, and was with great lamentations and solemnitie buried in his Church at *Westminster*, the morrow after the feast of the *Epiphanie*.

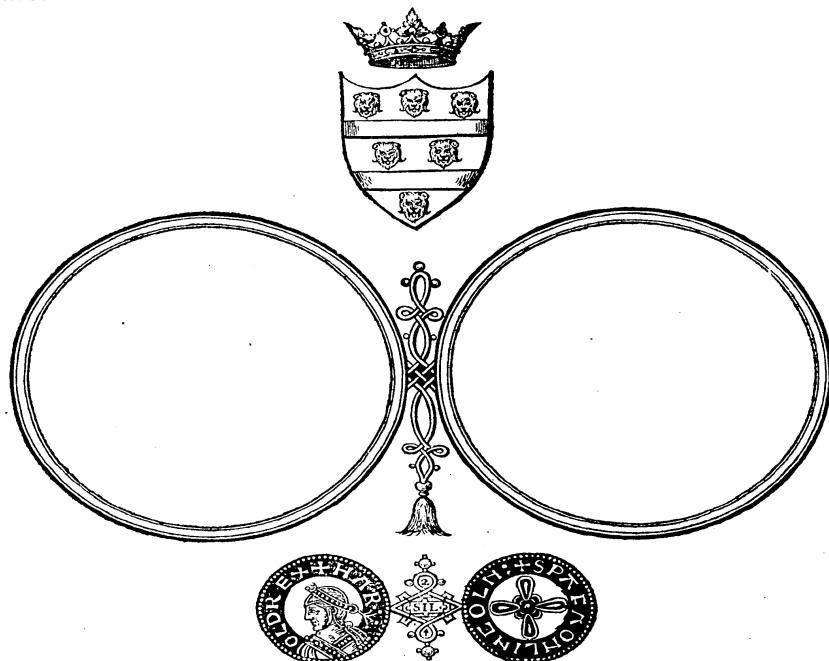
Hee was of perſon well proportioned, of countenance lober, and of complexion faire ; naturally courteous and gentle to all (and thereby too prone and credulous to ſuggeſtions) loving to his ſubiects, and over-loving unto Strangers. A Prince of much vertue and integritie of life, notwithstanding which, had not beene vailed vnder ſe faire-ſhew of Chariſtie, he had not ſo eaſily beene canonized for a Saint ; wherein yet the ſeeming wilſt taxed his wiſdome, whileſt vnder a goodly pretext of Religion and vowed Virginitie, hee callt off all care of hauing iſſue, and

exposed the kingdom for a prey to the greedy desires of ambitious humours.

His wife.

Editha, the wife of King *Edward*, was the daughter of *Goodwin*, Duke of the *West-Saxons*, and Earle of *Kent*: her mother was *Gith* the sister of *Sweyne* the younger, King of *Denmarke*, she was married vnto him the yeere of Christs humanity, 1045. and fourth of his raigne. She was his wife eighteene yeeres; and suruiuing him liued a widow eight more, and in the eight yeere of King *William* the Conquerours raigne, died in *December*, the yeere of Christs birth, 1074, and was buried by her husband in *S. Peters Church at Westminster*.

HAROLD THE SECOND OF THAT
NAME, THE SONNE OF EARLE GOOD-
WINE, AND THIRTIE EIGHT MONARCH OF
THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS LIFE, RAIGNE,
ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER VII.

THe people sorrowing for the death of their King, and the State-men perplexed for choice of a new, *Edgar Atheling's* title was worthy of more vnpartial respect then it found: for him they held too young for government: besides, a stranger borne, scarce speaking *English*: and withall, the pro-

phacies of *Edward* touching the alienation of the
Crown, the Interest of the *Danes*, and the claim that
Duke *William* made, (both by gift and consanguinity,
,) bred great distraction of desires, and opinions;
but nothing concluded for settling the State; no man
either assuming or profering the Monarchiall diadem,
because none had the power, or right to adorne
therewith his owne head. In this Calme conference
a sudden gale arose, which blew all the sails
spread for that wande into one Port. And that was
Harold sonne to Earle *Goodwine*, a man (duly prizing
his

Harold	ENGLANDS MONARCHS.	Monarch 38.	40
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his many worthy parts) not vntmeet for a kingdom, who first succeeding his father in his Dukedome, and next *Edward* (his brother in Law) in his Kingdom, in patience, clemency, & affability bare himselfe most approuedly towards the vertuous, but with a Lions courage, and fierce countenance chastised the disordered, and indeede became another *Maccabeus* vnto the distressed Land. Whose kingly state before we touch, it shall not bee amisse to lengthen his shorie raigne with his Acts and Life, as hee was a Subject, both with and against his Lord and Predecessor.

(2) That hee tooke part with his Father against *Enflace of Bullioigne*, and King *Edwards* hally commiffion, wee haue shewed; himfelfe then enioying the Earldome of *Oxford*, and affected by thofe of *Effex*, *Suffolke* and *Norfolke*, *Cambridge* & *Huntington-shire*, that they fided in his caufe againft the King; But thefe delignes failing, (as commonly it is fene all attempts of Subjects againft their Soueraignes doe) hee learned by baniishment, what was the loffe of true honour, and by forbearance of battell (when halfe the Kingdome ftood for him,) his dutie obliged vnto the Common-wealth. And growne againe into fauour with the King, carried himfelfe anfwerably vnto both.

(3) Some ieniously conceiued, *Edward* without any cause, banished *Algar* the son of *Leofricke* Earle of *Chester*, who with the helpe of the *Irish* and *Welshmen*, vnder the conduct of *Gruffith* ap *Llewelyn* Prince of *North-Wales* (who had married his daughter,) did much hurt to the English, putting *Rodulph* Earle of *Hereford* to flight, with the slaughter of fue hundred men, spoiled the City, burnt the Minster and became Masters of mil-rule in those parts. Against these was *Harold* sent, and with such manhood pursued his flying enemies, that passing through *North-Wales*, vpon the *Snow-downes* he pitched his Field: The Earle, and Prince *Gruffith*, not daring to abide his presence, fled thence vnto *South-Wales*, and again tooke into *Hereford*; whereof *Harold* hauing intelligence hastied thitherward (leaving sufficient in the *Snow-downes* to mate the *Welsh*), and recovering the City, with a deepe trench and high rampire fortified it about, where for the sauing of more bloud (and not vngratefull to *Algar*, who without grudge had resigned to him his Earldome, and whole *R*enueues at his returne from exile) a peace was concluded, and at *Harold*s request, Earle *Algar* and Prince *Gruffith* were pardoned.

(4) But *Algar* being again accused, & again aided by his old associate *Gruffith*, recovered his Earldome by force, whereto King *Edward* was highly displeased, but most against *Gruffith*, who euer was ready to assist any against him: whereupon *Harold* the second time appointed Generall, with a great host entred *North-Wales*, without sight of enemy, where he only burnt downe the stately Palace of Prince *Gruffith*, & so returned to the King. But long the *welsh* were not quiet, nor the Prince pleased of the harms to him done. Wherefore making his forces verie strong he againe molested the English.

(5) To refrain from any more was *Harold* set forth, who with such terror burst into *Wales*, that Prince *Gruffith*, in secret stole from his Campe, leaving his Souldiers (if they would) to fight for themselves, whereupon his whole army yielded themselves to *Harold's* mercy, and having Prince *Gruffith* in their hands, cut off his head, and sent it to *Harold*, giving him pledges for assurance of peace, and the payment of the ancient tribute which for a time had been retained: yet ever after he carried so heavy a hand on the *Welsh*, that as *John of Salisbury* in his Policraticon writeth, he ordained a law, that what *Welsh-man* soever, should with weapon pass over *offes* ditch, should have his right hand cutt off by the Kings officer.

(6) All now in quiet, and *Harold* withdrawne to his Mannor of *Bosham* vpon the riuaige of the sea in the confines of *Sussex*, there for his recreation, one

day he tooke into a Fishers boate with small attendants, neither those very skillfull Mariners, when no sooner were they lanced into the deepe, but a contrary wind came about, and droue the boat vpon the coast of *Ponthieu in France*, where hee was taken by the Country people, and presented to *Guido* their Earle, who a while retained him his prisoner, in hope of gaine by his ransom, but Duke *William* requiring it, he was conuied into *Normandy*, where he cunningly perswaded the Duke, that his secret coming out of *England*, was purposely to enter a league of amity with him. The Duke then hauing present was with the *Brittaines in France*, tooke this his new friend and guest with him for his companion at Armes; whose ready policies followed with forward practise, wan him great estimation with the Duke; whereupon betwixt them a couenant was made for the reueration of the *English* Crowne to the *Norman*, if it chanced King *Edward* to die without children; and the same ratified by *Harolds* corporall oath, with the affiancing of Lady *Adeliza*, the Dukes fifth daughter, then a child and *Harold* a widower; which afterwards fell to his owne destruction, and the lands subversion, as shall be said.

(7) His last imprisonment by holy King Edward, was against the tumultuous *Northumbrians* which had expelled *Tofto* their Earle, and *Harolds* owne brother, where a peace was concluded without shedding blood, but with condition that *Tofto* should lose his Earledome: whereupō in great difpleafure, he with his wife & children fled into *Flanders*, and euer after hated the perfon, and emulated the glory of *Harold*. The original of thefe two bretherns quarrels beganne at *Windfor*, where in the prefence of the King they fell from words vnto blowes, and that in fuch manner, as if refcue had not come, *Tofto* had died; for which difgrace, hee fecretly hied him into the Marches of *Wales*, and nere the City *Hereford* at *Perffayth*, where *Harold* had a houfe, then in preparing to entertaine the King, he flew all his brothers feruants, and them cutting peccemeale into gobbets, falfed fome of their limmes, and caft the refidue into veffels of the meath and wines, fending his brother word, that hee had furnifhed him with powdered meats againft the Kings comming thither, which barbarous act caufed deferuently his name to be odious vnto his *Northumbrians*, and was laftly repayed with his owne death.

(8) Now albeit some Heralds make *Harold* by birth but a Gentleman of one, and the first descent, which, were it so, should no whit blemish him who was more truly enobled with princely vertues; yet therein also it may seeme hee is mis-esteemed, seeing his Father was *Godwin* a Duke by degree, the son of *Wolnoth*, and he the sonne of *Egelmar*, who was the sonne of *Egrieke*, furnished *Cæswine*, and brother of *Eadric* Duke of *Mercia*, that married the daughter of King *Ethelred* of *England*, of whom wee haue spoken.

The mother of *Harold* was *Githa* the daughter of Duke *Wolfe*, and sister to *Sweyne* the younger King of *Denmarke*, by *Estrich* his wife, who was sister to *Canute* the great King of *England*; and himselfe the second sonne of her borne; whose elder brother was *Sweyne*, that died on pilgrimage in his returne from *Ierusalem*, and his younger were *Tost*, *Wilmod*, *Grith*, and *Leofrick*.

(29) A former wife Earle Goodwin had, whose name was *Thira*, the sister of *Canute*, a woman fold vnto wickednesse for making merchandize of *Englands* beauteous virgins into *Denmarke*; shee sold them there at deare rates, to satisfie her owne vnlituate auarice, and the lusts of the lacinious *Danes*, till a iust reward of Gods wrath fell on her by a thunderbolt falling from heauen, wherewith shee was slaine, to the great terrour of the beholders. One sonne by her Earle Goodwin had, who when hee was past childes age, riding vpon a horse (the gift of his Grandfather the King,) proudly giuing him the

Mathew Paris
in Will.
Hen. Hunting.

Rand. Higt.

Gemeticensis

Wil. Malmgren

Mat. Weßm. 18.

2-	Marian, Scots.
11	Mat. Westminster

by M. Thomas Miller
in Harold.

66 *Pil. Melanob.*

*Rand. Higden, in
Pelychr. lib. 6.
cap. 25.*

reines

reine and spurte, was violently borne into the river *Thamesis*, and so suddenly drowned. Thus much being premised of *Harold* before hee was King, his raigine, life and death, wee will now address to declare.

(10) *Edwards* life ended, and nothing determined touching his successor, *Harold* the second day after, being the day of his buriall, made himselfe King, none of the Nobility disliking what hee had done; for courteous hee was of speech and behaviour, and in martiall prowesse the onely man, as *Wales* well witnessed, more then once; friended by affinity with many of the Nobles, and by his new marriage with *Edgitha* the daughter of *Algar* (sister of the Earles *Morcar* and *Edwin*, and late wife to *Gruffith ap Ithelwyn* Prince of *Wales*) hee expected to bee both sided and assisted, if his cause came either to trial or voice.

(11) And the time hee well saw fitted his entrance, for *Sweyne* King of *Denmarke* (most dread by the *English*) was entangled with the *Swedes* wars; and *William the Norman* (that made claime from King *Edward*) at variance with *Philip the French* King; the friends of *Edgar* in *Hungarie*, and himselfe a stranger, over young for rule: all which concurrents made *Harold* without deliberation, or order from the state, to set the Crowne on his owne head, regardless of all ceremony and solemn celebration; for which his act, as a violator of holy rites, hee too too much offended the Clergy.

(12) The day of his Coronation was vpon Friday, the fifth of *January*, being the feast of the *Epiphany*, and yeere of Saluation 1066: none either greatly applauding, or disapproving his presumption, except onely for the omission of manner and forme; to redeeme which, and to re-gaine the good will of all; no sooner attained hee the feat roiall, but he remitted or diminished the grieuous customes and tributes which his predecessors had raised, a course cure powerfull to winne the hearts of the Commons; to Church-men hee was verie munificent and careful of their advancements; and to grow more deeply into their venerable esteeme, hee repaired their Monasteries; but most especially that at *Waltham* in *Essex*, which hee most sumptuously new built, and richly endowed, giving it the name of *Holy Crosse*; vpon occasion that such a Crosse found farre westward, was brought thither by miracle, or *tradrant*: and therefore hee chose out this place to powre forth his supplications, before hee marched to meete Duke *William* in the field. Moreover, to satisfie such Nobles as affected young *Edgars* iust title, hee created him Earle of *Oxford*, and held him in speciall fauour: in briefe, vnto the poore, his hand was euer open, vnto the oppressed he ministred iustice, and vnto all men was affable, and mecke: and all to hold that vpright which on his head hee had set with an vn-cuen hand: and deprieved him of, vnto whom hee was Protector.

(13) Three feuerall reports are affirmed of *Edwards* dispose of the Crowne: the first was to the *Norman* Duke, who made that the anker-hold of his claime; the second was to young *Edgar*, vnto whom hee was great vncle; and the last vnto this *Harold* himselfe: for so faith *Edmerus*, and also *Marianus*, who liued at the very same time, and writeth that *Harold* thereupon was sacred and crowned by *Aldredus* Archbishop of *York*; so that hereby hee is freed by some from the imputation of intrusion and wrong.

(14) His State thus standing, and his subiects contentment daily increasing, presently it was somewhat perplexed by an Ambassage sent from the *Norman*, putting him in mind of his couenant, and oath, as well for the custody of the Crowne to his behoofe, as for the solemnization of the mariage contracted betwixt his daughter and him.

(15) *Harold*, who thought himselfe now surely

seated in the hearts of his Subiects, and therefore also sure in his Kingdome, answered the Ambassadors, That he held their Masters demand vniust, for that an oath extorted in time of extremity, cannot bind the maker in conscience to performe it; for that were to ioyne one sinne with another; and that this oath was taken for feare of death or imprisonment, the Duke himselfe well knew: but admit it was voluntarily, and without feare, could I (saide he) then a subiect, without the allowance of the King, and the whole State, giue away the Crownes succession to the preiudice of both? surely a Kingdome is of a better account then to bee so determined in private onely betwixt two. With which kind of answers he sent the messengers away.

(16) The *Norman*, who till then thought *England* sure to be his, and had deuoted his hopes from a Duke to a King, stormed to see himselfe thus frustrated on the sudden, and in stead of a Crowne to haue scornes heaped on his head; therefore nothing contented with this sleight answer, returned his Ambassadors againe vnto *Harold*, by whom hee laid his claime more at large; as that King *Edward* in the Court of France had faithfully promised the succession vnto him, and againe afterwards ratified the same to him at his being in *England*, and that not done without consent of the State, but confirmed by *Stigandus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Earles *Goodwin* and *Syward*, yea and by *Harold* himselfe, and so formally assured that his Brother and Nephew were delivered for pledges, and so that end sent vnto him into *Normandy*: that hee had no way beene constrained, hee appealed to *Harolds* owne conscience, who besides his voluntary offer to swear, contracted himselfe to *Adeliza* his daughter (then but young, and now departed life) vpon which foundation the oath was willingly taken.

(17) But *Harold* who thought his owne head as fit for a crowne as any others, meant nothing lesse then to lay it downe vpon parley; and therefore told them flatly, that howsoever *Edward* and hee had tampered for the Kingdome, yet *Edward* himselfe coming in by election, and not by any title of inheritance, his promise was of no validity; for how could hee giue that whereof hee was not interefered, nor in the *Danes* time was euer like to be? And tell your Duke (saide he) that our kingdome is now brought to a seiled estate, and with such love and liking of the *English*, as that they will neuer admit any more a stranger to rule over them. And as touching the contract with his younger daughter, hee well seeth that God hath taken away that occasion of alienating the Crowne, and surely his Law hath likewise provided remedy against such rash vows; whose precepts I mean to follow: and therefore (saide he) will your Duke to weigh my estate with his own, both his and mine now in quiet, sufficient for two, and either of them, employment enough for one mans Government, and therefore both of them too much to bee well gouerned by one, seeing that God himselfe had set a sea betwixt them. With these and the like speeches hee shifted of the Dukes Ambassadors; without all princely entertainements, or courteous regard.

(18) The messengers returned, and *Harolds* answers declared, *William* lion-like enraged, casteth his thoughts about plotting reuenge, and making some oddes euen that might impeach his designs, prepared all things for open warre. *Harold* likewise not sleeping his businesse, made ready his Fleet, mustered his souldiers, and planted his Garrisons along the Sea-coast. But in these his proceedings, behold a great and fearfull Comete appeared (scldom a signe to Princes of fortunate successe) vpon the twenty fourth of *Aprill*, and lasted onely feuen dayes, which drew the minds of the *English*, into great suspence, now ready to enter into a double warre.

(19) For as *William* the *Norman* for his part claymed *England* by gift; so *Harfager* the *Dane* did by succession; the rumors of both which, greatly terrified the heartes of the inhabitants: and yet behold, a third terrour vnexpected, contrary to nature

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ture, and most mens opinions, suddainly arose, for *Tofto* the cruell Earle of *Northumberland*, and brother to *Harold*, expelled by his people, and proscribed by King *Edward*, fled into France, where by the instigations of *William*, whose wifes sister hee had married (both of them the daughters of *Balwine* Earle of *Flanders*), he got for his reuenge a Fleet furnished with men at Armes, and thus prepared; his first fury was shewed in spoiling the *Ile of Wight*; then coasting the shore, shrewdly endamaged *Kent*, whence hoisting saile, fell foule vpon *Lincolnsheire*; where *Morcar* and *Edwine* Earles of *Cheshire* and *Torkeshire*, aided with the Kings Nauie, drove him from thence, though with some losse of their men.

(20) *Tofto* for more succour fled into *Scotland*, where of King *Malcolme* hee had but cold comfort, himselfe being busied with ciuill broiles; but howsoever his expectation there failed, yet his purposes were continued with the assistance of *Harold Harfager* (that is, the *Faire-locker*) King of *Denmarke*, who with three hundred shippes had entred the river *Tyne* for *Englands* inuasion, after his conquest of the *Iles of Orkney*, *Tofto* therefore joining his Fleet to these *Danes*, in warlike brauerie, both of them entered the mouth of *Humber*, and drawing vp the river *Ouse*, at *Richhall* landed their men, making spoile of the Country wherefoeuer they came. To meet with these, the foresaid Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, in a tumultuous haile raised their powers, but were so ouerlaid by the *Norwegians*, that many were slaine, and more drowned, in passing ouer that river.

(21) The enemy grown proud by this late victory, halted towards *Torke*, the chiefe Citie of the North; where planting his siege, it was presently yeelded vp, and hostages deliuered vpon both parts for the performance of covenants. The *Danes* thus prospering, had most strongly encamped themselves; for backed they were with the German Ocean, flanked on the left hand with the river *Humber*, wherein also their Fleet rid at Anker, and had on their right hand and afront the river *Derwent*; so that it seemed impossible to raise the siege.

(22) But *Harold* thinking the coasts cleere from all danger, the Equinoctiall at hand, and Navigation now past, the victuals in his Fleet spent, and notice from Earle *Balwin* of *Flanders*, that Duke *William* meant not his voyage that yeere, was about to disband his Army. When this sudden newes from the North pierced his eare, no need it was then to bid him make haste thither, the case standing so neere him as it did. Therefore recalling his Army, posted to *Torke*, and from thence marched against the *Norwegians*, who lay secured with such advantage, as wee haue said. Notwithstanding *Harold* courageously ordered his battell, and assailed to passe the Bridge called *Stamford*, built ouer *Derwent*, which one onely *Dane* made good for a time against his whole host, and with his Axe flew forty of his men, till lastly this *Dane* was slaine with a dart.

(23) The Bridge gotten, and the *English* reduced into their ranks, *Harold* most boldly set vpon his enemies euen in their Campe; where the battaile with equall valour and fortune, was maintained a time, till lastly the *Norwegians* disarraied and scattered, were slaine outright; and among them the two Chieftanes, *Harfager* and *Tofto*, with many others of worth and account, lost their liues. *Olave* the sonne of this *Harfager*, and *Paul* Earle of *Orkeny*, who kept their Fleet & Seas, whilst his Father and followers fought vpon land, were brought to King *Harold*, and to haue their liues spared, abjured the Land, and thenceforth to attempt no hostilitie against the *English* peace; and with twenty small vessels to cary away their slaine and hurt, were suffered to depart, bringing heavy newes into *Denmarke* of the losse of their King, and ouerthrow of his Army.

(24) By this victory thus happily obtained, fell vnto *Harold* an exceeding rich booty, both of gold

and siluer, besides the great Armado of *Tost* and *Harfager*; whereby his mind was soone set aloft, and he began to grow both proud, and odious vnto his Army, the rather, for that he diuided not the spoiles vnto them that had desferued it; a wrong that the common Souldier doth continually murmur at, and commonly endure.

(25) Now in this current of King *Harolds* fortunes, *William* the *Norman* had the more leasure to strengthen his owne, and often conferring with his Captaines about *Englands* inuasions, found them euer resolute and cheerefull that way; the difficultie onely rested, how to prouide money enough, the very sinewes whereby the vast body of an Army must be knit, & strengthened for a subsidy being propounded vnto the assembly of the *Norman* States, it was answered, that a former warre against the *French* had empouerished much of their wealth, that if new wars were now raised, & therein their substance spent to gain other parts, it would be thereby so waisted, as that hardly it would be sufficient to defend their own; that they thought it more safety to held what hee had, then hazard of their own to inuade the territories of others; & that this was intended, iust though it were, yet seemed not necessary, but exceeding dangerous; besides (saide they) the *Normans* were not by their allegiance bound to Military seruices in forreign parts, & therefore such payments could not bee assessed vpon them. And although *William Fitz-Osborne*, a man in high fauour with the Duke; and as gracious among the people, endeauoured by all means to effect it, yea, and to draw on others by his example) proffered to set out forty tall Shippes vpon his owne Charge towards this warre; yet would it not bee: Therefore Duke *William* bethought him on another way.

(26) The wealthiest men among all his People he sent for, and feuerally one by one conferred with, shewing them his right and hopes of *England*, wherein preferment lay due to the meanest amongst them, onely money was the want, which they might spare; neither should that be giuen, nor lent without a plentiful increase: with such fair words he drew them so on, that they stroue who should giue most, and by this policy hee gathered such a masse of money, as was sufficient to defray the warre. Then went hee to his Neighbour Princes, namely to the Earles of *Anion*, *Poitou*, *Mayne*, and *Bulloigne*, promising them faire possessions in *England*, yea and vnto *Philip* the *French* King, in case he would aide him, hee voluntarily offered to become his vassall and Leige-man, and to hold *England* by oath and fealty vnder him. But it beeing thought nothing good for the State of France, that the Duke of *Normandy*, who already was not so pliable to the *French* King as was wished, should bee bettered in his estate by the addition of so mighty a Kingdome (the power of Neighbour Potentates being euer suspected of Princes) so farre was the King from yeelding any helpe, that he secretly maligne, & openly disswaded this his attempt of inuading *England*. This *French* ieaousy, the *Norman* soone perceived, which made him to call about yet another way.

(27) For making his claime knowne vnto *Alexander* the second, then Pope of *Rome*, with the wrongs done vnto *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, by *Harold* and his Father, (a text that might not bee read without a gloss), he was so fauoured of his Holinesse (whose See was euer glad to interest itself in disposing of Crowns, that hee both allowed well of his enterprise, and sent him a consecrated Banner, (Saint *Peter* himselfe had none such in his Boate) to bee borne in the Ship, wherein himselfe in that expedition should take saile for *England*; and accursed al them that shold oppose themselves against him: for euen then the Popes had began to vsurpe authority ouer Princes, & with their leaden blades, to hacke into the iron swords of Emperours.

(28) Thus furnished on all sides, hee assembled his forces, and with a mighty Nauy came to the Towne of

Cambridg.

Henry II.

Fox, A. and
Monuments.

Alfred Kinal.

Ren. Higden.
Polyer. lib. 6. ca. 29

Math. West.

Simon Dun.
Holinsh.

Cambridg.

Alfred Kinal.
Speculum Histor.
Rich. Ciroest.
Flores Histor.

Edmerus.
Marianus.
Polyer. li. 6. ca. 28.

Bishop of M.
Roger Hous.
Simon Dun.
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Gualter Dun.

William
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of Saint Valerius, which standeth vpon the mouth of the Riuier *Seme*; where a long time he lay bound to his great discontentment, and with many vowes impetunating the fauour of that locall Saint, heaped daily a number of gifts and oblations vpon his Altar; till lastly his desire was obtayned, and then with three hundred Ships fraught full of his *Normans, Flemings, Frenchmen, & Britaignes*, weighed Anchor, and with a gentle gale of wind arriu'd at *Peuensey in Suffex*, vpon the twenty eight day of September, where Landing his men, to cut off all occasion or hope of returne, he fired his owne fleet, and vpon the Shoare erected a Fortresse to bee if neede were, a retiring place for his Souldiers.

Rand. Higden in Polychr. li. 6. c. 19.

Suttonius in vita Cesar.

(29) At his arriuage from Sea, as our Historians report, his foot chaunced to slippe, so that not able to recover himselfe, he fell into the mud, and all to becomed his hands; which accident was prefently construed for a lucky presage; for now (said a Capitaine) *O Duke, thou hast taken possession, and holdest that land in thy hand, whereof shortly thou shalt become King: As Cesar is said to haue done, when hee entred into Africa, who from ship-board at his landing fell into the sands, and merily said, I doe now take possession of thee, O Africa.*

(30) From *Penensy* Duke *William* departed towards *Hasting*, where raising another fortification, diuinged to all the causes of his comming, as pretending to reuenge both the death of his *Normans*, slain by the treachery of *Godwin & Harold*, and the wrongs and banishment of *Robert Gemetius* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, pretenes very slender, and enforced out of fealon: but surely had not a third fate neerer his heart, the two former would haue passed without the spleene of reuenge; namely, the donation of King *Edward* deceased, whereon he built his claime to the *Englishe* Crowne. And there also by his Edict, he straitly charged his souldiers not in hostile manner, to wrong any of their persons, who shortly were to become his Subiects.

(31) *Harold* in the North hearing of these newes, halted with his Armie (whose Armour yet reaked with the blood of the *Norwegians*) towards the south and with such power as possible hee could make, entred *London*, where immediately a messenger fro Duke *William* was presented vnto him, demanding no lesse then the Kingdome, and *Harold's* vassalage; vrging the same with such instant boldnesse, that *Harold's* furious indignation could hardly forbear, against the law of Armes, to lay violent hands vpon the Ambassador; so great a pride and confident hope had entred the heart of this late Victor: to shew both, with very great boldnesse, he dispatched his Ambassadors to *William*, and by way of irefull checkes menaced him, vnlesse forthwith hee departed backe into *Normandy*: when prefently mustering his men at *London*, hee found them much lessened by his battaile against the *Norwegians*; notwithstanding, many Nobles, Gentlemen, and others, whom the loue of their native Country inflamed, did ingage themselves for the field, against his common and dangerous enemy. He therefore with an vndaunted courage, led forth his Armie into *Suffex* (against the importunate suite of his mother, who sought by all means to stay him) where on a large and faire plaine, farre seu'n miles from the enemy, he pitched downe his battailes, and sent forth his Esquiers to defery his power.

1591. Holmsh.

Mat. Westm. Rand. Higden.

(32) These comming into danger, were caught by the *Normans*, and presented to their Duke, who commanded them forthwith to bee led from Tent to Tent, to bee feasted, and dismissed, without any harme or dishonour done. These returning to *Harold* told what they had done, commending the Duke in his Martiall Promissions, and his clemency to themward, only said they, his Souldiers seem to be Priests, for their faces were all shauen, whereas the vse of the *Englishe* was then to reuerse onely the vpper lippe vncut, retaining or renewing the old manner of the an-

cient Britaines so described by *Cesar*: but King *Harold*, who had bin in that country, wel knowing their error, replied that they were men of great valour & stout Souldiers in fight. Vpon which speech, *Gith*, his younger brother, a man much renowned for martiall exploits,ooke occasion to aduise the King from being present at the danger of the Field: for (said he) it stands not with the rule of policy, to hazard all in the triall of one battell, nor to depend vpon the euent of war, which euer is doubtful, victory being as oft gotten by fortune, as valor; mature deliberation doth offe produce the safest issues, & a prouident delay is held to be the greatest furtherer of martiall proiects; neither will any thing strike greater terror into the *Normans*, then thou to bee leuying, & enrolling a new Army, whereby they may euer expect, and feare succeeding Battails. Again (said he) thou best knowest what oath thine owne mouth hath made vnto *William*, if lawfull, and willingly, then withdraw thy selfe from field, left for that thy sinne the whole Host perish; for there can bee no power against God. I am free from such guilt, and therefore may the bolder fight, and either defeat this dangerous enemy, or more cherefully dye in the defence of my country; & if thou wilt commit the fortune of Battaille into my Governance, assure thy selfe I will perform to thee the part of a louing Brother, and to my Countymen of a valiant Capitaine.

(33) This wise aduice notwithstanding, destiny so diuining him, he gaue flood, imputing it a part of dishonour, and not befitting a Souldiour, (as he alwaies had bene,) to leaue the field Coward-like, when great glory was to be wonne, or in case of fortunate successe, to be deprived of a part, and therefore re-prooued his brother for making this motion, and with disdainfull speeches, vnderualued and embased the worth of the *Normans*.

(34) Duke *William* now entred the field, & both the hosts standing ready for fight, the *Norman*, to spare the effusion of Christian blood, vpon a pious affection sent a *Monke* as a Mediator for peace, with offers to *Harold* of these conditions, either wholly to resigne the Kingdome vnto him, and from thence forth to acknowledge the Duke for his Soueraigne: or els in single combat to trie the quarrel with him, in sight of the Armies; or lastly, to stand to the arbitrement of the Pope, touching the possession and wearing of the *Englishe* Crowne. But *Harold*, as one whom the heauens would depreffe, accepting neither domestick counsell, nor the *Normans* offers, referred the deciding of the matter vnto the Tribunal of God, and answered, that it should be tried the next day with more swordes then one.

(35) That next day was the 14. of October, which vpon a credulous error, hee held euer to bee fortunate, because it was the day of his Natiuitie, and with hopefull assurance, desired greatly the approach of the same: His souldiers likewise as men whose heads were to bee crowned with the Laurels of victory, gaue themselves to licentious reuels, and in riotous banquets, with clamour, and noises, spent the night; whereas contrariwise, the *Normans*, more wisely, and seriously weighing the businesse in hand, bestowed the time in prayers and vowes, for the safety of their Armie, and victorious successe: neither had the morning sooner spread it selfe but their battell was ordered, and prepared for fight.

(36) *Harold* also with the like forwardnes, marshalled his battaile, placing in the Vant-guard the *Kentish men* (who by an ancient custome had the front of the battaile belonging to them) with their heauy axes, or halberts. The *Middlesex-men* & the *Londoners* were in that Squadron, whereof himselfe with his brother had the leading.

37 His enemies *Fawward* was led by *Roger of Montgomery*, and *William Fitz-Osborne*, the same consisting of Horsemen out of *Aniou, Perche*, and little *Britaine*. Their

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Their Maine-Battaile consisted of *Poitiuins* and *Germanes*, *Gejrey Martell*, and a *Germane* Pensioner commanding them: In the Rere-guard was the Duke himselfe with the whole manhood of *Normans*, and the flower of his Nobility & Gentry; all which battalions were intermingled with companies of Archers.

(38) The *Normans* without any confused, or disorderly shout, founded the battaile, and aduanced forward, discharging a fierce volley of arrowes like a tempestuous haile, a kind of fight both strange, and terrible vnto the *Englishe*, who supposed their enemy had bene already euen in the midst of amongst them; when prefently a furious charge was giuen to the Va-ward of the *Englishe*, who resolutely had determined to couer the place with their bodies rather then to giue one foot of ground, and bending all their forces, kept themselves close together, whereby they valiantly, and with the slaughter of many, put backe the enemy: which was so farre from daunting the *Normans*, that by it they were more whetted to re-enforce themselves vpon them: when with an horrible noise, the battailes of both sides gaue the stroke; and now come foote to foot, and man to man, coped together in a most cruell fight. The *Englishe* standing thicke, and close, as if they had bene stucke one to another, abode the brunt, and charge of the *Normans*, and with such welcomes, that after many a bloody wound receiued, they were at point to recoile, had not Duke *William*, whose crown lay now at stake, both brauely performed the part of a Leader, and with his presence, and authority restrained them. The fight thus continuing, the *Normans* horsemen brake into the troups of the *Englishe*, and sore distressed the Souldiers on foot, yet notwithstanding they still held out, and kept their array vnbroken: for *Harold* (no lesse carefull to keepe, then the other to gaine a diadem,) as a most valiant Capitaine bare himselfe worthily euery where. The Duke well perceiving that with fine force, and true valour, no good end could bee got, betooke himselfe to a stratageme, and commanded his men to found the retreat, but kept them still in such order of array, that they gaue backe in as good discipline as they came on.

Hob. Hastings.

Hob. Hastings.

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Hob. Hastings.

(39) The *Englishe* supposing the *Normans* to haue fled, and themselves the masters of the field, began in eager pursuit carelessly to vntwist, and display their ranks; when on the sodaine, the *Normans* hauing their wished opportunity, and winding about, charged the enemy a fresh; who now being scatteringly disranked, and out of all order, were slaine down on all sides, not able to recover their battaile: many thus borne downe, and slaine, none by flight sought to escape the field, but rather to maintain their honour in Armes, cast themselves into a round, choosing there to die in the cause of their Country, then cowardly to forsake the Standard of their King; and therefore with bold resolutions encouraging one another, they turne head and resist a long time: but showers of arrowes like a stormy tempest falling thicke amongst them, one, most fatal, and vn lucky for the *Englishe*, wounded *Harold* into the braines through the left eye; so that falling from his horse to the ground, was vnder his owne standard slaine.

(40) And yet *Giraldus Cambrensis* (I know not by what inducement,) relates the issue of this Battaille somewhat otherwise, affirming, that *Harold* with losse of his Eye, but not of his life, from the field fled to the City of *Westeche*, and there long after led a holie life, and made a godly end, as an Anchorite in the Cell of Saint James, fast by the church of S. *Iohn*. With *Harold* died his Brethren *Gyth*, and *Leofwin*, with most of the *Englishe* Nobility, besides the slaughter of sixty seven thousand, nine hundred seventy foure of their Souldiers: *Bremen* faith an hundred Thousand.

(41) Duke *William* in this Battail had three horses slain vnder him; God (saith *Marianus*) so defending his person, that though multitude of darts were thrown against him, yet not a drop of his blood was

spilt by the Enemy, and this Battaille wonne with the losse onely of fixe thousand, and thirteene of his men. Whose wooden bowes (as *Iohn Kouffe* is of opinion) gained the *Normans* that great victory; for the Arrowes shot leuell, or directly forward, wounded the *Englishe* that stood in the front, and vpright; the other shot on high, galled at the fal, those that were more remote, and the backs of such as stooped to shunne the danger.

Hob. Hastings.

(42) This battle was fought in *Suffex* 7. miles from *Hastings*, vpon Saturday the fourteenth of October, and yere of Grace 1066. Wherin the dolefull destruction of the *Englishe* fell, and the glorious Sun of the *Normans* euen in the shutting of the day did arise; when perished the Royall blood of the *Saxons*, whose Kings first had made this Kingdome into *Seuen*, and afterward of them so glorious a Monarchy, that it was not inferior to any in Europe, and her Monarchs so renowned for princely magnanimity, as that many of them were ranked with the best in the world: But now the all-ordering hand of God (vnto whose becke not onely this Ball of the Earth, and the Rulers thereof, but euen the Heauens themselves, and all the powers thereof must bow) either for the finnes of the *Englishe* which were many, and great, or to graffe one more fair and longer continuing bud vpon this dried, and decayed stock, brought that forrein offspring into this his nursery of *Britaine*, whose branches, as the vine, haue spread both fruitfull and faire; and whose rootes are fastned as the trees of *Libanon*: the Kings thereof, euen from the loines of this Great Conquerour, holding on a royall succession for the space of these five hundred forty five yeares, their issues topped with the highest Cedars of the world, & their branches spread thoroughout Christendom; which wee pray may still procede and continue, whilst the Sun and Moone haue their being.

Hob. Hastings.

(43) This victory thus obtained, Duke *William* wholly ascribed vnto God, and by way of a solemne supplication or procession gaue him the thanks; and pitching for that night his Paulis among the bodies of the dead, the next day returned to *Hastings*, there to consult vpon his great, and most prosperously begun enterprize, giuing first commandement for the buriall of his slaine Souldiers.

(44) But *Morcar*, and *Edwin*, the vnfortunate Queenes Brethren, by night escaping the battell, came vnto *London*, where with the rest of the Peeres, they began to lay the foundation of some fresh hopes, positing thence their messengers to raise a new supply, & to comfort the *Englishe* (who through all the Land were stricken into a fearfull astonishment with this vnexpected newes) from a despairing feare, shewing the chance of warre to be mutable, their number many, and Captaines sufficient to try another Field. *Alfred*, Arch-bishop of *York*, there present, and President of the Assembly, stoutly, and prudently gaue his counsell forthwith to consecrate, and crowne young *Edgar Atheling* (the true heire) for their King; to whom consented likewise both the Sea-Captaines, and the Londoners. But the Earles of *Yorkshire* and *Cheshire*, *Edwin* & *Morcar* (whom this fearfull state of their country could not dissuade from dissolualtic and ambition) plotting secretly to get the Crowne to themselves, hindered that wise and noble designe. In which while, the sorrowfull Queene their sister was conuicied to *Westche*, where, without state or title of a Queene, she led a solitary and quiet life.

(45) The Mother of the slaine King did not so well moderate her womanly passions, as to receiue either comfort, or counsell of her friends: the dead body of her sonne she greatly desired, and to that end sent to the Conquerour two face Brethren of his Abbey at *Waltham*, who had accompanied him in his vnfortunate expedition. Their names (as I finde them recorded in an old Manuscript) were *Osgod* and *Alrie*, whose message to the Conquerour not without abundance of teares, and feare, is there set downe in the tenor as followeth.

Math. Paris.

In the Library of the learned Knight, Sir Robert Cotton.

(46) Noble Duke, and ere long to be a most great and mightie King; we thy most humble servants, destitute of all comfort, (as we would we were also of life) are come to thee as sent from our brethren, whom this dead King hath placed in the Monasterie of Waltham, to attend the issue of this late dreadfull battell, (wherein God favouring thy quarrell, he is now taken away, and dead, which was our greatest Comforter, and by whose only bountifull goodnesse, we were releued and maintained, whom hee had placed to serue God in that Church. Wherefore we most humbly request thee (now our dread Lord) by that gracious fauour which the Lord of Lords hath shewed vnto thee, and for the releife of all their soules, who in this quarrell haue ended their daies, that it may bee lawfull for vs by thy good leaue, safely to take and carry away with vs the dead body of the King, the Founder and builder of our Church and Monasterie: as also the bodies of such others, as who, for the reuerence of him, and for his sake, desired also to be buried with vs, that the state of our Church, by their helpe strengthened, may bee the stronger, and endure the firmer. With whose humble request, and abundant teares, the victorious and worthy Duke moued, answered.

(47) Your King (said he) vnmindfull of his faith, although hee haue for the present endured the worthy punishment of his fault, yet hath he not therefore deferred to want the honour of a Sepulcher, or to lie vnburied: were it but that he died a King, howeuer hee came by the Kingdome, my purpose is for the reuerence of him, and for the health of them, who hauing left their wiues and possessions, haue here in my quarrell lost their liues, to build here a Church and a Monastery, with an hundred Monks in it to pray for them for ever; and in the same Church to bury your King about the rest, with all honour vnto so great a Prince, and for his sake to endow the same with great reuenues.

(48) With which his courteous speech and promises, the two religious Fathers comforted, and encouraged, againe replied.

(49) Not so, noble Duke, but grant this thy seruants most humble request, that we may, for God, by thyleaue, receive the dead body of our Founder, and to bury it in the place which himselfe in his life time appointed; that we cheered with the presence of his body, may thereof take comfort, and that his Tombe may be vnto our Successors, a perpetuall Monument of his remembrance.

(50) The Duke, as he was of disposition gracious, and inclined to mercy, forthwith granted their desires: whereupon they drew out store of gold to present him in way of gratulation; which he not only vterly refused, but also offered them plenty to supply whatsoeuer should be needfull for the pompe of his funerall, as also for their costs in trauell to and fro; giuing trauit commendement that none of his Souldiers should presume to molest him in this their business, or in their returne. Then went they in haste to the quarry of the dead, but by no means could finde the body of the King, for that the countenances of all men greatly alter by death; but being maimed and imbrued with blood, they are not knowne to be the men they were. As for his other regall Ornaments, which might haue shewed him for their King, his dead corps was despoiled of them, either through the greedy desire of prey, (as the manner of the Field is) or to be the first bringer of such happy newes, in hope of a Princely reward; vpon which purpose many times the body is both mangled and dismembred; and so was this King after his death, by a base Souldier, gasht and hackt into the legge, whom Duke William rewarded for so vnsouldier like a deed, cashiering him for euery out of his wages and wars. So that Harold lying stript, wounded, bemangled, and goared in his blood, could not be found or known, till they sent for a woman named Editha, (for her passing beauty surnamed swan-shals, that is, swan-neck, whom he entertained in secret loue before he was King, who by some secret marks of his body to her well knowne, found him out; and then put into a coffin, was by diuers of the Norman Nobility ho-

nourably brought vnto the place, afterward called Battle-bridge, where it was met by the Nobles of England, and so conueied to waltham, where there solemnly, and with great lamentation of his mother, royally interred, with this rude Epitaph, well bebecoming the time, though not the person.

*Hec cadit hoste ferro, Rex a Duce Rege futuro,
Par paris in gladio, milite Cruce valido,
Firmum iusti lux est tibi, luce Calixti;
Promior hinc superas, hinc superatus eras.
Ergo tibi requiem deposcat utrumque perennem:
Sicque preceatur eum, quod colit omne Deum.*

*A fierce foe thee slew, thou a King, he King in view;
Both peeres, both peerlesse, both feard, and both fearles;
That sad day was mixt, by firmum and Calixt,
Thine helpe thee to vanquish, other made thee laughis,
Both now for thee pray, and thy Requiem say;
So let good men all, to God for thee call.*

(51) This Kings raigne was not so full of dayes as of great troubles: being but the space of nine months and nine dayes, in whom was completed the Period of the Saxons Empire in Brittain, after they had continued from their first erected kingdome by Hengist in Kent, the space of fixe hundred and tenne yeeres, without any reuerfement or interruption fauing the small Inter-Raignes of these three Danish Kings, of whom we haue spoken. And although Aemund of Brene, in the fauour of his Danes, sharply taxeth this Harold as being an impious man, and for that by vsurpation he aspired to the Crowne, yet doth Edred the Abbot of Riuaxe, (the Legendier of S. Edwards life) much commend him for his courteous affability, gentle deportment, and iustice, and for his warlike prowess none matchable vnto him; and was reputed (saith hee) verily a man passing well furnished with all vertues besitting a Soveraigne commander and borne euen to repaire the decayed state of England; had he not in the haughtinesse and opinion of his own valour and prudence, so much addicted himselfe to his owne resolutions, and too much neglected the wise deliberations of his best friends and counsellors.

His Wiues.

(52) The first wife of Harold, whom he had married and buried before he was King, I find not named by any of our writers; but that he had such a one, appeareth, where it is recorded that hee was a Widower, what time he contracted the Conquerors daughter; and that also he had children of such age, that they made warres against King William in the second of his Raigne; which it is probable, he had not by Editha, his Swannes neck, but were legitimat, and by this lawfull, though namelesse Mother.

(53) Algieth, the second wife to King Harold, was the widow of Gruffith ap Llewelyn King of North-wales, the sister of Edwine and Morcar Earles of Yorkshire, and Chester, and daughter of Algar sonne of Leofrick, son of Leofwine, all Earles of Chester, Leicester and Lincoln: She was married vnto him beeing then but Duke, in the last yeare of Edward Confessors raigne, and of Grace 1065. neither did shee long enjoy him, or her Queenly title, after his aspiring to the Crowne; for being resident in London when hee was slaine, from thence shee was conueyed by her brethren to Westchester, where he remained in meane estate, and in good quiet (which vially most attends the meaneft) without any princely shew or name, during the rest of her life, which lasted a great part of the Conquerors raigne.

His Issue.

(54) Goodwine the eldest sonne of King Harold, being growne to some ripenesse of yeares in the life of his Father, after his death and ouerthrow by the Conquerour

took he his brother with him, and fled ouer into Ireland: from whence he returned, and landed in Sommerfetshire; slew Ednoth (a Baron sometime of his Fathers) that encountered him, and taking great preyes in Devonshire and Cornwall, departed till the next yeare. When comming againe, hee fought with Beorn an Earle of Cornwall, and after retired into Ireland, and thence went into Denmarke to King Swain his Cosen-German, where he spent the rest of his life.

(55) Edmund, the second sonne to King Harold, went with his Brother into Ireland, returned with him into England, and was at the slaughter and ouerthrow of Ednoth, and his power in Sommerfetshire, at the spoiles committed in Cornwall and Devonshires; at the conflict with the Cornish Earle Beorn; passed and repassed with him in all his voiajes, inuasions and warres, by sea and by land, in England and Ireland; and at the last departed with him from Ireland to Denmarke; tooke part with him of all pleasure and calamity whatsoeuer, and attending and depending wholly vpon him, liued and died with him in that Country.

(56) Magnus the third son of King Harold, went with his brothers into Ireland; and returned with them the first time into England, and is neuer after that mentioned amongst them, nor elsewhere, vnllesse, (as some doe coniecture) he be that Magnus who seeing the mutability of humane affairs, became an Anchorer, whose Epitaph pointing to his Danish original, the learned Clarentiaux diicouered in a little desolate Church at Lewes in Suffex, where in the gaping chinks of an Arch in the wall, in a rude and ouerworne Character, certaine old imperfect verses were found, which hee suppoeth should bee thus read;

*Claudatur hic Miles Danorum regia proles,
Magnus nomen ei, magna nota Progeniei.
Deponens Magnum, prudenter induit agnum:
Præpete pro vita, sit paruulus Anachorita.*

*Here lies a Knight of Danish regall race,
He Magnus high; great name note of great place:
But Magnus left, an Agnus mild he prou'd,
From world bereft, an Anchorite below'd.*

(57) Walse the fourth sonne of King Harold, seemeth to bee borne of Queene Algieth his second wife, for that hee was neuer mentioned among his other brethren, and hauing better friends by his mothers side, was left in England, whereas they were forced thence; neither is he spoken of, during all the raign of the Conquerour, and therefore at his entrance may probably be thought to haue bene but an Infant: yet after his death he is named among his prisoners with Earle Morcar (his vncl, if Queen Algieth were his mother) and was by King William Rufus re-lealed, and honoured by him with the Order of Knighthood.

(58) Gunhild a daughter of King Harold is mentioned by John Capgrau (the Writer of the English Saints) in the life of Wolstan Bishop of Worcester, reporting her to haue bene a Nunne in a Monastery of England; who, among the many miracles done by the said Wolstan, (which hee numbrell by tale, according to the superstitious manner of the time wherein heliued) declareth, how he restored this Lady to her perfect eye-sight, whereof by a dangerous infirmity, she was almost wholly, and in most mens opinions, vncurablely deprived.

(58) Another daughter of King Harold not named by any Story-writer of our own nation, is mentioned by Saxo Grammaticus in his Danish history, to haue come into Denmarke, with her two brethren; to haue been very honorably entertained by King Swaine the younger, her kinsman; and afterwards to haue been as honorably placed in marriage with Grellef, called in Latine Iarislauus, and of the Danes Waldemar, King of the Russians; and by him to haue had a daughter, that was the mother of Waldemar, the first of that name King of Denmarke, from whom all the Danish Kings for many ages after succeeded.

* Great.
* A Lamb.

John Capgrau.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11.

The end of the eighth Booke.



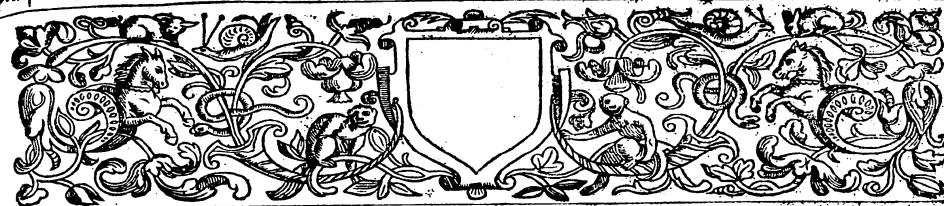
The

A CATALOGVE OF THE
ENGLISH MONARCHES FROM
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROVR, VN-
TO KING JAMES, NOW SOLE MO-
NARCH OF GREAT BRITAIN, WHOSE
ACTS ARE ENTREATED OF IN THIS
ENSVING HISTORIE.

KINGS.	BEGINNINGS.	RAIGNE.	DEATH.	BVRIALL.
	Yeeres Months Daies	yeeres months daies	Yeeres Months Daies	
WILLIAM I.	1066. Oct. 14. Sat.	20 10 26	1087 Sept. 9 Thurf.	Canc.
WILLIAM II.	1087. Sept. 9. Thurf.	12 10 22	1100 Aug. 1 Wedn.	Wincheſter.
HENRY I.	1100. Aug. 1. Wedn.	35 3 1	1135 Decem. 2 Mon.	Reading.
STEPHEN.	1135 Dec. 2 Monday	18 9 17	1154 Octob. 25 Mon.	Fewerſham.
HENRY II.	1154 Oct. 25. Mon.	34 8 12	1189 July 6 Thur.	Fontenuerard.
RICHARD I.	1189 July 6 Thurf.	9 8 00	1199 Aprill 6 Tueſ.	Fontenuerard.
JOHN.	1199 Apr. 6 Tueſ.	17 7 13	1216 Octob. 19 Wedn.	Worceſter.
HENRY III.	1216 Oct. 19. Wedn.	56 0 27	1272 Nov. 16 wedn.	Weſtminſter.
EDWARD I.	1272 Nov. 16. Wedn.	34 7 21	1307 July 7 Frida.	Weſtminſter.
EDWARD II.	1307 July 7 Friday	19 6 15	1326 depo. Jan. 22. Sa.	Gloceſter.
EDWARD III.	1326 Jan. 25 Satur.	50 4 27	1377 June 21 Sund.	Weſtminſter.
RICHARD II.	1377 June 21 Sunday	22 2 7	1399 dep. Sep. 29. mn.	Weſtminſter.
HENRY IIII.	1399 Sept. 29 Mond.	13 5 21	1412 March 20 Sund.	Fewerſham.
HENRY V.	1412 Mar. 20 Sund.	9 4 11	1422 Aug. 31 Mun.	Weſtminſter.
HENRY VI.	1422 Aug. 31. Mon.	38 6 4	1460 depoſed. Mar. 4	Windſore.
EDWARD IIII.	1460 Mar. 4.	22 1 5	1483 Aprill 9	Windſore.
EDWARD V.	1483 April 9	00 1 12	1483 murdered.	Tower of Lond.
RICHARD III.	1483 June 22.	2 1 0	1485 ſlain Au. 29 Mo.	Leiceſter.
HENRY VII.	1485 Aug. 22 Mon.	23 7 0	1509 Aprill 22 Sund.	Weſtminſter.
HENRY VIII.	1509 April 22 Sund.	37 9 5	1546 Jan. 28 Thur.	Windſore.
EDWARD VI.	1546 Jan. 28. Thurf.	6 5 9	1553 July 6 Thur.	Weſtminſter.
MARY.	1553 July 6 Thurf.	5 4 11	1558 Nove. 17 Thur.	Weſtminſter.
ELIZABETH.	1558 Nov. 17. Thur.	44 4 6	1602 March 24 Thur.	Weſtminſter.
JAMES.	1602 Mar. 24. Thur.	NOS, TE FLORENTE, BEATI.		



The



THE SVCCESION OF
ENGLANDS MONARCHES FROM
THE ENTRANCE OF THE NORMANS VNDER
WILLIAM THE CONQUEROVR: VNTILL THE REGALL RIGHT OF THE
WHOLE ILAND WERE BY GODS PROVIDENCE VNITED VNDER
ONE IMPERIAL DIADEME, IN THE PERSON OF OVR PRE-
SENT SOVERAIGNE KING JAMES, SOLE MONARCH OF
GREAT BRITAIN: THEIR SEVERALL ACTS,
ISSVES, RAIGNES, ARMES, SEALES,
AND COINES.

CHAPTER I.



What hath beene spoken touching the Originals, Lawes, and Customes of the Saxons, and Danes, the ancient Conquerours and possessors of this our land, may in like sort bee said of the Normans (being abrach from the same roote) of whom wee are now to write, saying only that the name is not so ancient, and therefore their Manners may bee thought more ciuill. Through the misty-darke times of which Stories, together with that of the Romans, and of our Britainers, (wherein no brighter Sun did shine vnto vs) by the assistance of the all-seeing power which bringeth light out of darkness, I am lastly approached to these times of more light, and vnto affaires of more certaine truth: whose Current to my seeming is made now Nauigable, by the many writers that haue emptied their full channels into this Sea: wherein, though in respect of my owne defects, and that so many Master-Pilotes haue sailed before me, it may seeme but presumption for me to direct another course, with a purpose to better what they haue so well performed: yet to make a complete History from the first to the last: giue me leaue to continue, as I haue begunne.

(2) These Normans then, being anciently a mixt Nation with the warlike Norwegians, Swedens, & Danes, tooke their Name of that Northern Climate from whence they came first, which was that Coast of Germany, anciently called Cimbrica Chersonesus, and Nor-way, for that it tendeth in respect of situation so farre Northward; and from hence, and the parts adjacent, the Saxons, Jutes, Angles, and lately the Danes, made their incursions into this Land.

(3) This Tract therefore as the wombe of conception, by the dispose of the Omnipotent, after it had produced those Nations which formerly made Conquests of Britaine, now againe brought forth (as it were) her last-borne Benjamin, who denouring the pray in the morning, hath diuided the spoile in the Evening, and hitherto continued their glorious fame attieued; which I pray, may extend to the last period of Times being: For these Normans first by force got footing in France with the Dominion, and Stile of a Duke, and next the Diadem of this faire Empire, the last and most famous Monarches of the same.

(4) These, formerly practicing Piracies vpon the

Coasts of Belgia, Frizia, England, Ireland, and France, proceeded in their hardy courtes euen to the Mediterranean Sea: insomuch that Charles the Great seeing their roauing tall Ships, and considering the bold attempts they vndertook, with a deepe sigh, and abundance of teares, is reported to haue said: *Heaue am I at the very heart, that in my owne life time, these Pirates dare to come vpon my Coasts, whereby I foresee what mischief they will worke vpon my Posteritie.* Which indeede proued so great, that in their publike Processions, and Letanies of the Church, this Petition was added, *From the rage of the Normans, Good Lord deliuer vs.* This feare, and prair notwithstanding, they draue the French to such extremitie, that King Charles the Bald was forced to giue vnto Hastings a Norman Arch-pirate, the Earldome of Chertsey, for to assuage his furie exercised vpon his People; and againe, King Charles the Grasse, granted vnto Godfrey the Norman part of Neustria, with his Daughter in marriage: Yet all this sufficed not, but that the Normans by force of Armes feared themselves neere vnto the mouth of Sein, taking all for their owne that lay comprised betwixt that Riuer and the Riuer Loire: which Countrey afterwards tooke the name of Normanny fro these Northern Guests, at what time King Charles the Simple, confirmed it vnto Rollo their Captain.

(5) This Rollo, as say the Danish Historians, was the son of Guion, a great Lord in Denmark, who with his brother Gaurin were appointed to depart the Country (according to the Danish customes) to seeke their adventures abroad, and leaue more room for the rest at home; but these refusing the order made warre vpon the King, in which, both Guion the Father and Gaurin the sonne, were slaine, and Rollo forced to fly for safeguard of his life, with whom went a number of Gallants to seeke Fortunes Court, and not a few mildoes, or out-lawed men: whose Acts in England registred by Albertus Krantius, seeing they vary from our owne historians in circumstances of times, and names, I haue chosen in this place to inferre, leaving the credit thereof to him the Reporter.

(6) Rollo, a Nobleman of Denmarke, (saith he) and too powerful in his Kings eye, was forced with a Navy to aduenture his Fortunes into forreine parts, whose first arriage, as he saith, was in England, where many of the Danish nobility had formerly tried their valours, and some of them attained to the Scepter, if not of the whole, yet of a great part of that kingdom. Indeed, (saith he) England from the beginning was not governed

Camb. Brit.

Camb. Brit.
de Normans

Rollo.
Albert Krant.

Polyer, lib. 6. ca. 1.

governed by one King, as now it is, for the Angle-Saxons had their province, and the Mercians theirs, both governed by Provinciall Deputies, but the Northumbrians had a King, as the Scots and Pitts also, in the same Ilands, had kept their own limits under the like Government. Amongst these Northumbrians the Danes had their cheefest abiding, and in this Province Rollo the Dane brought first his men on Land, where making warre upon that Nation, he built both Castles and Fortresses to fortifie himselfe, his Navy lying upon the Seas, and proceeding forward into the Continent, tooke great bootie both of men, cattle, and other spoiles, lading their ships as they lay at Anchor: the Inhabitants of the Country making head against him, had still the worst.

(7) Rollo yet doubtful and in suspense what to doe, desired indeed to returne to his Country, but that the Kings indignation was an obstacle that way: next hee affected to try his Fortunes in France, yet feared the issue would be dangerous, the People being exasperated against him, for the harms he had done them: but chiefly the Diademe of England ran most in his minde, though hee knew the hazard was great, to match his small Forces with an host of a King: in which perplexed thoughts, it chanced him (saith my Author) to fall into a sweet slumber, and in his sleepe he seemed to sit in the Kingdome of France, upon a high hill, bending his head forward to a kiner which issued from the top of a mountain, at the foote whereof beneath him, hee saw many Kindes of Birds, which walked their ruddy left wings in the same water, where they all fed together, flew about, built their nests, and at times appointed, brought forth their young.

(8) Rollo awaking from his pleasing dream, imparted the same vnto his comforts, desiring their iudgements for interpretation, which no way satisfying him, hee called a Christian of his English Captives, a man industrious, and of great Capacity, and of whose deep understanding he had a great opinion: this captiue then boldened, (and willing in likelihood, to diuert Rollo from infesting England) told him, that his dreame was significant and good, and did prognosticate the happy successe of himselfe and whole Nation: for by this he saw that he was shortly to receive a quiet possession, and a land of great renown in the Continent of France, and that himselfe should be cleaned in the Laver of Baptisme, wherein also the ruddy fins of his People should be washed away, as the water had done the wings of the Birds.

(9) This interpretation pleased Rollo well, and he easily belueed that which he most affected, as in the like kinde dreamers commonly doe: therefore prouiding all things for France, he set his countenance only that way, yet because he had already performed great matters in England, he thought to follow Fortune for his best Leader, and before he departed from so fair a land, intended to found the King by an Ambassage, that so it might find him inclinable to a league, he might haue a refuge against future chaunces; if not, then was he resolute to go forward with his iourney: therefore making choice of certaine actiue persons, sent them to the English King Alstan, a Prince of a speciall religion and holines of life: these hauing audience, vttered their message as followeth.

(10) Wee being men distressed, and driven from our Country, sought out in banishment an habitation to rest in, and going forth, very many followed us, who encouraged us to seek and winne a land by Conquest, supplying us with strength, and giving us great hope of victory: which thing when wee refused to take in hand, a Tempest of weather drave us (O King) into these English Ports, where staying a full season to put againe forth, the Winter withheld us, and our wants made us to seeke further into the Land: whereupon our men, cucumore brought up to the warre, being euill intreated of these inhabitants, were moved by such iniuries to provide for their owne defence, wherein some small skirmishes haue passed betwixt them. Our Prince therefore and Generall Rollo doth humbly require peace of thee, and to be permitted to sojourn in thy Land for a time, and to relieue his company with things necessary, wee paying suf-

ficiently for it: these things when thou shalt grant, hee shall rest content and pacified, untill the next spring, at which time hee means to take his intended voyage.

(11) Alstenus, not ignorant of the Danish cruelty, and with how great Armies they might oppress the English thores, did readily grant what they required: And also added a further curtesie, saying withall, I doe greatly desire to see your Duke himselfe: and let him not thinke much to repaire to our mansions, for he shall find none among it vs but his most loving friends. When this was signified to Rollo, choosing out the tallest and goodliest persons of his company, and such as were of greatest wisdom, with them he very ioyfully meett the King, is entertained, presents him with great gifts, but receiueh greater: Then sitting downe to talke and commune:

(12) I am (saith King Alstenus) right gladd, most worthy Duke Rollo, to see you in this my Court. The renowne of your Nation hath bene related to mee, a Martiall kind of People you are, and in fight unconquerable. And you your selfe also for your prowess, are not vnnoted among the rest of your famous Worthies: your valiant exploits are well knowne vnto vs: It is right pleasing vnto vs to enter with such men into amitie. Behold our whole kingdome is before you, chooe out a feate for your selfe, and your people where you best like, for we will haue an euermore league betwixt vs.

(13) Rollo, glad of so faire promises, replied: Most worthy and renowned King, I highly esteeme of your bonifitull and most liberal proffers: God grant a happy successe of our affaires. I doe thinke my selfe most bounden to deuote to your worthines; and if destine euer answer to our desires, we will not be vnthankfull for this your so great benignity. To ease our selues in your kingdome, though in dedee we are very willing, and your Royall proffers do much more incite vs, yet Fate doth not permit it. I haue determined (and will certainly performe) to goe into France. For your gifts bestowed on me, I esteeme them in the highest degree: and right well content I am to haue a perpetuall League with you, that the like Fortune may befall vs both, the one to be a safeguard to the other. Thus I both offer, and accept of: Thus his League God grant may to vs both proue happy and fortunate.

(14) With such like interchanges the time much spent, and night drawing on, they were brought to banquet: And early the next morning, comming forth of their lodgings, most louingly embraced each other, when each gaue & receiued presents best fitting with their estates and occasions. Neither doth Krantius stay his penne there, but proceedeth to particular affaires betwixt these two Princes, without the concurrence of any of our owne writers.

(15) As how the English rose in Armes against Alstenus their King, taking opportunity of the time, for that Rollo (whom they knew to be ioined in a most strait confederacy with their Soueraigne) being then employed in the warres of France, could not come or send to his aide: Alstenus therefore oppressed with a tumultuous kingdome, remembered Rollo his faithfull friend, and sending Ambassadors declared vnto him what distresse hee was in; who nor vnmindfull of the firme league betwixt them, left his French wars, and prepared for England with all his Forces, where entering the Iland, he easily quieted the tumultuous rebels, ransacking their Cities, curbing their wildenes, and so reducing them at last to an orderly subiection. For which his great loue, care, & pains, the King not vnthankfull, resolu'd to requite him with the halfe of his kingdome, appointing the Cities and limiting the bounds, which each of them should rule and gouerne as their owne possessions.

(16) Rollo in the meane time, as careful of the peaces continuance, as regardless of so great remunerations, taketh pledges of the Rebels for securing their loialtie to the King, and peaceable bearing towards himselfe; vpon accomplishment whereof, repairing to Alstenus he thus bespake him.

(17) Seeing (King Alstenus) you haue so highly rewarded me, both with princely entertainment, and bon-

Rollo cometh to Alstan's Court.

Will. Gemet. lib. 2. cap. 6. Alstan's bounty to Rollo.

Land. Higden. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Will. Lange. lib. 2. cap. 1. Duke of Normandy.

Alstan's faith to his friend.

Edm. lib. 1.

sifull presents, I can doe no lesse, then willingly bestow vpon you thes my paines for your safetie: it is no more then your desert: doe challenge, neither will I accept, or seeme so vn-courteous as to expect, for my paines, any part of your dominion. Your selfe now may well gouerne it; for France calles for my presence: keepe therefore those your Pledges, brought to you by your Subiects, and there is no doubt but you shall hence forward gouerne your Kingdome in a settled and contentfull quietnesse.

(18) The King could not containe those his eies, which now beheld in a stranger so strange and vnex-pected kindnes, from resolu'ing into teares; giuing him both hearty thanks, and rich gifts, seeing hee could not falten on him any portion of his Kingdome: of whom, all that Rollo desired was this, that he would giue licence to such voluntary Souldiers as would goe with him into France: whereto Alsten, ready in all things to gratifie his desire, gladly condescended, and furnished him with attendants.

(19) But leaving Krantius the Dane, as likewise Gemetius the Norman, to fauour their Country, & these their reports, to the best liking of the iudicious, most certaine it is, that the French King Charles, commonly called the Simple, gaue the Duchie of Normandy with his daughter Gilla (whose mother was Agnina, the daughter of Edward the Elder, King of England) vnto Rollo the Dane, as is recorded in an old manuscript belonging to the Monastery of Angiers. And when Rollo was baptized, Charles receiuing him for his God-sonne at the Font, he was there required to doe homage for his Dukedome receiued, and inioined therein to kisse the Kings foot, which hee did, but with some disgrace to King Charles, and bound it with an oath that hee did not receiue it vpon courtlesse.

(20) This Rollo by his second wife Popee, (for Gilla died childlesse) daughter to the Earle of Besin and Basleux, had a sonne named William, surnamed Long-espee, and a daughter called Giraeta, who was afterwards married to the Duke of Guyan.

(21) William Long-espee (so called of the Long Sword hee usually wore) the second Danish Duke of Normandy, took vnto wife sporta the daughter of Hubert, Earle of Sentlis, by whom hee had only Richard his sonne: this William receiuing baptism, receiued therewith a new name, and was thenceforth called Robert, who hauing gouerned his Dukedome with great moderation the space of twenty yeeres, was guilefully murdered by the working of Lewes King of France, to the great griefe of his people, who so far followed the reuenge, that they intercepted Lewes in the Citie Rothomage, and detained him their prisoner, till he agreed to these Articles: That young Richard should succeed his flaine Father in the foresaid Dukedome; and that thenceforth when the King & Duke should conferr together, the Duke should bee girt with his Sword, and the King disabled either of Sword or knife: to which Lewes yielded vpon his corporall oth.

(22) Richard thus established, gouerned his Dukedome the space of fifty two yeeres. Hee was a man of an admirable fortitude, and therefore was called Richard the Hardy. His first wife was Agnes, daughter to Hugh le Grand, Earle of Paris, Lord Abbot of Germans, and Father to Hugh Capet of France; but the dying issuelesse, hee secondly married Gunnor, a Gentlewoman of the Danish blood, (whom hee had kept his Concubine before) by whom hee had three sonnes and three daughters: the first was Richard that succeeded in his dominions; the second was Robert Archbishop of Roan; and the third was called Maligner: his daughters were Hawila, the wife of Geoffrey Earle of Britaine, and mother to Alane and Guye his sonnes. Maud espoused * Eudes Earle of Chartiers and Blais: and Emma called the Flower of Normandy, was Queene of England, both by the English King Ethelred, and Canutus the Dane, to both which shee was married.

(23) Richard the second, surnamed the Good, was

the fourth Duke of Normandy, and ruled the same for twenty foure yeeres: In whose time the Normans began to be great, and gracious in England, the marriage of his Sister making their way: his first wife was Judith the Sister of Geoffrey Earle of Britaigne, by whom hee had issue, Richard, the first Duke of Normandy, and Robert the first, William a Monke, and Nicholas Abbot of S. Andrew: his daughters by her were, Alice, that died young, and another of the same name married to Reinold, Earle of Bargaine, and Eleanor espoused to Baldwin the fourth Earle of Flanders; who bare vnto him Baldwin the fifth, father of Maud that was Queene of England, and wife to the Conquerour.

(24) The second wife to Duke Richard the second, was Esfrize, Sister to Cannie King of England, from whom hee purchased a Diuorce, without any issue begotten on her body; and then taking for his third wife a faire Gentlewoman named Paula, had issue by her William Earle of Arques, and Mauger Archbishop of Roane.

(25) Richard the third of that name, and fifth Duke of Normandy, in the second yeere of his Dukedome died an vtinely death, not without suspicion of Poyson, ministred by Robert his younger brother, who presently was inducted in the Duchie, for that hee left no issue of his body to succeed.

(26) This Robert (Duke Richards Brother) was a man of a magnanimous spirit, and of such bounteous liberality as is vncredible. Hee comming to the Citie Phaleisa in Normandy, chanced to see a most goodly and beautifull damosell, dancing among others of her familiar consorts; her name was Arlet, of meane parentage (the daughter of a Skinner, saith Higden) whose pleasing feature and comely grace fo pleased the Duke, that taking her to his bed, hee begot on her, William his only sonne, (who proued the only man of the Normans blood) and after vpon a remorse of conscience, vnderooke a pilgrimage vnto Ierusalem, from whence hee neuer againe returned. Arlet in Roberts life time was married to Herlaine a Norman Gentleman, but of meane substance; to whom the bare Ode Biishop of Baion, by his halfe-brother William created Earle of Kent; and Robert created Earle of Mortaigne, a man of a dull and grosse wit; & a daughter named Emma, wife to Richard count of Auranches, (a Prouince in Normandy,) the mother of Hugh Lupus Earle Palatine of Chester. And thus farre breefly I haue thought good to prosecute the Line of the Normans, for the better illustration of our English Stories.

(27) Duke Robert intending his pious pilgrimage vnto the holy land, assembled all his Nobility vnto the Citie Fisan, where hee caused them to sweare fealty vnto his sonne William, being then but seuen yeeres old, committing him to the Gouernance of one Gilbert, an Earle of much integrity and prudence, and the defence of that Gouernment vnto Henry the French King, and so in the eight yeere of his Dukedome, set on his voyage for Ierusalem; who entering Iurys, and not able to traualle, was born in a litter vpon the Saracens shoulders, and nere vnto the Citie, meeting a returning Pilgrime, desired him to report in his Country what hee there saw, which is, (saith hee) that I am carried to Heaven vpon the Diuels backe: but so farre was he borne that he neuer returned, being preuented by death: which the Norman Peeres hearing, made vse thereof for their owne ambitious ends, without any regard of young William their Pupill and Soueraigne, and grown into factions, greatly troubled the Peace of their Country, wherein Earle Gilbert the Protector was slaine, by Randulphus the young Dukes Cousen-Germane.

(28) The beginner of these stirres was another of his kinsmen, euen Guy of Burgoine, the sonne of Duke Richards daughter, brought vp with William in his youth, and euer in his most especial esteeme; who, vpon a vaine hope to aspire to an Earldome, got the aide of the Vicounts, Nigel, and Randulph, but tooke such a fall

fourth Duke of Normandy. Rollo's first wife Judith the child.

Richard 3. the fifth Duke of Normandy.

Robert 3. the first Duke of Normandy.

Ran. Higden. in Polyg. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Will. Tardus. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Will. Malmsh. lib. 3. cap. 1.

Ran. Higden. in Polyg. lib. 2. cap. 1.

Will. Malmsh. lib. 3.

Rollo his dream.

Alb. Krantius.

The dreame expounded by an English Christian Captiue.

Rollo fendeth to found King Alstan.

a fall before he could ascend the highest step, that in losing his footing he lost therewith his head.

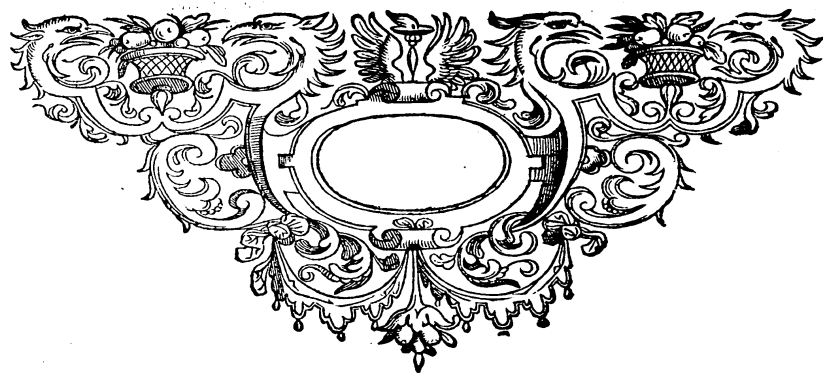
(29) Strife also arose betwixt yong *William*, and his Vnckle *William* the base-borne Earle of *Archie*. Whereupon King *Henry* of *France*, who till then had held this Wolfe by the earc, fearing some hazzard to him selfe, if he should now let him go, thought it best to aid the Earle in his cause, and therefore sent him supplie vnder the leading of some men of note; but *William* so begit this Castle with strat siege, that hee caused the Earle by famishment to yleed vp his Fort, and droue the *French* with disgrace out of the field: where, with such successe he still prospered, that *Henry* now, to secure his own Confinnes, sent *Odo* his brother for Prefect, into those Parts, that lay betwixt the *Riuers* *Reyn* and the *Seyn*.

(30) *William* as watchfull as the *French* King was jealous, sent against *Odo*, *Robert Count Auenst*, *Hugh Gornacensis*, *Hugh Mountfort*, and *William Chirspine*, all of them stout Souldiers, which so brauely bare them selues, that *Odo* was the first man that made away, and the rest of the *French* saued themselves by flight.

(31) *William* that had sworne a league with King

Henry, and in his Minority had euer found him his gracious Guardian, was loth to endanger the breach of his Oath, or the duty that loue and deserts had obliged him vnto; and therefore by this Stratagem hee sought to dislodge the *French*. In the silence of Night when in the Kings Campe all were at rest, he caused to be cried aloud, the flight of *Odo*, and his discomfiture, with no lesse terror then it was; which rang so shrill in the eares of the *French*, that *Henry* thought best to be gone: leauing *William* the absolute Lord of *Normandie*.

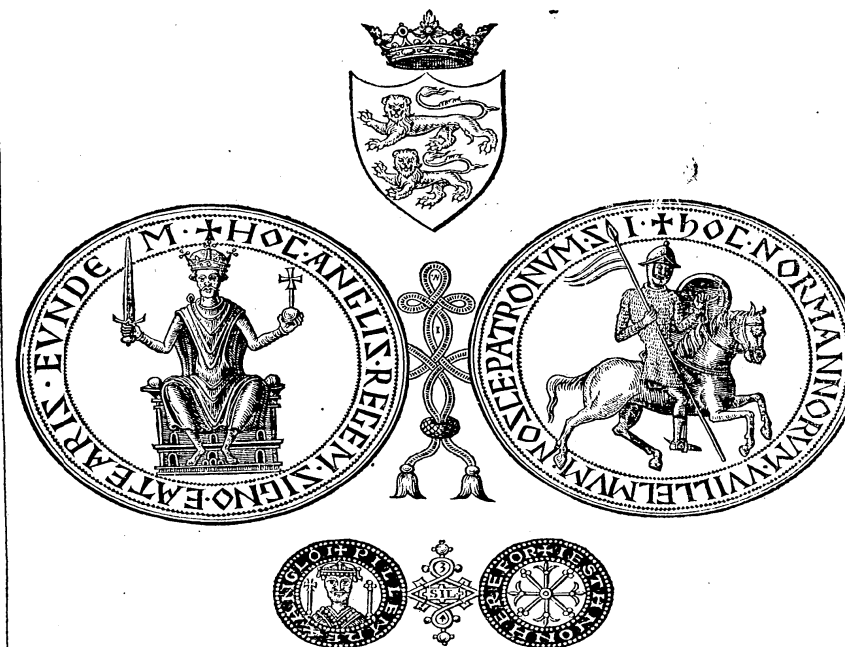
(32) Which he valiantly defended, and vprightly gouerned all the daies of King *Henry*: whose death presently caused an alteration of State; for he leauing *Baldwine* surnamed the *Gentle*, and fifth Earle of *Flanders*, Tutor to his yong Sonne *Philip*, the quarrell betwixt those two Princes had an end; *Baldwine* on the one side so working his Pupill, and on the other the *Normane*, (who was his sonne in law) that a most firme League was ratified betwixt them, and kept vniuolated so long as *William* was a Duke: where wee will leaue him in prosperitie and peace, and proceed in our intendment, as he did in his Conquest here in *England*.



The



WILLIAM SVRNAMED THE
CONQUEROVR, THE THIRTIE
NINTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH-
MEN: AND FIRST OF THE NORMANS:
HIS LIFE, RAIGNE, ACTS, WIFE,
AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER II.



Battle Field wonne with the losse of little lesse then sixty eight thousand men, and *Harold* in Souldier-like exequies borne vnto *Waltham* in *Essex*, & there honourably enterred, as we haue said: *William the Conqueror*, (for so now may wee stile him) returned to *Hasting*, and thence set forward with spoile of the Country, ouer *Thamesis* towards *London*.

(2) Where *Edwine* and *Morcar*, the Brethren of the Queen, were in working the *English*, that one of them should be King, or rather, saith *Simon of Durham*, to crowne *Edgar Etheling*, the rightfull heire, in such esteeme with the People, that he was commonly called *Englands Darling*; vnto whose side most of the Nobles adhered, with the Citizens of *London*,

and the Nauall forces; to which part also ioined *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, though presently he fel off and stuck to the stronger; for the Prelates, though secretly affecting the right claime, yet terrified with the flashing thunderbolts of the Papall curie, durst not goe forward with their purpose (so powerful was the Pope, euen then to defeat the rightfull heires of kingdomes) but refused to side with the Lords, wherupon all their designements were suddainely quashed.

(3) For *William* hauing wasted through *Kent*, *Sussex*, *Surrey*, *Hampshire*, and *Barkshire*, came vnto *Wallingford*, and croising there the *Thamesis*, passed through the Counties of *Oxford*, *Buckingham* and *Hertford*, where staying at *Berkhamsted*, *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*, *Wolstane* Bishop of *Worcester*, *Walter* Bishop of *Hereford*, with the Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, yea and *Edgar* himself, yielded their allegiance vnto the Duke: This curse so preuailing, farre

Monarch 39

The Pope powerful to depose Princes.

Will. Atalms.

Will. Gemitt.

Trees cut down
to hinder Will-
iam's passage.

John Stow.

King William's
Coronation.

William fortified
against invasions.

Polydor.

Math. Park.

John Stow.

Archbishop Sai-
gants perdition
of the Kentish.

Thom. Sprat.

The Kentish po-
lice against King
William.

farre engaged William to the Pope.

(4) William intending for London, being on his way, found the passage stoppt vp with multitudes of great trees, which by the policy of *Frethericke* Abbot of *S. Albans*, (a man descended from the Saxons noble blood, as likewise from *Canutus the Dane*) to secure his Monasterie from the destruction of the *Normans*, were so cut downe: whereat the Duke both wondering and fretting, sent for the Abbot, vnder his assurance of safe returne, and demanding the cause why his woods were so cut; *Frethericke* answered very stoutly, *I have done (said he) the duty both of my birth and profession, and if others of my ranke had performed the like, as they well might and ought, it had not bene in thy power to haue pierced the land thus farre.*

(5) William hearing the bold answere of this Prelate, and knowing it was now a time fitter to pacifie, then exulcerate the *English* spirits, gaue way to the present necessity, and withall hastned (as good policy required) his coronation, which at Westminster was solemnized vpon Monday, being the day of *Christs Nativity*, and yeere of saluation, 1066, where herecruiced the crowne at the hands of *Aldred* Archbishop of *York*; causing the Bishops and Barons to take the oath of allegiance vnto him; and himselfe likewise at the altar of *S. Peters*, tooke a solemne oath to defend the rights of the Church, to establish good lawes, and to see iustice vprightly administered, as became a good King; and thereupon chose for his counsell, such men as he knew to bee of great wisdome and experience: next applying his thoughts for the security of his new gotten Empire; fortified such places as lay open to danger, bestowed strong Garrisons vpon the coasts, & ships to ride in those Harbours which were most exposed to invasion.

(6) And the better to assure the south of the land, (best seruing his purpose, if any new troubles should arise) hee tooke his way towards *Douer*, the locke and key of the Kingdom, as *Mathew Paris* terms it; that so hee might command the seas from his enemies arriuage, and ouerawe the *Kentish* a most strong and populous Prouince. When *Stigand* therefore Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and *Egeline* the Politicke Abbot of *Saint Augustines* (being the chiefeft Lords and Gouvernours of *Kent*) vnderstoode of his approach, they assembled the Commons at *Canterbury*, laying forth the perils of the Prouince, the miseries of their neighbours, the pride of the *Normans*, and the wronges of the Church; all which now were too apparently scene: the *English* till then, (they sayd,) were borne free, and the name of bond-men not heard of among them; but now seruitude only attend vs, if wee yeeld (sayd they) to the insoleny of this griping enemy: These two Prelates therefore, after the example of the vndaunted *Machabees*, offered themselues to die in the defence of their Country, whose forwardnesse drew the people vnto the like resolution, which by their aduertisements were assigned to meete at a day, the place was *Swancombe*, two miles west from *Grauesend*.

(7) Where accordingly conuening, and keeping secret in the woods, they waited the coming of the Conquerour, all iointly agreeing, for that no way lay open save onely a front, to carry in their hands keepe branches of trees, wherewith they might both keepe themselves from discovery, and (if need were) impeach the passage of the *Normans*: which device tooke so strange an effect, that it daunted the Duke euen with the sight at his approach; who being, as he thought, free from the enemy, was now suddainly beset on all sides with woods, whereoffeing some before him to moue, he knew not but that all the other vast woods were of like nature, neither had hee leisure to auoide the danger. The *Kentish* inclosing his Army about, displayed their banners, cast downe their boughes, and with bowes bent prepared for battle; so that hee which euen now had

the Realme to his seeming in his fist, stood in despair of his owne life; of which his sodaine amazement, the reuerend Prelates *Stigand* and *Egeline* taking notice, & also aduantage, presented themselues before him, and in the behaile of the *Kentish* thus spake.

(8) Most noble Duke, behold here the Commons of *Kent* are come forth to meete and receive you as their Sovereigne, requiring your Peace, their own free condition of estate, and their ancient lawes formerly used: if these be denied, they are here presently to abide the verdict of battaile, fully resolved rather to die, then to depart with their lawes, or to liue seruite in bondage; which name and nature is, and euer shall be strange vnto vs, and not to be endured.

The Conquerour driuen into this strait, and loath to hazard all on so nice a point, their demands being not vnreasonable, more wisely then willinglie granted their desires; and pledges on both parts giuen for performance, *Kent* yeeldeth her Earledome; and Cattle of *Douer* to their new King *William*.

(9) All things established for *Englands* securitie, and subiection now to the *Normans*; hee ordained his halfe brother by the surer side, *Odo* Bishop of *Bayeux*, (whom hee created Earle of *Kent*) and his coven *William-Fitz-Osborne* (by him made Earle of *Hereford*) to bee Gouvernours in his absence ouer the Realme; and in the Lent following failed into *Normandy*, leading with him many pledges for their fidelity, besides other Nobles, especially such as hee feared to be too potent; amongst whom, *Stigand* the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the two great Earles *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Edgar* surnamed *Etheling*, *Fretherik* Abbot of *S. Albans*, *Aeglethous* Abbot of *Glasterbury*, *Walteof* the sonne of the warlike *Sirard* Earle of *Northumberland*, *Roger* Earle of *Hertford*, *Rainulph* Earle of *Cambridge*, and *Gospatrike* Earle of *Cumberland*, were the men of greatest note; yet was hee no sooner gone, but that *Edrick* surnamed *Syluaticus* (sonne to *Africke* the brother of *Edrick Sirona*, the treacherous Earle of *Mercia*, a man of great spirit, and of no little power, aided by the *Welshmen*, tooke vp armes and denied subiection to the *Normans*, so that by either parties (as in ciuill discords it euer falleth out) great spoiles were made in many places; but most of all in *Herefordshire*, where *Robert Fitz-Sceope* left to man the Castle, did much hurt vpon the Tenants of *Edricke*, and he to requite him with the like, calling to his aide *Blethyn* and *Rywalbon* Kings of *Wales*, wasted all to the mouth of *Wye*.

(10) These stirres in *England* called *William* out of *Normandy*, and were so distastfull to his great, but ill digested stomacke, that hee began to hold the reine straiter, and harder to curbe the head-strong *English*, giuing the possessions of their Nobles vnto his *Normans*, and laying vnwonted taxes & heauie subsidies vpon the Commons, then which nothing bred him more hatred, in so much, that many of them, to enioy a barren liberty, forsooke their fruitfull inheritance, and with their Wives & Children, as outlawes, liued in the Woods, preferring that naked name of freedom, before a sufficient maintenance posselt vnder the thraldome & tyranny of their Conquerors: but in short time, to sustaine their wants, (easily conceived, but hardly indured) they so fell to spoyle and robbe, that the high waies lay vtrod from towne to towne, yea and priuate houses euery where so guarded with bowes, billes, polaxes, swords and clubs, as if they had been not harbours of peace, but fortresses of warre; when praies were made at the stuffing in, and opening of their dores, as in times of open hostilitie. On the other side, such as preferred vassallage with some hope of tollerableness (yea, or vtollerableness) viage, they to curry fauour with the *Normans*, seeming to forget who they were, became as strangers themselues, and did shauie their beards, round their haire, and in arment, behauiour, and diet, altogether vnafashioned

ned themselues to imitate them: it being a shame in those daies, euen amongst *Englishmen*, to bee an *Englishman*.

(11) Vnto these Malecontents, and voluntarie Out-laws, ioined *Morcar* and *Edwine*, the stout Earles of *Chester* and *Yorkshire*, setting vp again for their Captaine *Edgar Etheling* (which if in due time at first they had done, might haue proued successful) who with their complices right valiantly for a time resisted the *Normans*, and in their proceedings put many of them to the sword. King *William* as carefull and sedulous to preuent further mischief, collecting his forces, and not without danger of his life, disfolued their power, so that euery man sought how to faue himselfe by escape: among whom *Edwin* and *Morcar*, *Weltherfus* and *Mertther*, with some of the Bishops and Clergie went into *Scotland*. *Marleswin*, and *Gospatrike*, Noblemen of *Northumberland* went into *Denmarke*: *Edgar Atheling*, with his mother *Agatha*, and his sisters *Christian* and *Margaret*, tooke the seas for *Hungarie*; but by contrary winds were driuen into *Scotland*, where they were most courteously entertained by *Malcolme* (surnamed *Cannor*) King of that Country, who so affected the person and qualities of Lady *Margaret*, that hee entred with her a Nuptiall contract, and the rather in respect of her possibillity and neerenesse to the *English* crowne, whose marriage was solemnized about the feast of *Easter*, in the second of King *William*'s raigne, whereby *Scotland* became a sanctuary to the *English*, which daily fledde thither from the pressures of the *Normans*.

(12) The Conquerour now perceiving the occasion of new stirres, sent vnto King *Malcolme* for the deliuerie of *Edgar* his enemy, which if he refused, hee threatened to denounce open warre against *Scotland*. But *Malcolme* minding more his owne honour, then King *William*'s threats, returned this answere, That he held it an vnjust thing, yea and (in a Prince) a wicked part, to betray him to his enemy, that came vnto his Court for protection, as Prince *Edgar* was forced for feare of his life, whose innocency and demeanour toward *William*, his greatest aduerfariie, could not touch with the least suspect: alledging further (besides the respect of ordinary humanity, in this case euer religiously to be obserued) the straight bands of their neeralliance, which required him to tender the afflicted estate of his most louing wiues, most loued brother, committing vnder his Canopie, as it were for defence.

(13) *William* thus frustrate of all hope from king *Malcolme*, and daily perplexed at the flight of the *English* vnto his kingdom, feared a reuolt & dangerous rebellions to preuent which, hee caused foure strong castles to bee built, one at *Hasting*, another at *Lincolne*, the third at *Nottingham*, & the fourth at *Torke*, wherein hee bestowed strong Garrisons: and disarming the *English* of armour, commanded euery house-holder to put out both fire and candle at eight of the clocke at night; at which houre, in euery City, Towne and Village, he caused a bell to be rung, of the French then called *Courfem* (that is, *Cour-fire*) partly yet in practise, and in name verie neer, commonly called *Curfew*: to preuent nightly tumults that might happily be done.

(14) All this his circumspection notwithstanding, could not preuent the troubles that presently arose, for *Goodwin* and *Edmund*, the sonnes of the late King *Harold*, coming with some forces out of *Ireland*, and landing in *Somersetshire*, fought with *Adonithus*, (sometime master of their fathers horse, but now a *Norman*) whom they slew with many others, and taking great booties both in *Cornwall* and *Devonshire*, departed againe for *Ireland*.

Exceter likewise, seeking to shake off the fetters of the *Normans* bondage, as also *Northumberland*, to

recouer their former liberties, tooke Armes against whom, King *William* in all hast possible, sent *Robert Curmur*, and went himselfe strongly prepared against *Exceter*, which hee most straitly beleaguered; at which time the Citizens thought it not enough to shutre their gates against him, but contemptuously taunted and flouted him, vntill a great peece of the wall falling downe by the especial hand of God, (as the Historians of that age report) they immediately set open their gates, and submitted themselues to his mercy. The chiefe instigator to their disloyalty was *Githa* the mother of King *Harold*, and sister to *Swain* King of *Denmarke*, with others siding against the *Normans*; who now seeing the yeelding vp of that Citie, shifted themselues out of danger, and got ouer vnto *Flanders*.

(15) But fortune to *Cumin* was not so fauourable in the North, nor himselfe so circumspect as valiant; for lying securely, as hee thought in the City *Durham*, hee was on the sodaine surprisid in the night by *Edgar Atheling* and his followers, where *Robert* and seuen hundred of his *Normans* were slain, one onely escaping, who brought the bloody news thereof to King *William*, which hapned in the third of his raigne, the twenty eight of *January*, and yeere of *Christ*, 1068. The depth of Winter notwithstanding, hee posted into the north, whose only terror danted all further attempts, so that taking some of the Authors of this rebellion, hee cut off their hands and some of their heads, conceiuing hereupon more hatred against the *English*, and in that spleene of displeasure returned to *London*.

(16) Whiles these insurrections were on foot in *England*, the fugitiue *English* in *Denmarke* so far preuailed with King *Swaine*, that they procured his aid to recouer their rights, and the rather, as they alledged, for that the Crowne of *England* was his, descending from those that had before made conquest thereof: hee therefore sent a puissant Naue of three hundred saile well fraught with souldiers, vnder the conduct of *Osborne* his brother, and *Harold* and *Canute* his sonnes; who arriuing in *Humber*, landed their men for *Torke*, and wasted the Country all the way as they went; vnto whom shortly ioined *Edgar* and his associates out of *Scotland*, so that their Army was exceedingly strong. Whose approach so terrified the *Torke*, that for very griefe thereof their Archbishop *Aldred*, (who was wholly become the *Normans* fauourite) died, and the *Norman* Garrisons that there kept, lest the enemy should haue any shelter or succour, set their suburbs on fire; the flame whereoff carried with an ouer-high wind, soone consumed a great part of the City itselfe, and therein, the faire Cathedral Church of *S. Peters*, with a famous Library thereto adioining.

(17) The Citizens, and Souldiers thus beset with sodaine flames, thinking to secure their liues frō the fire, did enahazard them on the fury of the sword; for committing vnawares vpon these hardy and well appointed *Danes*, were forced to come to a disordered fight, wherein though for a time they behaued themselues most valiantly, yet being ouerlaid, were discomfited with the slaughter of three thousand of their men. The *Danes*, swelling with this prosperous successe tooke into *Northumberland*, bringing all to their obedience where they came; and the two yong gallants were thereby so fleshed, & encouraged, that they intended to haue marched to *London*, had not the extremity of winter (enemy to all warlike enterprise) hindered them; yea and *William* as willingly would haue beene doing, if the same cause had not kept him backe; but when the time of the yeare was fit for warre, hee gathered a great host, whereof the *English* were chiefe, this being his policy, to vie their weapons each against others, whereby their strengths might bee lessened, that so who focuer lost, his *Normans* might winne: these ioining battaile with the enemy, fought it out manfully; and lastly, making a breach into a wing of the Danish

Cambd. Damon.

Exceter yeelded
to King William

An.D. 1068

Th. Norman
slaine in the
north

Polydor.

An.D. 1069

Math. Park.
Mat. West.
lib. 2.

The Dmes with
English fugitiues
inade England.

Lib. Mbor. M. 5.

Torke set on fire
by her owne
souldiers.

The Danes victors
ouer the English.

William policy
to weaken the
English.

Wil. Malmib.

Danish

1st Nov.
A conspiracy
intended and
reueled.

bellions vnto whom yielded Roger Earle of Hereford, his Brides brother, and Walthof Earle of Northampton, with many other Barons, Abbats and Bishops: But the next morning, when Earle Walthof had consulted with his Pillow and awaked his wits to perceive the danger whereunto he was drawne, repaired straightwaies to Archbishop Lanfranke, who was left Gouvernour of the Land in King Williams absence, revealing vnto him their Conference and Treasons intended, by whose aduise he went our into Normandie, and there with submissiue repentance, shewed the King what these Lords and himselfe had intended.

Mat. Westm.
Henry Hunt.
Simon Dun.

John Pike.

An.D. 1075

William returning
vnto the
English.

W. Mat. M.

Henry Hunt.

A kinde-hearted
Wife.

An.D. 1076

Mat. Paris.
Matth. West.

The Princes of
Wales do homage
to William

Mat. Paris.
Henry Hunt.
Simon Dun.

W. Mat. M.
Mat. Paris.
Polyder.

(35) The Earles therefore of Norfolk and Hereford, whose state now lay open to chance, as desperate men tooke themselves to Arms, & sought how to vntie their two powers into one. This sudden found of warre soone routed the Subjects, so that Walthof Bishop of Worcester, and Egelvne Abbat of Eneham having called to their aide Walter Lacie, and Wile the Sheriffe of Worcester, so manfully withstood Earle Roger that he with his Army could not passe ouer Seuerne to joine with his brother Norfolk: And he againe was so fore laide at, by Odo Bishop of Bayeux, and Gessrey Bishop of Constance, (who had assembled a mighty Army both of English and Normans) that they constrained him first to Norwich, where, in the Castle he bestowed his Countesse, and thence fled himselfe into Little Britaine, whither shortly these followed.

(36) William now returned from Normandy and some reliques of Rebellion remaining in the West, he hastid thitherward, where, with small adoe hee got Earle Roger into his hands, and condemned him to perpetual prison; the Welsh his Aiders (of whom also were many at the said Marriage) he vied with great severity, for of some he put out the eyes, of others he cut off the hands, hanged some vpon gibbets, and he that escaped best, went into banishment; neither Earle Walthof, notwithstanding hee reuealed the conspiracie, escaped unpunished; for after that the King had taxed him with ingratitude (he hauing formerly restored the Earledome vnto him) he caused his head to be chopt off at Winchester, (although he had before promised his pardon and life) his great possessions being his greatest Enemies; for he is reported to haue been Earle of Northampton, Northumberland and Huntingdon, thought by the King to be fitter dignities for the Normans his followers; and the desire of a new Marriage, moued Judith his wife not a little to set forward and hasten his death.

(37) These beginnings against the Welsh, King William prosecuted farther, entering into Wales with a strong Armie, as purposing a final end of those Domestical warres, hauing lo replenished England with his Normans, that hee now promised himselfe security and happinesse of State: To him therefore the Princes of Wales vnable to resist, performed their Homages at Saint Davids, and with their Hostages he returned as a victorious Conquerour.

But the Seas of these troubles now growne quiet and calme, and he at some leasure to thinke on future successe, all on the sudden a cloud arose in the North, which hastily came on and threatened a storme.

(38) For Swaine King of Denmarke, whose title (to his seeming) stood firme for the Crowne, manned forth two hundred tall Ships, whereof his sonne Canute and Earle Hacon were Generals; for his brother Osborne he had banished Denmarke, that basely tooke money to depart England some few yeeres before, nor withstanding his claime he made still, though, for money, still stopped by his Dames: For so faith their owne writer Adam Bremensis, that continual contention was betwixt Swaine and the basard, although (saith he) our Bishops by bribes would haue persuaded peace betwixt the two Kings: Yea and Malmesbury, our writer, affirmeth, that William gaue bribes to Earle Hacon to begone; though Paris and Polyder report, that when these Dames heard that their fauourites heere were vanquished they turned their Sailes for Flanders, and

durst not fight with King William.

(39) But now a lesse suspected, but much more vnaturall warre arose, for Robert, his eldest sonne, (set on by Philip King of France, who did greatly desire this so hallic growth of the Conquerour) claimed Normandy by gift of his father, promised to him immediately after his Conquest of England; a Noble Gentleman surely, but of an ambitious and hasty nature, prodigally spending and maintaining his followers about the compass of his priuate estate; him Philip, & his own ill-nurtured Ambition, thrust forward, & Q. Maad his mother supplied vnder had, out of her own Coffers, and King Williams Reuennewes, so that with banners displayed hee entred Normandy in hostile manner, and there by force seised vpon diuers places to his owne vie, and so without respect of dutifull patience gained by force the free-gift of his father.

(40) King William hearing of his sonne Roberts proceedings, was not (as great cause there was) a little offended thereat, and with a powerfull Army halted to Normandy: where neere vnto the Castle of Gerbury, at a place called Archenbraye, he ioined battle with his sonne; where the fight was sore and dangerous on both sides, the Generals being such men as they were: but in the heat of the foot battels that fought it out resolutely, Robert commanded a power of horse to breake in vpon the Rereward of his enemies, and himselfe valiantly following, chanced to light against his owne Father, and with his lance thrust him through the Arme, bearing him off his horse to the ground. King William thus wounded & false, called for helpe to be remounted, storming to see his blood spilt in his owne land, and against his owne sonne, which neuer had beene in battailes of other countries, nor drawne by the weapons of forraigne enemies, and in great rage threatened the reuenge: Robert that knew his Father by his voice, hastily alighted, and in his Armes tooke him from the earth, humbly desiring his pardon for this vnknown fact, and forgiveness of his ouer-hastie attempt; then mounting him vpon his owne horse, brought him in safetie out of the presse; who hauing escaped so great a danger, and seeing himselfe for the present too weak to withstand the enemy, left the honour of the field vnto Robert, with the losse of many hisouldiers, slaine there both in the battaile and chafe, besides a great number that were hurt & wounded; among whom, William Rufus his second sonne was one, a man of a better temper, and more filiall regard to his parents, and therefore more deservingly and tenderly beloued then Robert; for which dishonour now done to his Father, and disloyalty for his vnaturall armes, hee bitterly cursed him, and execrated the time wherein he begate him: howbeit, others doe write, that for his most vndaunted courage at that time, issuing and ending in such dutifull and tender care of his fathers safety, hee presently forgave his former offences, and euer after had him in better respect.

(41) These stirres thus qualified, and King William returned, he went forward with his former determination; for seeing a further assurance to himselfe and successors of the English crowne; to which end, first on the east side of London (the mother City of the land) he laid the foundation of a stately & strongly fenced Castle, or Magazine of warlike munitions, intrenched with a large and deepe ditch, now called the Tower of London; the surveyor of which worke, was Gundulphus Bishop of Rochester; about the twelfth yeare of the Conquerours raigne, so much is lessened the antiquity of that Citadell, & credite of such, as would haue it founded by Iulius Caesar; vnlesse (perhaps) we would thinke that King William did onely adde some new fort to the former being built (saith Fitz-Stephen) with morter tempered with the blood of beasts.

(42) Then to enrich his owne coffers (for hee is taxed by Malmesbury to be exceeding couetous) he laid

An.D. 1075
Robert
for Norm.

W. Mat. M.

Mat. Paris.
Simon Dun.

King William
wounded &
vnto the

Heb. Mat.
sonne.

W. Mat. M.

Mat. Paris.
Henry Hunt.

An.D. 1076
The Tower
London
John Stow.
Regis. Angl.

Stephens.

W. Mat. M.

W. Mat. M.
W. Mat. M.
W. Mat. M.

W. Mat. M.

Mat. Paris.
Simon Dun.

King William
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Heb. Mat.
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W. Mat. M.

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Henry Hunt.

An.D. 1076
The Tower
London
John Stow.
Regis. Angl.

Stephens.

W. Mat. M.

laid great subsidies vpon the land: and that the same might amount to his great benefite (though with the greatest griuance of the people) hee caused an exact survey to be taken of the whole kingdom, yea and of every particular part and commodity thereof; so that there was not an hide of land, lake, water, or wast, but he knew the valuation, the owners, and possellers, together with the rents, and profits thereof, as also of all Cities, Townes, Villages, Hamlets, Monasteries, and Religious houses; causing also all the people in England to be numbered, their names to be taken, with notice, what euery one might dispise by yeere; their substance, money & bondmen recorded: how many yokes of oxen, and plough-lands were in the Realme, and what seruices they owed, who held of him in Fee; all which was certified vpon the oathes of Commissioners. This done, he exacted fixe shillings to be paid him for euery hide of land; which amounted to an huge masse of money. The Booke thus made of euery feuerall survey, was commonly called the rowle of Winchester, (as being there at first kept) but for the generality, and ineuitable censure thereof, is by Authors named Liber Indiciarius, by the English, Domesday booke, kept to this day in the Kings Exchequer at Westminster: of which collection Robert, a Poet at Gloucester in ancient time, and ryme wrote thus:

The King William, vor to wite the worth of his
land,
Let enqueri strestlich thorow all Engeland,
How mani Plow-land, and hou mani Hiden also,
Were in euerich sire, and wat hij were wurth yereto:
And the rents of each town, and of the waters echone,
The wurth, and of woods eke; that there nelined none,
But that he wist wat hij were wurth of all Engeland,
And wite all elene, that wurth thereof ich vnderstond,
And let it write clene inou, and that scriit dude in wis;
In the Tresorie at Westminster, there it yut is,
So that ure Kings suth, when hij ransome toke,
Treded wold might yine, his fond there in yor boke.

(43) This exaction was gathered with such extremity, & paid with such impouerishing of the English, that they greuously groined vnder their miserable estate, whereby more hatred grew daile to the King, and his Normans; whose loue againe to themward was so little, that hee sought by all means to bring the English name, and Nation to ruine: for it is noted by Caistor, and Rouse, that no English man was permitted to beare any office of Credit, or Countenance in this Conquerours daies, and accounted it was a great shame to be called an Englishman, or to marry into their blood.

(44) These griuances seeming vn sufferable, the English incited Malcolme King of Scotland once more to enter King Williams confines, waiking all before him vnto the Riuer Tyne; against whom the Conquerour sent Robert his sonne, surnamed Courtoise, who marching with a mighty Army, made shew of doing much more then he did; this onely being memorable, that neere to the mouth of Tyne he laid the foundation of a Castle, whereof the towne of New-Castle did afterward take both her beginning, and Name; though long before that time there was a place called Monk-Chester, because (as it should seeme) it had been either the habitation, or possession of some Religious Order.

(45) Neither was Swaine, King of Denmarke, so quailed by his former expeditions, but that he had a minde once more to griape at the English Crowne,

preparing a mighty Armado that way, as was constantly reported and beleued; King William therefore retained a great power of French Soldiours with others, which he had lately brought with him from Normandy, to disburden himselfe; of whose Charges, he appointed them to be maintained at the costs of the English, both for their wages, and other provisions, which was an other great burden vnto the English, though it long lasted not; for that the Danish King better aduising himselfe, gaue ouer the enterprise, and thereupon these Soldiours were discharged.

(46) Another griefe and offence he ministred against both God and man, for the fruitfull Countrey lying South from Sarisbury vnto the Sea, hee depopled, pulling downe Townes, and Villages, with 36. Mother-churches, from mans vie, & Gods diuine seruice; & for 30. miles, laid open the country, some say out of pollice, to haue safeariage from Normandy in time of need: others say, for beasts, & for his owne game in hunting, or to vie the words of Gualter Mapes, who liued immediately after, to dedicate the same vnto wild Beasts and Dogs-game; which place called anciently Tyene, was euer since named the New Forrest: imposing great penalties both pecuniary, and corporall on all such as offended in hunting his Game: in so much that he was then called the Father of wild Beasts, more fauouring them then the People his Subjects. But Gods iust judgement not long after followed this so vnreasonable, and cruel act: for in this Forest, Richard his second sonne being gaied by a Deare, (others say, blasted with a pestilent Ayre) was vntimely slaine: And Rufus his other sonne mistaken for a Deare was by chance shot thorow with an Arrow, by Walter Tyrell. Henry likewise his Grand-child by Robert Courtoise, whilst he hotly pursued the chafe, was stricken by a bough into the lawes, and as Absolon left hanging vntill he died.

Thus, no doubt, God punished his sinnes (euen on his children, and childrens children) who had both taken away the places, and vie of his seruice, and also disherited multitudes of Christian people to their extreme pouerty, for his vnfaciat and superfluous pleasure: so that (as some then thought) the Earth it selfe also seemed to cry Reuenge, when as vpon the sixt of April, and fifteenth of King Williams Raigne, a most fearefull Earthquake, with a warring noise, did shake the ground.

(47) Other great calamities are noted to haue hapned vpon his people, as burning feuers strangely consuming the people: Murrins decouring infinite numbers of Cattle; abundance of raine, and course of water-floods beyond credit, whereby the hilles were so softned to the very foundations, that some of them fell, and ouerwhelmed the villages which were in their way: most of the principall Cities of England much endamaged by fire, and London especially, where the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul (as much as was combustible) was consumed to ashes; and if that may also be noted (which caused not the least wonder) tame, and domestick fowles, as hennes, geese, peacocks, and the like fled into the forests, and woods, and became vey wild, in imitation of men, degenerating then into sauages: for in those times euen the Churchmen (and therefore lesse maruaile of others) became vnlike themselves: Walter Bishop of Durham, bought of King William the Earledome of Northumberland, maintained murderers, and was murdered himselfe. Odo, another Bishop, and Earle also, to reuenge his death, made Northumberland desolate, beheading and dismembred the poorer sort, and at great ranlomes fining the rich, and Pope Gregory for his part plaid Rex in this land, sending hither his Buls with damning curses against the married Clergie: commanding that none should heare their Masses: which how it was disgisted, either by God, or man, is let vs heare Paris an ancient Monke (and therefore herein no partiall man) speake his mind.

"Pope

Mat. West.
The English
charged with
the maintenance
of forraigne
Soldiours.

King Williams
depopulations.

Camd. in Hant.
shire.

Gualter Mapes.

King William
the father of wild
Beasts.

Judgements of
God on King
Williams issue
in New-Forest
Camden.

Matth. Paris.

Calamities falling
on the
Land.

All things degenerate

Roger Wendouer.

Marians.

Pope Gregorius
Buls against married
Priests.

Matth. Paris.
in Guil. Cong.

Inhibiting of married Priests a new decree, and inconsiderate.

Papists Continen- cy hypocrit- icall.

O Jo King William brother, af- fecteth the Pa- pacy.

King William condemneth his brothers Ambitions.

His sacrileges.

(48) Pope Gregory in a general Synode excluded the married Priests from execution of their holie offices, and forbad the Lay-men to heare their Masses; a president new, and proceeding (as it seemed to many) out of inconsiderate iudgement, contrary to the sentence of the holy Fathers: which haue written, that the Sacraments of the church by the inuisible operation of the holy Ghost, haue their due effect, whether they are dispensed by men good or bad, &c. By which fact so grieuous a scandall is arisen, that holy Church was neuer rent with a greater schisme in the time of any heretic whatsoeuer, since some stand for the right, and others strue against it. Moreover, whereas few obseue this chastitie enioined (for that though some for gaine, or vaine-glory, doe hypo- critically pretend it; yet many doe heape vp in- continency with perjury, and manifold adulteries) by this occasion the Lay-men shalke off all due respect to sacred orders and ecclesiasticall gouerne- ment; they prophane the holy mysteries, they baptize Infants, anointing them with the sordid humor of their ears in stead of holy oile, they burn the tithes due to the Priests; our Lords body con- secrated by a married priest, they tread vnder their feet, and often doe wilfully cast forth the bloud of our Lord vpon the ground.

(49) This Gregory (before called Hildebrand) fate in Peters chaire with such pranks of impietie, that his gouernment was odious to the Romans, who wished an end of his raigne and life, so that certaine Southsaies imploied in that busines gaue forth, that after Gregory, Odo should be Pope. Odo, our said Earle, the Conquerours brother, fed with full hope that hee was the man, sendeth to Rome to buy him a Pallace, adorning it with statelie and ouer-lauish trimmings; Salutes the Senators with great gifts & complements, stuffeth bagges with money, and letters to such as might doe much in the election, and provides honourable personages to attend him to Rome. Among the which for chiefe, was Hugh Earle of Chester, with many great men and Knights of the land: for the Normans variable, and desirous to see forraine Countries, were contented to forsake their faire lands in the west climate, to accompany this proud Prelate ouer the fier Poo.

This lolly traine was set forward into the Isle of Wight, and there in great pompe ready to set saile into Normandy, when on the sodain King William vn- looked for, was euen among them, and in his great Hall in preence of his Nobles thus spake:

(50) Excellent Peeres, I beseech you hearken to my words, and giue me your counsell: at my sail- ing into Normandy, I commended England to the gouernment of Odo my brother Bishop. In Normandy many forraine foes haue risen vp a- gainst me, yea and inward friends I may say, haue invaded me: for Robert my sonne, and other younglings whom I haue brought vp, and giuen Armes, haue rebelled; vnto whom my fallie Clients, and other bordering enemies haue giuen their assistance: but they haue not prospered, God (whose seruant I am) euer defending mee: neither haue they gotten any thing of mine, be- sides iron in their wounds: They of Aniou pre- pared against me, whom with the onely feare of warre I haue pacified. These busineses you know haue drawn me into Normandy, where I haue staied long and imploied my painfull endeouours on pub- like behoofes. But in the meane time, my brother hath greatly oppressed England, spoiling the Chur- ches of Lands and Rents, hath made them naked of Ornaments giuen by our Predecessors, and hath seduced my Knights, with purpose to traine them ouer the Alpes, who ought to defend the Land against the inuasions of the Danes, Irish, and other Enemies our strong for me; but my greatest dolour is for the Church of God, which he hath af- flicted, and vnto which the Christian Kings that

raigned before me, haue giuen many gifts, and with their loues honored, for which now (as we beleue) they rest, reioicing with a happy retribution in a pleasant State: Ethelbert, Edward, Saint Oswald, Al- tholph, Alfred, Edward the Elder, Edgar, and my co- sen and most deere Lord Edward, haue giuen Riches to the Church, the spouse of God: But my Brother to whom I committed the whole Kingdome, vio- lently plucketh away their goods, cruelly grindeth the poore, and with a vaine hope stealeth away my Knights from me, and by oppression hath exalpe- rated the whole Land with vniust taxations; con- sider thereof, most Noble Lords, and giue mee (I pray you) your aduice, what is heerein to bee done.

(51) At which pause when all stood mute, as fearing to giue their opinions in so weighty a point, concerning so great a Person, the King thus continued his speech.

Hurtfull rashnesse is euer vn sufferable, and must at length be repressed. This man hath oftentimes banded himselfe against his owne father, and vp- on a stomacke, blowne vp with pride and folly, hath fallen off to the King of France: therefore left with ouermuch lenity, we buy too late a repentance, he shall remaine Prisoner, yet not as a Bishop, whose name I both honour and reuerence, but as an Earle, subject to the Lawes and Censure of his King.

Which accordingly was done; vpon seizure of whose estate, this Prelate was found so well lined in purse, that the heapes of yellow mettall did moue ad- miration to the beholders, and many of his bags were taken vp out of the bottome of Riuers, where they were hidden full of gold ground into powder.

(52) Soone after, some displeasure hauing arisen betwixt King William, and Philip King of France, hee hauing first generally cauled to be taken the Oath of English Allegiance to himselfe and successors, with a mighty masse of money (fitted for some great at- tempts) departed to Normandy; where falling sicke, and keeping his Bed more then his wont, the French King hearing that his discaie was in his belly, gaue him this trumpe: Our Cousen William (said he) is laid now in Child-bed: Oh what a number of Candles must I offer at his going to Church? Surely I thinke a hundred thousand will not suffice.

King William hearing thereof, is said to make this answer: Well, our Cousen of France I trust shall be at no such cost, but after this my child-birth, as my going to Church (swearing by the resurrection and brightnes of God) I will (said he) find him one thousand candles, and light themmy selfe. And accordingly towards August following, when both the trees, fruites, corn, and ground, was most flourishing, hee en- tred France with a mighty Army, spoiling all the west parts thereof before him; and lastly, set the City Meux or Mauniz on fire, wherein he con- sumed the faire Church of our Lady, in the wals wher- of was enclosed an Anchorite, who might, but would not escape, holding it a breach of his religious vow to forsake his Cell in that distresse. The King busied in these attempts cheered his men to feede the fire, and came himselfe so neere the flames, that with the heat of his hartesse, he got a sicknesse, and the same encreased by the leape of his horse, that burst the inward rimme of his belly, and cost him his life.

(53) At which time feeling death to approach, he deferred not to address his last will, wherein hee commanded all his Treasures to bee distributed to Churches, Gods Ministers, and the Poore, limiting to each their feuerall portion and quantity, which he caused to be ingrossed in writing by Notaries before him: Amongst which, he bequeathed to the Church and Monkes of Saint Stephens at Can in Normandy, two Mannors in Dorsetshire, one Mannor in Devon- shire, another in Essex, much Lands in Barke-shire, some in Norfolk, a Manlion house in Woodstreet of London, with many Aduowions of Churches; yea, which is to be wondred at, hee gaue his Crowne, and Regall Or-

naments thereto belonging to the said Church, being of his owne foundation; for the redemption whereof, King Henry his sonne, gaue the Mannor of Brideton in Dorsetshire, to prevent any danger that thereof might arise; and vnto the Churches by fire destroyed in Meux, he gaue great summes of money to repaire them: and so preparing him- selfe for God, briefly ranne ouer the carriage of his former life: the summe whereof (as much as best fitteth this place) we will declare as he spake it to them that were present.

(54) Being laden with many and grieuous fins, (O Christ) I now tremble, who am ready to bee taken hence, and to be tried by the seuer, but iust examination of God. I that haue alwaies bin brought vp in warres, and am polluted with the effusion of blood, am now vterly ignorant what to doe; for I cannot number my offences, they are so in- finite, and haue been committed by me now these sixty foure yeeres: for which, without any delay I must render an account to that most vpright Judge. From my tender infancy and age of eight yeeres, I haue hitherto sustained the weight and charge of Armes to defend my Dukedome, go- uerned by me now almost fifty fixe, both in pre- uenting those snares that haue beene laid for my life, and in vanquishing those conspirers which would haue vlrped my right: a thiffe nee- ded people I may say, my arme hath still ma- naged, I meane the Normans, who with an hard hand, if they bee curbed, are most valiant, and in hazardous attempts inuincible: for, as they ex- cell all men in strength, so doe they contend to ouercome all men by valour. But if the reine bee once let loose, and laid in their necks, they will teare and consume one another; for they are euer seditious, and desirous of new stirrings; experi- ence whereof sufficiently I haue had, not only of my confederates and allies; but euen of mine own kindred, denouncing me to bee a bastard, degene- rate and vnworthy of gouernment: against whom, I haue beene forced to put on armour, before I was by age ripe to weild it: all which I haue van- quished, and some of them captiuated, God so preferring me, that they neuer had their desires.

A roiall Diadem, which none of my predecessors euer ware, I haue gotten, not by right of inheri- tance, but by heavenly grace. What labours and conflicts I haue sustained against those of Excester, Chester, Northumberland, Scots, Gaels, Norwegi- ans, Danes, and others, who haue endeouored to take the crowne from me, is hard to declare; in all which the lot of victory fell euer on my side: which worldly triumphes, howsoeuer they may please the sense & outward man, yet they leaue an inward horror, and fearefull care which pricketh mee; when I consider, that cruell rashnes, was as much followed, as was the iust prosecution of the cause. Wherefore I most humbly beseech you, O yee Priests and Ministers of Christ, that you in your prayers will commend mee to God, that hee will mitigate my heauy finnes, vnder whole burden I lie pressed, and by his vnspoke- able mercy make me safe among his elect. Nine Abbies of Monkes, and one of Nunnes which my Ancesters founded in Normandy, I haue enrich- ed and augmented; and in the time of my govern- ment, seauenteene Monasteries of Monkes, and sixe of holy Nunnes, haue beene founded by my selfe & my Nobility, whose Charters I haue freely confirmed, and doe by princely authority con- firme against all emulations and troubles; in them God is serued, and for his sake many poore peo- ple releued; with such Camps both England and Normandy is defended, and in these Forts let all younglings learne to fight against the Diuell and vices of the flesh. These were the studies that I followed from my first yeeres, and these I leaue vnto my heires to be preferred and kept. In this

then (my children) follow me, that here and for- euer you may be honoured before God and Men: And chiefly, O you my very bowels, I warne you to frequent & follow the company and coun- sell of good and wiile men, and gouerne your selues accordingly, so shall yee long and happi- ly prosper. Doe iustice to all without partiall af- fection; for it is a true wisdom indeed that can discerne betwixt good and euill, right and wrong. Shunne wickednesse, relieue the poore, succour the weak, but suppress the proud, and bridle the troublesome. Frequent the Church, honour the religious, and without wearinesse bee obedient vnto the law of God. The Dukedome of Nor- mandy, before I fought against Harold in the vale of Senlac, I granted vnto my sonne Robert, for that he is my first begotten, and hath already receiued ho- mage of all the Barons almost of his Country: that honour giuen cannot againe be vndone; but yee without doubt, I know it will bee a miserable regi- on, which is subiect to the rual of his gouernments for he is a toothill proud knaue, and is to bee puni- shed with cruell fortune. I constitute no Heire to the Realme of England, but doe commend it to the eueralting Creator whose I am, for I possesse not that honour by any title of inheritance, but by the instinct of God, the effusion of blood, and the per- iurie of Harold, whose life breacued, and his fa- uourers vanquished, I made it subiect to my do- minion. The Natiues of the realme I hated, the Nobles I dishonoured, the vulgar I cruelly vexed, and many vniustly I disherited. In the Countie of Yorke, and sundry other places, an innumerable sort with hunger and sword I flew: and thus that beautifull Land and noble Nation I made de- solate with the deaths of many thousands, (woe worth the griefe.) These then my finnes being so great, I dare not giue the offices of that land to any other then to God, lest after my death they yet be made worse by my occasion. Yet Wil- liam my sonne, whose loue and obedience from his youth I haue seen, I with (if so be the will of God) may flourish in the throne of that Kingdome, with a long life and happy raigne.

(55) Henry his youngest sonne, surnamed Beau- clerke, hearing himself vterly neglected in his Fathers distribution, with teares said to the King: And what Father doe you giue me? to whom hee answered, sue thousand pounds of silver out of my tresurie I giue thee. But what shall I doe with treasure said Henry, if I shal haue no dwelling place or habitation? His Father re- plied, Be patient my sonne, and comfort thy selfe in God, suffer quietly thy elder brother to goe before thee: Robert shall haue Normandy, and William England: but thou in time shalt intirely haue all the honour that I haue gotten, and shalt excell thy Brethren in riches and power.

After which speeches, he presently called his son William, to whom hee deliuered a letter signed with his owne seale, written vnto Lanfrank Archbishop of Canterbury, and commanded him therewith to halt for England, left in that spacious Kingdome some suddaine troubles should arise; and so with a kisse blessed him in Christ. His prisoners hee comman- ded to be set at liberty, affirming that hee had done Earle Moreau much wrong, whom as hee then con- fessed, hee had imprisoned more for feare then for fault; onely his halfe brother Odo he would haue had to remaine a perpetual prisoner, but that by the im- portunate intercession of friends hee was releafed.

(56) The period of this Great Conquerour now come neere to his last, when this Sunne so gloriously raised to the height of his course, must now of force set in the West, the dying King (for Kings must die) hauing raised his weak body vpon the Pillowes, heard the found of the great Bell in the Metropol- itane Church of Saint Geruis neere Roan, and demand- ing the cause, one replied that it did then ring prime to our Lady; whereupon with great deuotion lifting his cies towards heauen, and spreading abroad his hands;

His Oppo-

His Speech

His Oppo-

His Treach-

His impru-

His Auarice

Will. Malch. Marib. Zou-

Some writt

Physicke to

William Old

and tri- butione

Stow faith

works of

King William

Ex Libris

His Counsell to his Children.

The dispose of his States

Of Normandy.

Of England.

King William Legacie to his sonne Henry.

He writeth into England.

King William death.

With such doctrine was good devotion abused contrary to the precept of God *Isai. Chap. 33. 16.*

Princes friends.

His Corps for taken of all sorts.

The qualities of Court-Kites.

His Hearse also abandoned of all.

His buriall place denied him.

Annoyance at his funeral.

Hence Stowe notes their report for fabulous, who wrote that his body was found vncorrupt 500. yeeres after his death.

hands, I commend my selfe (said he) to that blessed Lady, Mary, Mother of God, that live by her holy prayers may reconcile me to her most deare Sonne our Lord Iesus Christ; and with the words yielded vp his Ghost, vpon Thursday the ninth of September, the sixth of his Dutchie, the twenty one of his Kingdome, the sixty four of his age, and yeere of Christ Iesus 1087.

(57) Wherein; as we see the instability, both of Mans life, and Glory, (a point fitting for great Princes euer to thinke on) so by the sequell wee shall perceiue, how ill-rooted and vngrounded the friendship is, which attends the greatnesse of Soueraignes, whose Fauourites chiefe or onely ends are their own Ambition and Gaine, the fewell whereof once beginning to decay, the fire of their seeming-deuotion will bee quickly cold. For no sooner had this late-glorious Princes Soule bidden farewell to his Body, but his dead Corps was presently abandoned by his followers of neereft place, and best meanes, who posted homewards apace to defend their owne; and by the meane and his inferiour seruants, he was spoiled of Armour, Vessells, Apparell, and all Princely furniture, euen so farre from all wanted and due respect, as that they left his dead Body naked vpon the floore; like true Kites, praying whilst any thing was to be had.

The sudden fame of his death stroke such feare into the Commons hearts as was admirable, euerie man shifting for one, but all neglecting the funeral rites of their King, vntill that one *Harlins* a poore Countrey Knight, undertooke the Carriage of his Corps vnto *Cane*, and at his owne cost, both by Sea and Land, vnto *Saint Stephens* Church, which this dead King had formerly founded.

At his entrance into *Cane*, the Couent of Monks came forth to meet him, and to celebrate the buriall with all Ceremonies befitting; but behold euen at that instant, a sudden chance of fire happened, which presently inuaded a great part of the Towne, that, as his Corps before, so now his Hearse was of all forsaken, whilst they addressed themselves to respect that furious Element: which done, and the Funerall Sermon ended, the Stone-Coffin set in the earth, in the Chancell betwixt the Choral and the Altar, and the body ready to be laid therein, one *Ascelinus Fitz-Arthur*, a man of some Note, stood vp and forbade the buriall: This very place (said he) was the floore of my Fathers house, which this dead Duke violently tooke from him, and heere vpon part of my inheritance founded this Church: This ground therefore I challenge, and in Gods behalfe forbid that the Body of my disposer, be conuered in my Earth, neither shall it be interred in the precincts of my right. Whereupon they were enforced to compound with him for a present sum of money then deliuered, and with consent of his sonne *Henry*, for a hundred pound weight of siluer after to be paid, and so the Exceques went forward; when, behold again the Corps laid into the Tombe, was with the largest, which being pressed, the belly (not bowelled) brake, & with an intolerable stench so annoyed the by-standers, that neither Gummies, nor spices fuming from the Censures, could be any whit fenible to relieve them, in so much that all with great amazement hastning away, they left the Monks to shuffle vp the buriall, and they were soone glad to get them to their cels.

(58) This then was the life and death of this great Monarch, the Conquerour of Men, but not of Death, nor suruiuing Enuie; a bright example of the dimme glory of man, who in life had the possessions of Kingdomes and Dukedomes, men at Armes, riches and honour, and all things thereto adhering; but after his death, neither Ornament, nor Attendants, nor place of buriall, till it were bought; all which, private men seldom are so vaine is the pompe of this world, and so vncertaine the state of her darlings.

(59) He was for stature indifferent, of counte-

nance sterne, his fore-head high, and haire verie thinne, far and corpulent of body, with his bellie bearing out, so strong of ioints and armes, that he could bend his bow; of witte ready, and very politike, in speech eloquent, resolute in attempts, in hazards valiant, a great souldier, and as great in successes; rough and courteous towards the *English*, in his taxes, lawes, and in giuing to his *Normans* their lands; whose Charters were of a farre other tenour, forme, & breuity, then those tedious and perplexed conveyances, since in vfe, as by these few inferred may appeare.

I William King, the third yere of my raigne,

Giue to thee Norman Hunter, some that art both leefe and Deere,

The Hop and the Hopton, and all the bounds up and downe,

Vnder the Earth to Hell, about the Earth to Heauen,

From me and mine, to thee and to thine,

As good and as faire, as euer they mine were,

To witnesse that this is sooth, I bite the white waxe with my tooth,

Before Iuge, Maude, and Margery, and my yongest sonne Henry;

For a bow and a broad arrowe, when I come to hunt vpon yarrow.

(60) At the suite of *William* Bishop of *London*, he granted the City (whose chiefe Magistrate was then called the Portreue) their first Charter written in the Saxon tongue, confirmed with greene waxe, whereas the Saxons before vsed onely to signe with guilt crosses, and such like markes: the Copy thereof is this:

"William Cyng greit William Bisceop. & Godfrees Forgeresan & ealle the Burghwaren the on Lunden be-on, &c. William King, greteth William Bisceop, and Godfrey Portreue, and all the Burgeses that in London be, French & English, friendly. And I doe you to wit, that I will, that you enioy all the law which you did in the daies of Edward King. And I will that each Child bee his Fathers inheritor after his Fathers daies. And I will not suffer that any man you any wrong offer. God you keepe."

(61) In the like Charter, granted to his Nephew *Alane* Earle of *Britaine* for lands in *Yorkshire*, he writeth himselfe *William* farnamed *Bastard*; and yet it seemeth, hee was offended at *Gay of Burgundy* for tearing him *Nothus*; perhaps, because that word signifieth such a one, whose Father is vnkown, whereas *King Williams* was not only known, but renowned also.

(62) Howsoever hee was sterne and hard to the *English*, yet to his *Normans* hee was facile and too indulgent, much deuoted to Religion, and frequenting the Church, both morning and evening; The Clergie that liued according to their rule and profession, hee both honoured and richly endowed; but to the licentious was very rough and hard handed: his vncl *Malgerius* Archbishop of *Rotomage*, for his dissolute life hee disgraced; his brother *Odo* Bishop of *Batieux*, he imprisoned, and many of the *English* deprived, as we haue heard.

(63) Besides his many other rarely buildings, both for fortification and deuotion, three Abbies of chiefe note hee is said to haue raised, and endowed with large priuileges and rich possessions. The first was at *Battle* in *Suffex*, where hee wonne the Diadem of *England*, in the valley of *Sanguelac*, so called in *French*, for the streames of blood therein spilt: but *William of Newberie* deceived in the soile it selfe, which after raine sheweth to bee red; as firmeth

His description for Incommodities and qualities, *W. R. de d. d. d. d.*

Read, Highes *Volys. lib. 2. 14. 2.*

Stow ex libris *Richard. King William Charters to Hunter.*

Lambert, Persant.

Jugly.

Hollins. Lamb. Persant.

Saint Stephens de Cast.

John Island.

Will. Malins.

Roane.

W. R. de d. d. d. d.

Battel Abbey called of a bat there fought against Harold.

Will. Newber.

firmeth, that after any small showre of raine, the earth sweateth forth very fresh blood, as by the euident sight thereof (saith hee) doth as yet plainly declare; that the voice of so much Christian blood there shed, doth full crye from the earth to the Lord.

(64) But most certaine it is, that in the very same place where *King Harold's* Standard was pitched, & vnder which himselfe was slaine, there *William* the Conquerour laid that Foundation, dedicating it to the Holy Trinity, and to *Saint Martine*, that there the Monks might pray for the soules of *Harold* and the rest that were slaine in that place: whose Priuileges were so large, that they, and others of the like condition, were afterwards dissolved by Act of Parliament, when it was found by experience, that the feare of punishment being once taken away, desperate boldness, and a daring will to commit wickednesse, grew still to a greater head: for it was enfranchised with many freedoms, and among others, to vse the words of the Charter, were these: *If any Thiefe, Murderer or Felon, for feare of death, sue and come to this Church, let him haue no harme, but let him be dismissed, and sent away free from all punishment. Be it lawfull also for the Abbot of the same Church to deliuer from the Gallows any thiefe or robber where soeuer, if he chance to come by, where any such execution is in hand.*

The Standard it selfe curiously wrought all of gold and precious stones, made in forme like an armed man, Duke *William* presently vpon his victory, with great complements of curtesie, sent to Pope *Alexander* the second, as good reason it was, the Popes transcendent pleasure and power, being the strongest part of the Dukes title to the Crowne, and his cursing thunderbolts the best weapons whereby he attained to wear it.

(65) At *Selly* also in *Yorkshire*, where his yongest sonne *Henry* was borne, he founded the Abbey of *Saint Germans*: at *Excester*, the Priorie of *Saint Nicholas*; and to the Church and Colledge of *Saint Martins* legrand in *London*, hee gaue both large priuileges, and much land, extending from the corner of the City wall, by *Saint Giles* Church without *Criplegate*, vnto the common Sewer, receiuing the waters, running then from the *Mare*, and now *Mare-felds*.

(66) At *Cane* in *Normandie*, he founded the Monastery of *Sant Stephen* the first Christian Martyr, adorning it with most sumptuous buildings, and endowing it with rich reuenues; where his Queene *Maud* had erected a Nunnerie for the Societie of vailed Virgines, vnto the honour of the blessed virginie *Mary*. Thus much of his Acts, and now of his marriage and issue.

His Wife.

(67) *Maud* the wife of *King William*, was the daughter of *Baldwine* the fifth, farnamed the Gentle, Earle of *Flanders*; her mother was *Alice*, daughter of *Robert* King of *France*, the sonne of *Hugh Capet*: Shee was married vnto him when hee was a Duke, at the Cattle of *Angi* in *Normandy*, and in the second yeare of his raigne ouer *England*, she was crowned Queene vpon *Whit-sunday*, the yeere of Grace, 1068. And although she maintained *Robert* in his quarrell for *Normandy*, and out of her owne coffers paid the charges of warre against his Father, and her owne Husband; yet, because it did proceed but from a motherly indulgence for aduancing her sonne, it was taken as a cause rather of displeasure, then of hatred, by *King William*, as himselfe would often aouch, holding it an insufficient cause to diminish the loue, that was linked with the sacred band of a matrimoniall knot. Shee departed this life the second day of *November*, the sixteenth yeere of his raigne, and of Christs humanity, 1083: for whom he often lamented with reares, and most honourably entered her at *Cane* in *Normandy*, in the

Church of *S. Maries*, within the Monasterie of Nuns, which shee had there founded.

His Issue.

(68) *Robert*, the eldest sonne of *King William*, and of Queene *Maud* his wife, was farnamed *Curtuaise*, signifying in the old *Norman-French*, Short-Bootes: hee succeeded his father onely in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, and that also hee lost afterwards to his brother *Henry* King of *England*, at the battell of *Edenburgh* (in that Dukedom) the yeere of our Lord 1106. where he was taken prisoner, and hauing his eyes put out (an vnbrotherly punishment) was committed to the Cattle of *Cardiffe* in *South-Wales*; and after twenty eight yeeres imprisonment, there deceased, the yeere before the death of his said brother, Anno 1134. and was buried at *Glocester*, in the midst of the Quire of *Saint Peters* Church; where remaineth a Tombe with his Carued Image at this day. Hee had two wiues, the first, *Margaret* daughter of *Herbert*, Earle of *Mayne*, both married in their Child-hood, and hee died before they came to yeeres of consent: The other was *Sibyll*, daughter of *Geffrey*, and sister to *William*, Earles of *Comerfana* in *Italy*, and Neece of *Robert Guiscard*, Duke of *Apulia*: By her hee had two sonnes *William* and *Henry*; this *Henry* was hee that was slaine by mischance, as he was hunting in the *New-Forest* in *Hampshire*.

William the Elder, furnamed in Latine *Miser*, was Earle of *Flanders*, in right of Queene *Maud* his Grand-mother, succeeding *Charles* of *Denmarke* in that Earledome; hee also had two wiues, the first *Sibyll*, (whose Mother, called also *Sibyll*, was the daughter of *Fowke* Earle of *Aniow*) after diuorced from him, and remarried to *Terry* of *Alsie*, his Successour; the second was *Joan*, the daughter of *Humbert* Earle of *Morien*, now called *Sauoy*, sister of Queene *Alice* of *France*, wife of *King Lewis* the Grasse: hee died fixe yeeres before his father, of a wound receiued at the Siege of the Cattle of *Angi* in *Normandy*, the 27. of Iuly, in the 28. yeere of the Raigne of *King Henrie* his vncl, and of our Lord, 1128. hee was buried at *Saint Omers* in the Monastery of *Saint Bertin*, and left no issue behinde him.

(69) *Richard* the second sonne of *King William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, and after his Father had attained the Crowne came into *England*, where, being then verie yong, as hee was hunting in the *New-Forest* of *Hampshire*, hee came to a violent & sudden death, by the going of a Stagge; (others say, by a pestilent ayre,) and is noted to bee the first man that died in that place, the iustice of God punishing on him his Fathers dispeopling of that Countrey: his body was thence conueied to *Wincheſter*, and there buried on the Southside of the Quire of the Cathedral Church, where there remaineth a monument of him with an inscription entitling him a Duke, and some suppose of *Boloigne*.

(70) *William*, the third Son of *King William* and Queene *Maud*, was borne in *Normandy*, in the 21. yeere of his Fathers Dukedom, ten yeeres before hee was King, 1159. hee was furnamed of the Red colour of his haire, in French *Rouge*, in Latine *Rufus*; he was brought vp vnder *Landfranke* the learned *Lumbard*, who was Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, of whom hee receiued both instructions of knowledge, and the order of Knighthood; hee serued vnder his Father at the battaile of *Gerberoth* in *Normandy*, 1079, wherein hee was wounded: and hee alwaies framed his actions so pleasing to his Fathers humor, as that hee thought him much worthier then his elder brother to succeed in his Kingdome.

(71) *Henry*, the fourth, and yongest sonne of *King William* and Queene *Maud* his wife, was borne in *England* at *Selly* in *Yorkshire*, the third yeere of his Fathers raigne, and of our Lord God, 1070, his childhood was trained vp in learning; at *Cambridge* saith *Caius*; but the ancient Annales of *Saint Austins* in

Robert.

A cruell reuenge of one brother on another.

Henry slaine in his Graddathers New-forest.

Richard.

Richard slaine in his fathers New-Forest.

William Rufus, or, the Redde.

Henry Ben-clerke

John Caius Cantabrig.

Annals S. Augu-
stini Cantuariensis.

in Canterbury, say, he was *Philosophia peregriniformis*, instructed beyond sea in Philosophy, where for his notable knowledge in the Liberal Sciences, he was surnamed by the French, *Beauclerk*, that is, the fine Scholler. Vpon his return he was made Knight, being 16 years old, by his Father at *Westminster*, in *Whitsontide*, the nineteenth year of his Reigne, Anno 1086. and though at his Fathers death he had nothing bequeathed him but Treasure, yet afterward he succeeded his Brothers, both in the Kingdome of England and *Duchie of Normandy*.

Cecily.

(72) *Cecily*, the Eldest daughter of King William and Queene *Maud* his wife, was borne in Normandy, brought vp in England, and carried againe into Normandy, where in the ninth yeere of the Kings Reigne, and the yeere of our Lord 1075. shee was by her Father on *Ester day*, with great Solemnity offered vp in the Church of *Feshampe*, & vailed to bea Nunne in the Monastery there; but was afterward elected by the Nunnnes of our Lady at *Cane*, to be *Abbesse* of their Monastery, founded by her Mother, which she gouerned, and where she died, and was entered.

She is vailed a Nunne.

Constance.

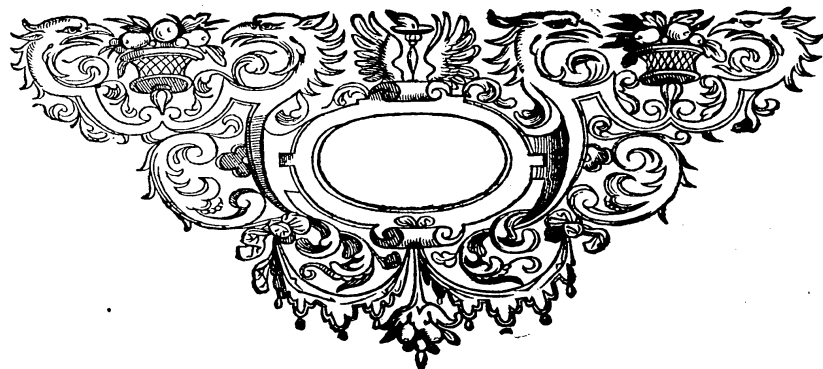
(73) *Constance*, the second daughter of King William, and Queene *Maud*, was the first wife of *Allayne Earle of little Britaigne*, surnamed in the *Brittsb. Vergent*; in *Englsb. Red*. In regard of which marriage, and his seruice done at the conquest of England, his Father in law gaue him all the lands of Earle *Edwine*, whereon he built the Castele, and whereof he made the Earldome of *Richmond*, which long after, belonged to the Earles and Dukes of *Britaigne* his Successors; although he had his children by an other wife; for shee died very yong and without issue, and was buried in the Abbey of *Saint Edmundsbury* in *Suffolke*.

The Earldome of Richmond corrected.

Alice.

(74) *Alice*, the third daughter of King William & Queene *Maud*, was married to *Stephen Earle of Blois* in France, and had issue by him *William* an Innocent, *Thibaud* surnamed the Great, Earle of *Blois*, and *Champain*, *Stephen Earle of Mortain* and *Boleine*, (who was King of England) *Henry* a Monke of *Cluny*, after Abbot of *Glastenbury*, and Bishop of *Winchester*, *Mary* married to *Richard Earle of Chester*, and *Emme*, wife of one *Harbert*, an Earle of France, and mother of *Saint William* Archbishop of *Torke*: Shee suruiued Earle *Stephen* her husband, and in her wi-

Saint William Archbishop of Torke.



WILLIAM

dowhood tooke vpon her the profession of Religion in the Priore of Nunnnes at *Marciay* in France, where she ended her life.

Gundrid.

(75) *Gundred*, the fourth daughter of King William, and of Queene *Maud*, was married to *William of Warren*, a Nobleman of Normandy, who was the first Earle of *Surrey* in England; by whom shee had issue *William* the second Earle, Progenitors of the Earles that followed; and *Rainold* of Warren, her second sonne, who had also Issue. Shee died in Child-bed, three yeeres before her husband, at *Castleker* in *Norfolke* the 27. of May, in the 20. yeere of her fathers raigne, being the yeere of our Lord, 1085. and is buried in the Chapter-house of *Saint Pancrase Church* within the Priory, at the town of *Lewes*, in the County of *Sussex*.

(76) *Ela*, the fifth daughter of King William, and his Queene *Maud*, in her Child-hood was contracted in marriage to Duke *Harald*, when he was in Normandy, being then a yong Widower. Notwithstanding, hee refusing her tooke an other wife, and vsurped the Kingdom of England, after the death of King *Edward*, whereby hee occasioned his owne ruine, and Conquest of his Country, which afterward ensued when her Father sought reuenge: so much (as some write) to the discontentment of this Lady, that for griefe of these mischances, shee euer after refused marriage, and led a single and solitarie life; though others vpon better warrant collekt, that shee died yong, and before William her Father set forth for England; *Harald* himselfe pleading, that hee was free from all couenants and promises to Duke William, by reason of the death of this his daughter.

Ela.

(77) *Margaret*, the sixth and yongest daughter of King William and Queene *Maud*, was in her child-hood giuen in marriage to *Alphonso* King of *Gallicia* in *Spaine*, that afterward was so renowned for the Conquest of the City *Lysbon*, for his victories against the *Mores*, and for the slaughter of their five Kings, and was the founder of the Kingdome of *Portugall*, the first King thereof, and the first bearer of the five Shields of the said five Kinges, which are to this day the Armes of the same. But this Lady being thus contracted, deceased before those things happened, and before shee came to yeeres of lawfull consent to the marriage.

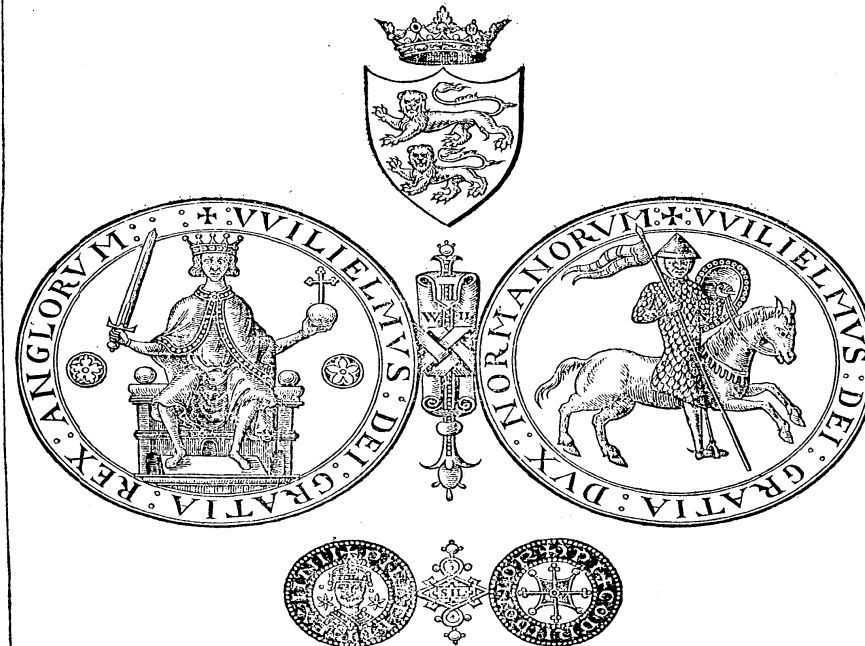
Margaret.



WILLIAM THE SECOND SVR- NAMED RVFVS, THE FORTIETH

MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH:
HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, AND
VNTIMELY DEATH.

Monarch 40



CHAPTER III.



William posting for England, & Archbishop *Lauf*, ask his earnest solicitor by liberal gifts giuen, and promises made to abrogate the ouer hard lawes of his Father, had the readier passage into the opinions of them that could doe most: and the more to notifie his intended mild gouernment, with other his noble inclinations to princely vertues, as eye-witnesses of his fauours towards the English, hee brought with him from Normandy, *Morcar*, the stout Earle of *Chester*, and *Wilnoth* the sonne of King *Harold*, both of them released out of prison, and then held in especial fauour with him. But most of the States standing for *Robert Curtoise* his elder Brother (a man deemed of a more liberall disposition, and better temperature to-

wards the Subiects) their titles had bene tried by swords, had not *Lauf* and *Wulstan*, both wife & reuerend Prelates, by their Counsels and Mediations staied their hands.

(2) Content thus gotten, and all voices giuen for William, he was crowned their King at *Westminster*, vpon Sunday the twenty sixth day of September, and yeere of Saluation, 1087. by the hands of *Lauf*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, vnder whom he had bene educated euen from his Child-hood, and by him made fit both for Warre and Gouernment, had not the variable inclination of his owne mind carried his actions past the limits of any staied compass.

(3) *Robert* vpon discontents that Normandy was still detained, before his Fathers sickness, was gone into Germany, to sollicite their assistance for his right to that Duchie: but hearing of his death, hasterh into the Prouince, and was there peaceably receiued.

Lauf and *Wulstan* stay the Peeres for *Rufus*.

William Comit. *March*, *Paris*, his Coronation.

His disposition.

An.D. 1088 *Rand. Higden. in Polychor. lib. 7. cap. 5* Robert possessed of Normandy.

His disposition.

Odes emulation
against Lanfrank.
Polyd. lib. 7. cap. 5.He conspireth a-
gainst the King.Imitteth Robert
to try for the
Crown.Duke Robert
hopes for Eng-
land.

His wants.

His supply by
morgage of his
Land.Odo the ringlea-
der for Duke
Robert.Rob. Mowbray
and other his
associates.
W. M. lib. 7. cap. 5.Brislow fortified
against King
William.

Henry Hunt.

Duke Robert ve-
rie faire for the
Kingdome.
W. M. lib. 7. cap. 5.King William
promiseth to
mollifie his Laws.He waxeth
strong.Odo his great
heart taken
downe.

Simon Dun.

ued, and made their Duke: which title notwithstanding, seemed to him dishonourable; his younger brother being inducted to a Kingdom, and himselfe disinherited; no other cause moving, but his overmuch gentleness, being by nature composed nothing so rough, as was Rufus.

(4) The like emulation incited Odo, Bishoppe of Baieux (his vncle) against Lanfrank the Archbishop, who now ruled all, and had worn him out of fauour with the Conquerour his halfe brother, whom hee taught the distinction of imprisoning Odo, as an Earle, not as a Bishop: now therefore seemed the time most fitting for a iust reuenge: & albeit that Rufus brought him from Normandy, where he had bene captiued, and restored him his honours & dignities in England; yet hee, vngratefull man, enuying that Lanfrank should goe before him, plotted the downfall aswell of the one, as of the other. And drawing in to this conspiracy, Robert Earle of Mortaigne and Hereford his brother, with many other of the English Nobility, wrote his letters into Normandy vnto his Nephew, haunting him to repaire into England, and recouer his right, which by his meanes hee promised should soone be effected.

(5) The busines thus wrought to Duke Roberts hand, and the English resorting daily into Normandy, assured his hopes of a happy successe, onely the hinderance was want of money, and that very much as the world then went with him, hauing euer borne himselfe no lesse then his birth, nor euer had made his bagges his *summa bonum*. In these extremes, he well saw the lesse was to be followed, and to let a Duke dom at stake to cast at a Kingdom, he thought it ods sufficient, though the chance were doubtful: Therefore to his younger brother Henry, who had flore of gold, and wanted land, hee morgaged the Countie of Constantine, a Prouince in Normandy, & then sent to Odo, that he should expect his landing on the West-coast of England by a day prefixed.

(6) The Bishop now growne bold vpon Duke Roberts great power, shewed himselfe the first in the Action; and fortifying Rochester, beganne to molest the peace of Kent, lending to his complices a broad to doe the like, which was not long in performing: for in the West, Robert de Mowbray Earle of Northumberland, assisted by Geoffrey Bishoppe of Constance, lacked Bath and Berkeley, with a great party of *Wiltshire*, and strongly fortified the Castle of *Brislow* against King William: In *Norfolke*, Roger Bygod, in *Leicestershire*, Hugh Grentemesnil did shrewdly waite those Countries: Roger Montgomery Earle of Shrewsburie with his Welshmen, assisted by William Bishop of Durham (the Kings domesticall Chaplain) Barnard of Newmerch, Roger Lacie, and Ralph Mortimer (all of them Normans or French-men) with fire and sword past through the Countie of *Worcester*: and surely, the stirres were so great, and Duke Robert so fauoured, that by the iudgement of *Gemeticensis*, had hee hastid his arriuage, or followed the occasion, the Crowne of England had easily beene set vpon his head.

(7) All in an vprere, and Rufus thus turmoiled, he appointed his Nauie to cower the seas, and to impeach his brothers arriuage: then gathering his forces, and knowing well how to plecte the vulgar, promiseth againe to abolish their ouer-hard lawes, & presently to put down all vnjust Imposts and Taxations, whereby the People were soone drawne to stand in his defence; and among them Roger Montgomery was reconciled to the King.

Thus now growne strong, & his enemies decreased, he led his Armie into Kent where the sedition first beganne, the Castles of *Tunbridge* and *Horne* hee recouered, as likewise *Pensley*, wherein his vncle Odo had strongly immured himselfe, whose lacke of victuall, by King Williams strait siege, allied the pride of that great-hearted man; so that hee not onely surrendered the same, but promised the deliuerie of Rochester also strongly manned, with *Eustace* Earle

of *Boloinne*, and a sort of other gallant Gentlemen, euen the flower of Normandy and Flanders.

(8) Odo comming to Rochester for the deliuerie of the Castle according to his promise, was by them surprized, and laid in strait prison, whether in displeasure, or vnder colour, and with consent of Odo, I will not say; but certaine it is, that the King tooke the matter so to heart, that he sent forth his Proclamation through England, commanding that euerie man should repaire to that siege, whosoever would not be reputed a *Niding*, a word of such disgrace, and so distastie vnto the English, that multitudes seemed rather to flie, then runne to that seruice: whereupon the Castle was surrendered, and Odo banished into Normandy, lost all his liuings and honours in England.

(9) Whilest these things were in acting betwixt King William and his Barons, Duke Robert with his Normans was landed at *Southampton*, hauing passed some conflict with the Kings ships at the sea: whom Rufus so feared (if mine Author say true) that he sent Messengers vnto him in most submissiue manner, protesting that hee tooke not the crowne as his own by any right; but rather to supply the time in his absence: neither did hee account himselfe King, but as his substitute to hold the crown vnder him; yet seeing the matter had bene so farre passed, and the Emperiall Crowne set on his head; hee most humbly desired that it might be restituted, proffering to pay him three thousand Markes by yeere, and to resigne it to him at his death: whereat Duke Robert shaking his head (belike he saw no other remedy) easily consented, and returned forthwith into Normandy.

(10) And, if we compare this with the Monke of *Saint Albans* report, wee may well beleue, that William was forward enough in his offers, though euer as vnready in performance; for the Barons then being vp, and he not able to allay them, did that by his word, which he could not by his sword, protesting to them that he was willing to resigne the Kingdom, and would be content either with Money or Possessions, if those that were his Fathers Ouer-seers should thinke it meete; and for any Ordinances touching the affaires of the Common weale, he would referre it wholly to themselves, provided alwaies his owne honour should not thereby be impeached. But when the Cloudes of these feares were altogether ouerblowne, no budde once appeared from these faire planted grafts.

(11) For Lanfrank deceased, and both King decried of a politike director, and Common-wellth of a principall Statist, he presently shewed the bent of his inclination, lausfully giuing where no defects had engaged, and exacting extreame tributes, when no Necessity required; alwaies couetous, yet neuer thrifty, and still gathering, yet neuer enriching his Coffers: All Ecclesiastical promotions then vacant he assumed into his owne hands, and kept the See of *Canterbury* without an Archbishop about foure yeeres, setting to sale the free-rights of the Church, and he that would giue most came soonest to preferment, whereby both the Lands and good esteeme of the Clergy was daily diminished.

These greouances were complained of vnto Pope *Vrbane*, but hee neuer busied to forward an expedition of Christian Princes for the winning of *Ierusalem*, had no leisure seriously to thinke vpon their estates, or else lesse minde to diuert Kings out of their owne by-ways, whose persons he meant to referre for his own gain.

(12) The Storme thus cleered without any thunder; King Rufus set the eye of desire vpon Duke Roberts dominions, who lately had done the like with his; and suddenly burst into Normandy, as *Skipio* did into *Africke*, pretending reuenge of injuries done to his Kingdome; first therefore surprizing the Castles of *Saint Valery* and *Albemarle*, hee stored them with his owne Souldiers; then piercing forward did great spoile in the Countie. Robert destitute of meanes and knowing his Normans euer vnfaithfull, sent to Philip the

An.D. 1088.
This Castle
some say was
built by Odo,
it appears to
have beene
built by William
Conquerour.
Domeldy-bro
W. M. lib. 7. cap. 5.Niding word
of reproch.
Camb. in Kent.
Math. Paris.
Odo leuans
England.Rufus pretended
submissiue
to his brother.
Polyd. lib. 7. cap. 5.Math. Paris.
William Rufus
cunning time
leues.Math. Paris.
William Rufus
cunning time
leues.Faire words
perfecte tooke,
as often deceit
the wile.An.D. 1091
Archbishop in
Polyd. lib. 7. cap. 5.Lanfrank be-
came.King William
all managed
Ecclesiastical
promotions.
Gent. Dun.Pope Urban
nor at lesse
then to remitt
Church wrongs.An.D. 1093
Tudigina
King William
takes Normandy.

the French King, desiring his assistance against this Brother-Enemy; who preparing towards Normandy, was stopped with such golden shoures from King William that he could not passe, so that Duke Robert was constrained to make a peace with his brother, though for himselfe a very sorry one, as saith *Gemeticensis*; which, as *Paris* reporteth, was effected by twine Princes vpon either part, and the conditions as followeth: that King William should retaine and enioy the Countie of *Euue* with *Fescampe*, the Abbaacie of *Mount Saint-Michael*, and all the Castles hee had gotten in Normandy: for the Duke it was agreed, that his brother King William should aide and assist him, to recouer those lands & territories beyond the seas, which had bene belonging to their Father; That all such Normans as had lost their liuings in England, in taking part with Duke Robert, should be restored: and lastly, whether of them should die first, the suruiuer should be his heire.

(13) Peace thus established, and both their powers united, they bent altogether against Henry their yongest brother, who fearing after-claps, had strongly fortified the Castle of *Mount Saint-Michael*, situated vpon the confines of Normandy and Britaine: him, who they ought to haue provided for, (saith *Gemeticensis*) they went about to expell, and all the Lent long laid siege against him.

It chanced one day as his men sallied out, & made a bratado in the face of their beleaguers; King William alone, more bold then wise, rode against them, thinking none so hardy as to encounter him single; but presently a Knight slew his horse vnder him, & his foot entangled in the stirrups hee was ouerthrowne; his enemy therefore with drawn sword, was ready to haue slaine him, had hee not reuealed himselfe by his voice: the armed men with great reuerence then tooke him vp, and brought him another horse; when the King not staying for the stirrup, sprang into the saddle, and with an angry countenance demanded, who it was that ouerthrew him? the Knight as boldly answered, and shewed himselfe who he was; by *Lukes* face, quoth William (for that was his oath) thou shalt bee my Knight, and be enrolled in my Checke, with a Fee answerable to thy worth.

(14) During this seige, Prince Henry being fore distressed for water, and knowing Duke Robert to be of the milder temperature, sent him word of his want, desiring to haue that permitted, which God had made common, and giuen euen to brute beasts, aswell as to men; Duke Robert therefore commanded him to be supplied, whereat William was wroth, telling his Brother he wanted discretion, & policy in warre, which allowed all advantages to surpris the Enemy: And doft thou (saith Robert) esteeme more of water, which is euery where to be got, then of a Brother, hauing no more but him and me? In which diffension, Earle Henry got thence; and by policy tooke a very strong towne called *Danford*, where presently was a reconciliation made amongst these three brethren, who thereupon forthwith tooke the Seas together for England.

(15) About this time, in the yeere of Grace, 1091, and fourth of King Rufus his raigne, one *Emon* the sonne of *Cadur* Lord of *Dyret*, mouing rebellion against *Rees ap Tewdor* Prince of *Southwales*, drew to his side *Iestyn* Lord of *Glamorgan*, vpon promise to become his sonne in law by the marriage of his daughter: *Iestyn* notwithstanding, iudging their faction too weak, sent *Emon* into England, where hee was well acquainted, to procure aide against *Rees*: who entering conference of his businesse with *Robert Fitz-hamon* a worthy Knight of the Kings Priuie-Chamber, wrought so far with him, being a man easily drawne to the exercise of warre, that for a Salarie hee undertooke the seruice, and with twelue Knights, and a competent number of Souldiers went into *Wales*, where ioining with *Iestyn*, in battle slew Prince *Rees ap Tewdor*, with Co-

nam his sonne. *Robert Fitz-hamon*, now minding to returne, demanded his pay according to covenants; which *Iestyn* in some part denied, alledging that *Emon* had gone beyond his commission: whereupon such discord arose, that these friends fell out, and *Emon* thus touched in his reputation, sided with the English against his owne Country-men; whereupon a battaile was fought, and *Iestyn* with most of his Welsh saine, so that Robert with his followers obtained a fruitfull possession in those parts, (which by their policies are enioied euen to this day) whose names, as they are found written in a British record, were as followeth.

NAMES.

POSSESSIO IV.

1 William de Londres.	Ogmore.
2 Richard de Grana Villa.	Neth.
3 Pagan de Turberuile.	Coity.
4 Robert de S. Quintin.	Lhan Blethyan.
5 Richard de Syward.	Talaan.
6 Gilbert de Humsfreuile.	Penmarke.
7 Roger de Beckrolles.	East Orchard.
8 Raynald de Sully.	Sully.
9 Peter de Soore.	Peterton.
10 John Le Fleming.	Saint George.
11 Oliver de Saint John.	Fonmon.
12 William de Eftirling.	Saint Donats.

The Knights
who attended
Fitz-hamon.

(16) As these things were commenced betwixt England, Normandy, and Wales, *Malcolme* King of Scotland entred into the English Marches as farre as to *Chester in the Streete*, doing much harme; whose farther outrage to prevent, William incontinently halted, sending by sea a great Nauie of Shippes, and by land his brother Robert, though with much losse of either: for his Fleet was torne by tempest, and his horsemen through hunger & cold perished in those barren parts: at length the Kings came to an Interuue, where by the meanes of *Edgar Atheling*, a peace was concluded to both their contents: for William restored vnto *Malcolme* twelue Villages, which hee had held in England vnder his Father, and gaue him yearly twelue Markes in gold: And King *Malcolme* for his part promised to keepe true peace with him, as hee had done with the Conquerour, whereunto hee gaue him his Oath, as saith *Mathew Paris*.

(17) But as these two Kings of Enemies were made friends, so the two Brethren of reconciled friends became againe enemies: for Duke Robert well perceiving, that King William meant nothing lesse then performance of covenants, (protracting time vpon some secret purposes, as his ienious head conceived) in great displeasure returned into Normandy, taking with him *Edgar Atheling*, whom he held in an especiall account.

(18) King William then repairing those Castles which the Scots had destroyed, new built in *Cumberland* the City *Carlisle*, which two hundred yeares before had bene spoiled by the Danes; and hauing defended it with walles, built there the Castle, *Churches*, and *Houses*, wherein hee placed a Colonie of Southerne Souldiers, with their wives and children, granting large priuiledges to the place, which the City enioieth euen vnto this day.

(19) And hauing settled his affaires thus in the North, returneth with triumph into the South, where immediately hee fell dangerously sicke, in the sixth yeere of his Raigne, at the Citie of *Gloucesters*, whose finnes beganne to fit so neere his heart, (not looking to continue to commit many more) that hee sore repented him of the same, making

An.D. 1092
Gent.
Malcolme King
of Scotland enters
England
with a power,King William &
Malcolme meete,
& enter League.
Tudigina New
Iris.

Mat. Paris.

King William and
Duke Robert at
variance againe.

Carlisle reedified.

Peopled with a
Southerne Co-
lony.
Endowed with
large Priuiledges.An.D. 1093
King William fall-
eth sicke and
woveth amend-
ment.

No English
subject to the
Pope.
Endmayus.
Holinsh.
The King of
land hath a
great priuile
as the Empe

With Paris
also except
also Ransome
Crisp. Epist.

Pope Gregory
was truly by all
mens iudgements
(Paris Paris) de-
posed for Treason
against the
Emperour.

Amongst Lan-
franks Epistles,
21. S. 21. 11. 12.
The Pope would
have William
Conquerour to
swear him alle-
giance.

This money was
the Peter-pence
or Romish
which is a diuine
Confessor calleth
Etemofnas, as
giuen of Almes
to the Church of
Rome.

Lanfranke coun-
sell the King
to subiect himself
to the Pope.
Epist. Lanfranc.
M. S.

Will. Rufus
prudently tread his
fathers steps.
Eadmerus.
He denieth the
Popes power,
Soterienges Li-
gandi.
Hutons.

Against praying
to Saints.

And in Polych.
lib. 7. cap. 9.

Gemeine. l. 7. c. 8.

A very wise
reason.

approve: that without his licence none should goe or appeale to Rome in any cause: that *Anselme* could not keepe his Allegiance to his Soueraigne, and also to the Pope. Vpon all which points the Prelates of England, excepting only *Gundolphus* B. of *Rocheſter*, assented to the King against *Anselmus*, that he was guilty of High Treason, for attempting to deprive the Crowne of these prerogatiues.

(34) And because the King then vrged, that here- in he did no more then his Father had done before him, it shal not be impertinent to obserue heere, how that, as *Vrbannus* vſed *Anselmus* for his instrument to draw the King to his becke; so Pope *Gregorie* before him vſed Archbilhop *Lanfranks* helpe for vndermining of *William* the Conquerour, and to subiect him and his State to the Papacie; which that it will appeare the better, I will here insert the Conquerours owne Letter to the Pope.

To Gregory the most Excellent Pastor of Holy Church, William by the grace of God, King of England and Duke of Normandy, witheth health and friendship. Your Legat Hubert (Religious Father) came unto me, exhorting me, in your name, to make Allegiance to you, and your Successors, and to take better order for the money which my Predecessors were wont to send to the Church of Rome. The one I haue granted; of the other I haue not admitted. Fealtie to you, I neither would nor will make; for I neither promised you so much, neither finde I that euer my Antecessors did performe it to yours. The money hath bene negligently gathered, my selfe almost these three yeeres being in France; but being by Gods mercy returned into my Kingdome, as much as is Collected is now sent by the said Legate: the rest shall be sent when it may conveniently, by the messengers of Lanfranke our faithfull servant. Pray for us, and for the good estate of our Kingdome; for I haue loved your Predecessors; and my desire is above all others sincerely to loue you, and to heare you obediently.

His Holinesse was then very wroth, that things did not cotten better to his desires in England. But *Lanfranke* cleared himselfe of the blame, shewing him how diligently (but indeed traitterously) hee had bestirred himselfe, in counselling the King to yeeld to swear obedience to the Pope: *Snashied non persuasi* (saith he) I haue so aduised him, but I could not persuade him.

(35) By which incredible pride and Popish in- croachments, attempted by the means of these chiefest Prelates of the Kingdome, King *William Rufus* (no doubt) saw it was high time for him to prevent further mischiefes to his State, by following his Fathers steps in timely repressing such Papall intrusions: yea so farre was hee from yeelding his necke to that yoke, that hee auowed, that the Popes, though boasting of *Peters* Chaire, had not from him any power of binding or loosing, whose godly stepes they wholly neglected, following onely after Lucre and worldly Honours: that also it was but impoſture to teach Intercession, and bootlesse to vſe Inuocation to Saints, euen to Saint *Peter* himselfe. And as for the rest of the Romish Clergie, who then gaue themselves strangely to worldly and fleshly pleasures, wearing their guilt girdles and spurs, and trimming their bushe Locks; their loose liues the King much detested, and fought to punish; which most incensed their Choler: and these were the hairens no doubt in those Monkish writers Pennes that euer blotted his faire name, vnder their fast-running, and vneuen hands. For so much may we gather from *Gemeintensis* the Recorder of his life, who hauing reported many Acts of this Kings, seemeth lastly to checke himselfe for going so farre: where (he saith) *These and many other like things wee could truly report of him, were it not we think it unconuenient largely to relate his actions, because he persecuted verie many of Gods seruants; and the holy Church not a little, for which it is thought by the most part of wisemen, that he repented too late and vnpitifully.*

(36) And true it is, that some of them haue taxed

him for great *Pride* and *Couetousnesse*, whereof yet some pregnant examples to the contrary are not wanting; as, (though the instance bee somewhat familiar) when his Chamberlaine bringing him a paire of new hoſe, and he demanding the price, was answered that they cost three shillings; *Away base fellow* (quoth he) *are those beſeeming a King? bring mee of a Marke price*: his seruant went, but brought him another paire of no greater cost, yet tolde him (as great Mens reckonings usually are made) that they were of the rate appointed: wherewith the King was very well pleased, and disbursed that great Price to fulfill his owne pride.

(37) His Couetousnesse what it was, may hence appeare, that when two Monkes whose Abbat was lately dead, repaired to his Court, and each in large offers out-uid and ouerbaid the other, to succeed in the Abbacie; a third Monke very sober, and poore in shew, accompanying them in their businesse, stood by; whom the King asked what he would giue to be made Abbat? Nothing, said the Monke; for I entered my profession to be poore, and hitherto haue bene, little ſeeming the pompe or riches of the world. Then thou art the man (replied the King) and shalt be their Abbat, more worthy in thy poutie, then they for their price; and so conferring on him that high honour, checked the others to their open infamy and reproach.

As the like he also did to *Hugh* a *Norman* Knight, and Souldier by profession, who of a sincere deuotion had entred the Monkish Order in the Monasterie of *S. Auguſtines* at *Canterbury*, and at the death of *Vido* the Abbat, was but a Probationer; when coming with others to the King for the election of another, was chosen himselfe (though fore against his will) without any request or proffer; whose penitency and vnfained humility so moued the King, that in this his Election he burst forth into teares.

(38) Other faults I grant hee is charged with, wherein we haue not and cannot vtterly acquit him: as this besides others, that his chiefest Comforts were Effeminated persons, Russians and the like, and himselfe said to haue delighted continually in Adulteries, and the Company of Concubines, *etiam coram Sole*, shamelesse and in the sight of the Sunne; though none of them be named, nor any his illegitimate issue knowne; and yet onely, or especially for his sins, many strange signes of Gods wrath are reported to haue happened in the time of his raigne.

(39) For in his second yeere a terrible and most dreadful Earth-quake happened: And in his fourth, a vehement Lightning pierced the Steeple of the Abbey at *Winſcombe*, rent the beames of the rooſe, caſt downe the Crucifixe, brake off his right legges, and wichall ouerthrew the Image of our Lady standing hard by, leauing such a stench in the Church, that neither incense, holy-water, nor the singing of the Monkes could allay it. And not long after, so great a tempest of winde happened, that in *London* it bare downe fixe hundred Houſes, and blew off the rooſe of *Bow-Church*, which with the Beames were borne into the Aire a great height; fixe whereof being twenty seven foot long, with their fall were driuen twenty three foote deepe into the ground, the streets of the City lying then vnpacked.

In the ninth of his Raigne a blazing Starre appeared with two buſſies, and other Starres seemed to shoote darts each against others, to no little feare and amazement of the beholders. The last of his Raigne, the Sea breaking ouer his limited banks, drowned an innumerable multitude of people in many Countries, and in *Kent* ouerwhelmed the lands that sometime were Earle *Goodwins*, which as yet are called *Goodwins Sands*, lying very dangerous for all Navigators. But most fearefull was the Wel of blood, which for fifteene daies rose vp out of the ground at *Finchamſted* neere *Abington* in *Barkſhire*. His owne dreame, wherein it seemed the veins of his Armes to be broken, and abundauce of his blood streaming on

Rel. of Colm.
Chrom. 5. 11. 12.

An example of
Will. Rufus in
wonderfull
Pride.
Euery base
knaue will so
goe coſtly.

His auarice.
Polych. 1. 1. 12.

Polych. lib. 7.

A princely
choice.
I would all
S. monacks
to be ferus.

A preſerue
betwixt vob
led for.

Of King Will.
and incontin-
cy.

Math. Paris.
No illuſe
mate of his
knowne.

An. D. 105.
Strange ac-
cidents of this
Earthquake.
Lightning.

Wind.

John Stow.

An. D. 109.
Vncouth Starre.
Deluge.

Goodwin Sands.
Heller Beeth.
A Well of blood.
Will. Malmeſbury.
Atat. 114. 115.
Henry II. 115.
Rand. Hig.

on the floore; as likewise that Monkes, who in his sleepe saw the Crucifixe to spurne the King to the ground: these with many like, were held as preſages of his death, which presently followed. Ofal which, or the most part, what better censure can wee giue, then that which King *William* himselfe (when this last vision was told him) did deliuer; saying, *Well, a Monke he is, and can dreame* (*Monachiliter*) *as Monkes use to doe, onely for to gaine. Giue him an hundred shillings, lest he should thinke he had dreamed bootlesse.*

(40) Whatſoeuer force those preſages had, it is true, that vpon the second day of *August*, as he was hunting in the new Forrest, and in the place called *Choreſham*, all his Company being scattered from him, sauing onely a *French* Knight, whose name was *Walter Tirrell*, the King with his arrow strooke a Stag, which yet not greatly hurt ranne away; to marke therefore the course that it tooke, he held vp his hand betwixt his eie and the Sunne, when vnawares also *Walter Tirrell* so shot, that his Arrow glancing against a tree, strooke the King in his brest, who hastily breacking off so much as stucke out of his body, with one onely groane fell downe and died. Of which sudden chance, his followers foone vnderstanding, most of them made away, but those few which remained, laid his body (bafely God wot, but as necessity sufficed) into a Colliers Cart, which drawne with one filly leane Beast, through a very foule and filthy way, the Cart broke, and there lay the spectacle of worldly glory, both pittifully goared, and filthily beimed, til after ward he was thence conuayed vnto *Wincheſter*,

and buried vnder a plaine flat Marble stone in the Quire of *Saint Swithens*, the *Cathedral Church* of the City, whose bones were since taken vp, and laid into a Coffin, with the bones of *Canutus*. Hee died after he had raigned twelue yeeres, eleuen moneths lacking eight daies, being the yeere of his age forty three, and of *Christ Iesus*, 1100.

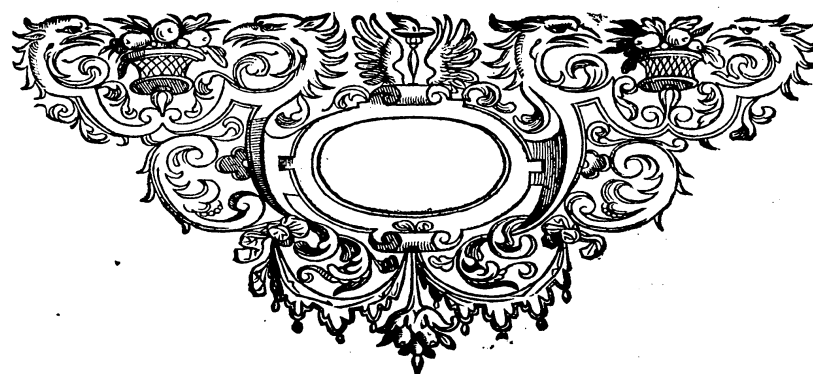
(41) He was of person indifferent, not of any great stature, yet very wel set, his belly (like his Fathers) somewhat bearing out: of complexion a Ruddy, whereof he tooke his surname, and his haire somewhat yellow, his forehead flat and square, and his Eies diuerſely coloured; a stammering tongue, especially in his anger; gorgeous in apparell, and of no sparing diet; very bountifull to Souldiers, often hard to Churchmen, burdensome to his Subjects, an expert Souldier, that could wel both endure labour of the Body, and put off cares of the minde; in his affaires circumspect, of his word stedfast, and in his warres no lesse diligent, then fortunate. He gaue to the Monkes called *de Charitate*, the great New-Church of *Saint Sauours* of *Barmondſey* in *Southwarke*, which he built, with his Mannor of *Barmondſey* it selfe, and all the appurtenances, together with the Towne of *Charleton*: confirming all that had bene giuen them before. He also of an old Monastery in *York* founded a new Hospital, to the honour of *Saint Peter*, for the sustentation of poore men and women: dying as we haue said, without Wife or Issue, or without respite of time for dispose of his Crowne, or other worldly affaires.

Yeeres of his age
and Raigne.
Will. Malmeſbury.

His description
of minde and
body.
Bertins thence
surmises him
Red-face.

His works of deuotion.

Lib. Bermond.



HENRY



Henry I.

HENRIE, THE FIRST OF THAT NAME, THE FORTIETH ONE MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS ACTS, RAIGNE, WIVES, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER III.

An.D. 1100

Will. Malm.
John Rous.
Anales S. Aug.
Math. Paris.



Henry, the youngest sonne of the Conquerour and third King of his race, was born here in England, and brought up in learning euē fro his child-hood, whereby hee gained to himselfe the high honour very rare in those daies, especially in Princes, to be, and to bee

stiled the *Beauclerk*: whose portion of Treasure was not a little, given him by his father, neither any whit spared by himselfe to purchase friends at the death of his Brother, * *Henry of Newburgh* the right Noble, veruous and learned Earle of *Warwicke*, euē making his way both with the Clergy and Nobles, who * refused to admit any King but with capitulation and covenants to their owne likings.

(2) The steps then by which hee mounted the

Throne of Maiesty, were the dislikes of *Williams* our-hard curbing of his *Natives*, as he euē called the *Engliſh*: the rash and giddy head of his brother *Robert*; his absence in *Syria*, for whose returne to stay was dangerous, and whose election for King of *Ierusalem*, was likely to imploy his person there: his *Engliſh*-birth, hauing both a King and Queene to his Parents; his faire promises for reformation of bad and rigorous Lawes, imposed by his Father and Brother; the restoring of the Clergy from exile, and to their Church-Liuing; remission of Taxes exacted on the Subiects; and due punishments of such persons as were the chiefe Caulers thereof, in which behalfe to satisfie the People hee committed *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham* to the Tower. Then promising by Oath to frame iust Lawes grounded on those of *Saint Edward* (then which nothing was more desired) did winde himselfe so farre into the loves of all, that with a general concurrence hee was saluted King.

(3) He

Chap. 4.

the Coronation.
An.D. 1100.

Will. Malm.
John Rous.

the information
of his Court.
An.D. 1100.

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(3) He began his raigne the second of August, the sacred rites of whose Coronation were celebrated at *Westminster*, by *Maurice* Bishop of *London* (in the absence of *Anselme* Archbishop of *Canterbury*) the fifth day of the same month, the yeere of *Christ* 1100. When *Henry* the fourth possessed the Imperiall Diadem, *Philip* the first iwaied the Scepter of *France*, *Edgar* wore the Crowne of *Scotland*, and *Paschall* the second late in the See of *Rome*.

(4) His first businesse was to put in execution what he had promised; and because hee might be thought unfit to guide a large kingdom, who cannot reforme those who are euē at his elbow, began (as a good Prince ought) with his owne Court and Household (as knowing that to be the paterne and warrant of others enormities) whence hee cashiered all Court-minions and nice or effeminate wantons, and enacting a decrec against his Courtiers Rapines, Adulteries and Robberies, punished their Thefts with * death, and Lechery with the * losse of their Eies, and other parts peccant.

Then herestored to the *Engliſh* the vse of Lights, which his father forbad by the ringing of a Bell, and had now continued for the space of thirty three yeeres, ordaining likewise many good Lawes, and common Liberties, exemplified at large in *Mathew Paris*, which summarily may be thus abridged.

- 1 The Freedome of the Church from oppressions, or reſeruation of their Possessions upon vacancies.
- 2 That the Heires of his Nobility should possess the Lands of their Fathers, without redemption from him, which fauour the Nobles likewise should afford to their Tenants.
- 3 That the Gentry might giue in Marriage their Daughters and Kinswomen without his licence, so it were not to his Enemy.
- 4 That the widow should haue her Jointer, and not be compelled to marry against her owne liking.
- 5 That the Mother or next of kindred, shall be Guardian of the Lands of her Children.
- 6 That Coiners of false money should bee * punished; a likewise ordained a measure to the length of his * Arme to be a standard for Commerce among his People.
- 7 Then did hee forgive all debts to the Crowne before his owne time, and murders committed before the day of his Coronation: with some other like indulgences: But, to the greatest content of the People, hee gaue power and strength unto King *Edwards* Lawes.

(5) To these his Ordinances he set his Name and Seale, with the subscription of sundry Peeres, commanding as many Copies as there were Counties in *England* to be transcribed and kept in the Monasteries of euery Prouince. Then did hee recall *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury* forced out of the Land by *Rufus*, and bestowed all vacant Church-luings vpon the worthiest persons. But to ground his new planted affection more deepe in the hearts of the *Engliſh*, he became a suter to *Edgar* King of *Scotland*, to haue his sister to wife, which was *Maude* the daughter of Queen *Margaret*, Sister to *Edgar* *Etheling* and Grand-child of *Edmund Ironside*, whereby his issue might meere be both of the *Engliſh* blood and of the ancient *Engliſh* Kings.

(6) Shee by report of some writers had vowed Virginity, and was brought vp in a house of Religi-

on at *Winchester* (hauing entred the profession of a Nun vnder her Aunte *Christiane*) whose sanctity and knowledge both in matters humane and diuine; with her mother *Margaret*, are highly commended (saith *Gemetice*) in a book written of their lines: Norwithstanding others hold that shee vailed her selfe but for a shift, to put off some vnworthy matches, which her father *Malcolme* would haue imposed her; and indeed this scruple was such a Core in *Anselm* his mouth that he would not pronounce the words of Contract vntill her selfe had cleared the doubt by her open confession.

(7) Duke *Robert*, who now had bin five yeeres in the holy warres, and therein borne himselfe with such valour that hee of all the Christian Princes was thought the worthiest to bee anointed King of *Ierusalem*, had their voice and election standing in the Temple before the Altar, vpon *Easter-Eue*: and that the rather by a miracle of his Taper, which tooke light of it selfe, or from Heauen (if wee will be so light to beleue it:) but he hearing of the death of *Rufus*, refused that, in hope to haue *England*; for which his neglect of Diuine appointment, it is said God neuer after prospered him: then returning from *Syria* into *Normandy* was there ioufully receiued, and assumed again his Dukedom (which hee had engaged to his brother *William*) without repayment of any money: where hearing that *Henry* his younger, was slept into his throne of *England*, laid proiects in his minde how to defeat him. And to further these his designs, *Ralph* Bishop of *Durham*, corrupting his keepers, brake out of the Tower of *London* & gat into *Normandy*, where hee instigated Duke *Robert* against his brother of *England*; others also delighting in alterations, solicited *Robert* to make into *England*, with promise of their assistance to recouer the Crowne.

(8) King *Henry* for his part resolving to hold what hee had got, neglected no means to keepe the Diadem as it was set, and therefore rigged forth his Nauie to secure the Seas, manned his fortresses, and with agreat Army repaired towards the Coast, where heere vnto *Hastings* hee lodged his Campe, relying more vpon his owne strength and valour of his People, then any iust title hee had to the Kingdom.

(9) Duke *Robert* by this time had taken the Seas, and was vpon the Kings fleet before they were aware, where preparing for Conflict, the most of the *Engliſh* fell to the *Normans*, either by the perswasion of the Duke or in hatred of *Henry*, that then began to tyrannize ouer them as they did imagine: By which means the Duke, had safe landing at *Pevesmouth*, and did not a little reioice in this his fortunate beginnings: threatening his brother to be reuēged for his wrongs; & blaming the Nobility for suffering him thus to be abused, whilst hee for the common good of *Christendome*, was imployed in the Holy-Lands warre. King *Henry*, as wise, as the other was valorous, wrought vnder hand for an agreement of peace; for hee very well saw, that the euē of warre hath commonly issue from the first successe, and at one and the same time doth bolden and weaken the courage of the multitude; & therefore certaine Noblemen on both sides so trauided the businesse, that the Brethren in short time became friends, and a composition made to both their contents. The agreement was thus, that, because *Henry* was borne after his fathers Conquest of this Land, and stood now the Crowned King with common consent, hee should during his life, enioy the same, paying Duke *Robert* in way of fealty three thousand Markes by yeere: and the suruiour to be heire to his brother deceased, if hee died without a sonne. In which it was also concluded, that all, either *Engliſh* or *Normans*, which had taken part with the King or Duke, should be pardoned of all offences, and their Liuing againe restored: for the Confirmation whereof, and the performance accordingly, twelve Princes vpon either parties took their Corporall Oathes; and the Armies presently dissolued.

Cccc (10) The

His Wife first a
votary.

Gemetice. cap. 10.

Radmish.

Rand. Higden. in
Polythron. lib. 7.
cap. 16.

Math. Paris.
Duke Robert noble
seruice in the
Holy warres.

Duke Robert collected King of
Ierusalem.

Ran. Higden. in
Polyth. 1. 7. c. 12.

Math. Paris.

He returns into
Normandy.
1141. Gmetice.
cap. 15.
His attempts for
England.
Math. Paris.
Roger. Houed.

Will. Malm.
Henry Hunt.

King Henry
throughout
himselfe against
Duke Robert.

An.D. 1101
An. Reg. 2.
The Engliſh fall
off to Duke Robert.

Math. Paris.
The Duke landed
in England.
1141. Gmetice.
cap. 15.

K. Henry labours
for a peace.

Henry Hunt.
Agreement
made between
the Brethren.

The covenant
of Peace.

Will. Thome.
Math. Paris.
Gm. Dor.

* This was the
first Earle of
Warwicke from the
Conquest, so to
continue only
ad placitum.
M. Th. Miles.
Th. Radborne.
* A politticke but
traiterous counse
of capitulating.
Math. Paris.

Duke Robert entertained King Henrie in Court, will Gmch. Cap. 3.

Rob. Belasme against the King. An. D. 1102.

Simon Dunel. An. Reg. 3.

Roger Houen. Math. Paris.

Henry Hunt.

Math. Paris.

* Goodwin in vita Anselmi. Enderm.

Math. Paris.

Contention about inueltures

Math. Paris in Will. Rufus.

The Archbishop goes to Rome.

An. D. 1103

An. Reg. 4.

will. Thorne.

Polydor.

The King sends Ambassadors to Rome.

The King will not loose his inueltures for his Kingdom.

Math. Paris.

The Pope will lose his head rather than suffer kings to haue inueltures.

Siluer and gold best mediators to the Pope.

Parishus.

(11) The Norman Duke princely entertained the space of fixe months in the Court of King Henry, shewed himself rather open & credulous, then any way suspicious, in all his carriages, & so with much liking, & loue to his brother, departed vnto his own Country. But the Sunne-shine of these faire daies, began forthwith to be ouercast, by the incitation of such as endeouored to sow discord betwixt the two Brethren: and not only those in Normandy, which euer buzd teailoues into Duke Roberts cares, but eue in England also, some fell in dislike of King Henry, and affecting alteration, with the malignant eie of enuy beheld the glory of his beauteous Crowne.

(12) Amongst whom, Robert Belasme Earle of Shrewsbury, the eldest sonne of Roger Mountgomery, strengthened the Towns and Castles of Shrewsbury, Bridenorth, Tichile, and Arundell, with victuals, munition, and men, against the Kings alluring likewise the fickle Welshmen vnto his designs. Henry therefore in rage & halt, marched thitherward with a great power against Arundell Castle, hee raised another of wood: and tooke it besieged Bridenorth, which presentlie yielded, and Shrewsbury sent him their keyes and pledges of their obedience: when Belasme with his brother Arnulfus, and Roger de Poytiers, were constrained to abiure the Land for euer, and thereupon went into Normandy, where they ceased not to raise more sparks from that brand which others before them had blowne.

(13) Neither were those men busie to raise stirs abroad, then was Archbishop Anselmus to doe it at home; who being a man of a stiffe resolution, in a Councell holden at London, drew on him the offence both of the King and Clergie: for therein, first, he excommunicated all married Priests, * halfe the Clergie of England at that time being either married or the sons of married Priests; next he inhibited all lay men to heare their masses. But this thing (saith Paris) howe euer it seemed good to some, yet vnto others very dangerous, lest while they affected after a purity which was above their strength, they might fall into impurity of a higher quality. In this Councell also Anselme, peremptory vpon the Popes assistance, depriued many great Prelates of their promotions, because they had accepted their Inueltures from the King which was done by receiuing of a Pastoral staffe and a ring, an ancient rite, testifying that their donation was from their Soueraigne, (as S. willstan receiued his Staffe from S. Edward, and therefore professed hee would resigne it onely to him): in which number were the Abbots of Ely, of Ramsey, of Perfor, of S. Edmunds, of Tanelock, Peterborough, Wurch, Bodae, Middleton, and Stoke: for which his bold parts, and for refusing to consecrate certain Bishops, aduanced by the King, great contention fell betwixt him and the Archbishop, who taking himselfe much wronged by the present ouerbearing power, appealed vnto his Holy Father, Pope Paschall, and soone after went in person to Rome vnto him.

(14) Vnto whom likewise the King sent his Ambassadors, namely Herbert Bishop of Norwiche, with Robert Bishop of Lichfield, both of them of his pruiue Counsell, and William Warcest his procurator a Clergy man, of a very bold spirit and speech, who in debating his Soueraigns cause before the Pope and cardinals, with threatening language and countenance a-touched, that the King his Master would not lose his right in the Inueltures of the Church, for the losse of his Kingdom: whereto the Pope, (no Crauant to be dared on his owne dunghill) as stoutly answered; If, as thou sayest, the King will not lose the donation of Churches, for the losse of his Kingdom, know thou for certaine (before God I speake it) that I would not suffer him to enjoy them without punishment, no not for the saving of my head: notwithstanding which braue words against the King, yet the degraded Abbots were restored throug the Clemency of the Papall see, which is neuer wanting to any, as long as the white and red, (to vse the very words of a Monke) make intercession for them. But

from the Church to the State.

(15) Robert Curtuaise, either to sound his brothers designs, or to congratulate him in a brotherly loue, came into England, where hee was so royally entertained, that all suspicion was quenched, and himselfe so well contented, that at the onely motion and request of Queene Maude, he remitted the three thousand Marks, couenanted to be paid yeerly vnto him, though hee were lesse able to forebare, then King Henry to giue. But when his wants told him of this his ouer lauidh release, he openly exclaimed against King Henry, that hee had craftily circumvented, and deceitfully cheated him; and now giuing open care and credit to such as fought their disunion, gaue his Brother all occasions of enmity, who was ready enough of himselfe, to make the least very great. For besides this present displeasure conceived against Duke Robert, he added others, and this especially, that he had willfully waisted the Inheritance which his father had left him, to wit the Dukedom of Normandy, hauing nothing now almost in that Dominion besides the City of Roane, which he would haue parted with all, had not the Cittizens thereto denied their consents.

(16) Neither was it the least motiue to King Henries displeasure, that his traitorous subiects were so willingly receiued by his brother; for besides Robert Belasme and others, William, Earle of Mortaigne in Normandy, and of Cornwall in England, the sonne of Robert, halfe brother to the Conquerour, because the Earldome of Kent (which he made claime vnto, as heire to his vnkle Odo) was denied him, in a discontent got him into Normandy, where besides his valiant assaults of the Kings Castles, and Soldiers, hee much endangered the possessions of Richard Earle of Chester, then a child and the Kings Ward: so that the flames of warre raised by these feditions, seemed to be blown from England vnto the parts beyond the Seas, and to fire the territories of the English there; neither is it easie to declare (saith Houen) what misery (the meane while) by exactions the land felt here at home.

(17) For the King incited into Normandy vpon these occasions, by large distributions of money carried out of England, wonne the Normane Nobility to reuolt from their Lord, and tooke the Towne and Castle of Cane by composition, and burnt Bayon with the beautifull Church of Saint Maries, whereupon the Priors of Normandy yielded themselves vnto his Protection; by whose example the Brittaines and those of Anjou did the like; so that their Castles and forts were filled with the Garrisons of King Henry, Duke Robert in no wise able to resist, which done Henry with triumph returned into England.

(18) The Curtuaise by his Normans thus vncourtously dealt with, law it was bootlesse against so great a streame to sturue, and therefore thought best to lay away weapons, and to become himselfe a Mediatour for Peace. With which resolution taking the seas, hee followed his brother vnto Northampton; where humbling himselfe in a more deuotiu manner, then either his birth, or owne nature could well brooke, desired the Kings peace, both in respect of their brotherly vnion, and the regard of his owne accustomed clemency; willing him to consider, that warre was not only vnnatural betwixt brethren, but that a reproch euer follows the chariot of the Victor, desiring him not to triumph in his ouerthrow, who was now ready to render all that hee had into his hands: but King Henry muttering to himselfe, turned away from his brother without any answer.

(19) For God (saith Paris) not pleased to giue the effect, though the Beau-clearke felt a remorse in conscience, for vsurping his Kingdom (being indeed very learned, and well vnderstanding the duties both of equity and law) and thereupon became both to feare some violent inuersion of the subiects, and also the reuenging wrath of God vpon him for his trecherous and vnjust dealings towards his elder brother, to whom undoubtedly the Kingdom

Duke Robert entertained King Henrie in Court, will Gmch. Cap. 3.

Henrie in Court, will Gmch. Cap. 3.

D. Roberts money wasd.

William Rufus, King, T. p. 102.

Math. Paris, lib. 1. c. 10.

Math. Paris, lib. 1. c. 10.

An. D. 1103

An. Reg. 4.

will. Thorne.

Polydor.

The King sends Ambassadors to Rome.

The King will not loose his inueltures for his Kingdom.

Math. Paris.

The Pope will lose his head rather than suffer kings to haue inueltures.

Siluer and gold best mediators to the Pope.

Parishus.

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Kingdome by all right did appertaine: yet stood hee rather in feare of men then God (whose fauours he cunningly laboured to keepe) whom he meant to please another time by building of an Abbey for his satisfaction. Duke Robert then seeing and detesting the Kings swolne pride, posted backe vnto Normandy to gather his powers. Henry also held it good policy, not to giue passage vnto Roberts wrath, knowing him a Souilder, and well waying his desperate estate: and therefore calling his Lords vnto London, in an assembly tickled their eares with these delectable and smooth words.

(20) My friends, and faithful Counsellors, and native Countreimen, you know by true report how my Brother Robert was elected, and by God himselfe called to be the fortunate King of Ierusalem, and how vnfortunately, or rather intolently, he refused that sacred estate, whereby hee is now most iustly reprobated of God: you also know by many other experiments, his pride and arrogancy; for being a man of a warring humor, hee is not onely impatient of a peace, but also wilfully desirous to trample vpon you as men of abiection and contemptible disposition, vbraiding you for idle drowes, for belly-gods, and what not? But I your King, naturally inclined to be both humble and peaceable, take delight in nothing more then to do you good, to maintain your tranquillity and ancient liberties, (as I haue often sworn vnto you, and meekely and willingly to yield my selfe to your aduises, whereby I may circumpectly gouerne you as a clement Prince: and to that end euen now will I confirme (if your wisdomes so thinke fit) your ouer-worne and vndermined Charters, and will roborate them most firmly with a new oath and ratification. Meane while, all the lawes which the holy King Edward by Gods inspiring did establish, I doe here commaund to be inuolubly obserued, hereby to moue you to adhere stedfastly vnto mee, in repelling cheerfully, willingly, and powerfully, the wrongs offered me, by my brother that I say nay, by my most deadly enemy & yours, and of the whole English Nation: For if I bee guarded with the valours and affections of Englishmen, I shall scorne the threats of him and his Normans, as forcelesse, and no whit to be feared. And with these faire promises (which yet afterwards hee vterly neglected) hee so wonne the hearts of them all, that they would die with him, or for him, against any hostility whatsoever.

(21) Duke Robert gone, and preparing for warre, Henry thus led in his peoples affection, followed him with all expedition, hauing in his company the choice Nobility of England, Normandy, Gaunt, and Britaine, so that hee was exceedingly strong. With Robert, for men of chiefe account, were Robert Belasme, Earle of Shrewsbury, and William Earle of Mortaigne, in like displeasure with the King, and therefore armed with the like desperate boldnes.

(22) Henry with his Army had pierced into Normandy, euen as farre as Tenechebray, a Castle of the Earle of Mortaigne, vnto all meanes possible to surpris the same, for whose rescue, the Duke with these his Consorts, made all diligence to dissolue the siege, and after some few skirmishes ioined a bloody battaile, brauely fought on each part, where at the first onset, the Kings power (though much greater in number) went down; but by their multitude and manhood (especially through the Kings example and encouragement) they soone preuailed, where Duke Robert, with Earle William, and sundry others of good note, manfully fighting in the very preffice of their enemies, were taken prisoners; but Robert Belasme escaped by flight. And thus (as Matthew Paris obserued) Gods Iustice & Mercy tooke effect his Iustice vpon Robert, for his refusal of Ierusalem; title, and vnto Henry his fauour, according to the prophesie of King William his Father. This battaile was fought, and Normandy wonne, vpon

Saturday, being the Vigill of S. Michael, euen the same day forty yeares that William the Bastard set foot on Englands Shore for his Conquest; God so disposing (saith Malmesbury) that Normandy should be subiect to England that very day, wherein England was subdued to Normandy.

(23) Robert Curtuaise, that now vnfortunate Prince, and William Mortaigne, that valiant, but headstrong Earle, were forthwith sent into England and imprisoned; the Earle in the Tower of London, and the Duke in Cardiffe Castle in Wales, after hee had gouerned the Dutchy of Normandy nineteen yeeres, and was for esteeme in Chiuallie accounted among the best Captains that the world then afforded, had hee not bene (as commonly martiall spirits vse to be) too rash and vnstaid in his other enterprises; which headnesse did now draw vpon him a penance of twenty fixe yeeres continuance, in the afflicted state of a forlorne Captiue. And Henry now no longer as a brother, receiuing the keyes of Normandy, as a Conquerour returned into England.

(24) But long it was not ere Duke Robert, weary of this vnwonted dureffe, sought to escape, and hauing liberty to walke in the Kings Meadows, Forrests, and Parkes, brake from his Keepers without any Asilters, or meanes for security: who being milke, was presentlie pursued, and taken in a quag-mire, wherein his Horse lay fast: whereupon the King hearing of this his attempt, considering that woods were no walles to restrain the fierce Lyon, and that to play with his claw was to endanger a fate, commanded him not onely a greater restraint and harder durance; but also (a thing vnfit for a brother to suffer, but most vnworthy for Beau-clearke to act) both his eyes to be cut out, causing his head to be held in a burning balon (to auoid the deformity of breaking the eye-balls) vntill the glassie tunicles had lost the office of retaining their light.

(25) Hauing thus quieted all forraine oppositions, King Henry set his minde to preuent Domestickes; and therefore (about this time) those Flemmings, whose Lands the Seas had deuoured some few yeeres before, and place was granted them in Cumberland, first by King Rufus, and afterwards by Henry; were now by the King, vpon better aduilement, removed into Wales, both to disburden his Inland of such guests, and that so they might bee a defence betwixt him and those euer stirring people. Which proiect nothing deceiued his expectation; for by the testimony of Giraldus, They were a Colony stout and strong, and continually endured the warres of the Welch; a Nation most accustomed to seek gaine by cloathing, by tripping also and Marchandize by Sea and Land, undertaking any paines, or perils whatsoever. A people of very great power, and as time and place requireth, ready by turnes to take plough in hand and till the ground, as ready also to goe into the field and fight it out; and that I may adde thus much more (saith hee) a Nation most lolally deuoted to the Kings of England, and as faithfull to the Englishmen.

(26) By the which his policy, he attained that which his brother Rufus could not, who many a time had but small successe in those parts though otherwise, euer sped most fortunately in all his adventures of warres: But it is thought by some, that as the Mountainous cragginess of the Country, and sharpnesse of the Aire, encouraged them in their rebellion; so the same impeached Rufus his successe.

But King Henrie (saith Malmesbury) who with many a warlike expedition went about to force the Wellmen, euer stirring vnto Rebellion, for to yeeld and to submit themselves; in the end resolved vpon this whole some policie for to take down their pride, hee brought thither all the Flemmings that dwelt in England: a great number of which Nation in those daies, inregard of his mothers kindred by her Fathers side, flocking thither, were clothed (spread in England, in so much as they for their multitude seemed burdensome vnto the Realme: Wherefore hee sent them all together with their substance, their Wines, and

Normandy cotinued. 1178. Malmesb.

will. Gmch.

Roberts rashnesse ouerthrow him.

An. D. 1107

Mat. Westm.

An. Reg. 8.

Math. Paris.

Duke Roberts eyes put out. Mar. Paris.

An. D. 1108

Flemmings placed in Wales.

An. Reg. 9.

Giral. Gamb.

The commendation of the Flemmings.

The Flemmings great helps for restraining the Welsh.

King Rufus had little successe in Wales.

will. Malmesb. lib. 5.

King Henry did burdensome England of the Flemmings.

King Henry did burdensome England of the Flemmings.

King Henry did burdensome England of the Flemmings.

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King Henry did burdensome England of the Flemmings.

and Children, unto Rosse a Country in Wales, as it were into a common audience, thereby both to purge his own kingdom, and also to qualle and repress the desperate boldnesse of his Enemies.

(27) And now being free from all feare of subverters, King Henry, growing disdainfull (saith Paris) refused to fulfil what he had so oft promised to his Nobles, heaping threats upon threats; for God had bestowed on him three bounties, wisdom, victory, and riches, above any of his Predecessors: but for all these he showed himselfe to God most unthankfull: And of his Clergy (wee may say) too regardlessly, in suffering Anselm, newly reconciled, to lay heauy punishments vpon the married Priests, putting many from their places, because they denied to put away their Lawfull wiues, whereof great contention followed, and grievous finnes in short time committed, both against God and Nature.

(28) Among these proceedings in England, Philip King of France deceased, and his sonne Lewis surnamed Crassus succeeded in his gouernement, which how he too affected to Henry was doubted, and therefore to make sure worke, the King failed into Normandy, furnishing his Townes, Castles, and Fortresses, with all habiliments of warre, with provisions befitting such suspected times; and so returning, he found attending his coming, the Ambassadors of Henrie the fourth Emperour, as suters from their Master to obtaine Lady Maud the Kings daughter in Marriage, then not past five yeeres of age, which was willingly graunted, and the espousals by way of Proxy solemnized, with great feasts and magnificent triumphs.

(29) About which time the death of Archbishop Anselme happening, gaue no small hope to the Clergy, as themselves conceited, againe to enioy the liberty of matrimoniall society; wherein they were not a little deceived: for the King seemed willing that the Ecclesiasticall Ordinance before made should be more neerely looked into; whereupon men for feare, and in the light of men, carried themselves accordingly, but if in secret they did worse (saith Eadmerus) let the charge light on their own heads, fith eueri man shall beare his owne finnes: for I know, (saith hee) that if Fornicators and Adulterers God will iudge, the abusers of their owne Consens, (I will not say, their own Sisters and Daughters) shall not surely escape his iudgement.

(30) The Kings peace, which seemed to be secured by his new affinity with the Emperour, and his glory raised to the high, began now to be enuied, and his brother Duke Roberts extremities greatly to be pitied, both by some English and also Normans. For Foulke Earle of Anjou both threatened the reuenge, and by corrupting the inhabitants wanne the City of Constance, from his obedience. To stay whose irruptions King Henry passed into Normandy, where hee vied great extremity, and put to death Helia Earle of Genomanie, who held that County against him; for which cause Godfrey Earle of Gaunt tooke such displeasure that hee entred into that Earledome, and marrying the said Helia his daughter, kept the County perforce against King Henries great power. But Robert de Belusme that had escaped at Duke Roberts overthrow, was then taken and committed prisoner to Wygham Castle, too gentle a punishment for so blood-thirstie a man, whose nature was such, that he delighted himselfe onely in cruelty, an example whereof hee shewed vpon his owne sonne, who being but a childe and playing with him, the father for a pastime, put his thumbs in the boies eyes, and thrust out the ballies thereof.

(31) These warres somewhat allswaged, King Henry returned into England, where the people conceited much grudge at his importable taxes, and the Clergy no lesse at his reueration of Church liuings in their vacancies, vnder pretence of keeping them for the worthies; but how vnworthily hee oftentimes

bestowed them, maybe gathered by that pretty reproof of Guymandus his Chaplain, who grieuing to see vnworthymen (for the most part) aduanced to Bishopricks and other dignities; when on the Rogation day he celebrated diuine seruice in the Kings Chapel, being to read that lesson out of Saint James, it rained not on the earth III. yeeres, and VI. moneths, hee purposely read it, it rained not one, one, one, yeeres, and fure, one, moneths. All men either laughing or wondering at his reading; the King checked him for it, and aske him the reason; marry (quoth hee) I see you bestow your preferments onely on such, as can read so which secret touch the King well weighing, did both presently preferre him to the gouernment of Saint Erideswides in the Vniuersity of Oxford, and afterward was more carefull in all other his choi-ces.

(32) The King had not beene long in England after his returne from Normandy, before the Welshmen (then a restless people) were in Armes against such English, as had set footing in that Country, which were Gilbert Strangbone Earle of Strygil, and others, whose lands in the south part Owen ap Cadogan fore molested and spoiled; the like did Gruffith ap Conan Prince of North-Wales vpon Hugh Earle of Chester County, and both of them denied King Henry either seruice or tribute. These Earles so incensed the King, touching these and other outrages of the Welshmen, that in a rage he vowed not to leaue one aliue in al North-Wales, nor in Powys-land; and straight repairing thitherward, diuided his Armie into 3. parts. The first was led by Earle Gilbert against South-wales; the second band by Alexander King of Scotland, and Hugh Earle of Chester against North-Wales; and the King himselfe lead the third, vnder whose Standard was the chiefe strength of middle England. But the Welsh seeing themselves far vnable to withstand this present preparation, tooke in to the Mountaines and Woods, (their surest holds) where being followed, with great difficulty, many of them were slaine, and the rest yielded to King Henry; who now as a Conquerour in triumph returned to London.

(33) Whither immediately resorted vnto him, the Ambassadour of his sonne in law the Emperour, to haue his wife Lady Maud now marriage-able, to be sent vnto him; to which request the King most willingly condescended, and to furnish her forth accordingly, laid a tax vpon his Subjects, taking three shillings for euery Hyl of land: whereupon the was presently conducted by his greatest Peeres into Germany, and at Mentz married to the Emperour Henry the fourth, being there consecrated and crowned his Emperesse.

(34) Shortly after King Henry tooke the Seas for Normandy, and there created his sonne William (about the age of twelue yeeres (Houeden saith but eight) Duke of that Country, causing the people to sweare him fealty, whereof grew a custome that thenceforth the Kings of England made euermore their eldest sonnes Dukes of Normandy; which done, he returned, and nothing recorded of his next yeeres adventures, but onely that the Sea gaue place to the Sands, and by low Ebbes restored some part of her treasures that long had lain hid and buried in her depth; the riuers likewise forgot their wonted swiftness; and as it were seemed vnwilling to pay their ancient tribute into that dejected Element, and among them Thamesis not the least, whose waters fo failed for two daies, that betwixt London Bridge and the Tower she became passable and scarce two foot deepe.

(35) King Henry free now from all forraine & domestical trouble (onely Gruffith ap Rees somewhat vnquiet in Wales) gaue his thoughts to assure the Crowne into his line, and to ordaine lawes for the well gouerning of his people; for calling an assembly at Salisbury, caused the Estates both Spirituall and Temporall, to sweare fealty to himselfe, and

to his sonne William, the Hope of succession: then reforming many abuses, and ending certaine contentions both of his Nobles and Prelates, laid here the first foundation of our High Court of Parliament: for the English Kings in elder times, ordered the affaires of the Common-wealth, by their Edicts, by their officers, and by the Gouernours of euerie County, and feldome had the ioint aduice of their people; laing onely at beginning of their gouernment, and in time of warre; whereas now the Subject, best vnderstanding his owne grieuances, hath both liberty in choice of their Knights and Burgeses, as also free voice to complain thereof in that honourable assembly.

(36) At this time Theobald Earle of Bleffis, Nephew vnto King Henry, vpon occasion of displeasure rose vp in Armes against the French King, to whose aid King Henry sent; whereat Lewes found himselfe agrieved, and drew to his side Baldwin Earle of Flanders, and Foulke Earle of Anjou, who together tooke oath to dispossesse Henry of Normandy, and to make William the sonne of the Curtoise Duke thereof, to whom it belonged by right and descent; to which also many of the Nobles of Normandy consented; pityting the wrong of the noble spirited Child, and the wretched captiuitie of the blind, and ouer-borne Father.

(37) Henry as wisely wrought against their designs, and leauing a great tax vpon his Subjects, passed therewith into Normandy, where vnting the aides of the foresaid Theobald, as also of the Earle of Britaine, with his English, hee made a great heu in the field: at which time King Lewes with the Earles of Flanders and Anjou being entred Normandy, and hearing of King Henries approach and power, staid hardly one night, but as nie without hart or courage returned, and left the Country for him: so that all things seemed well quieted for a yeare or two; nothing disturbing King Henries peace, excepting onely the expectation of the Popes Legate, whom hee prohibited to enter England, and the death of his Queene Maud, the very mirrour of piety, humility, and princely bounty.

(38) But coales of displeasure kindled betwixt King Henry and Lewes of France, were not quite extinct, though they had laine for a while, as raked vp vnder cold ashes. For the next yeere following, and twentieth of his raigne, Lewes came into Normandy as hote in rage to do somewhat, as before he departed thence calme and cold; where forthwith he began to molest the Country; which K. Henry for a while suffered, till his friends noted him of cowardize; to whom hee replied that he had learned of his Father, to "break the foole hardines of the French, by patience, rather then by force: that they should not wonder, if hee were loath to be prodigall of their blood, whom he found so fast friends vnto him: that he would not gladly winne a Kingdom with their deatthes, whose liues hee still found deuoted to all hazards for his cause: that hee vied this backwardnesse, onely to stay them, whom hee saw so forward to testifie their zeale voluntarily, euen with their blood: which to proceed from prouidence, and not from dauidnesse, they should soone perceiue. This accordingly hee made good; and a pitched field was fought betwixt the Kings of England and France, whereof let vs heare the Monke Paris report. The French King (saith hee) hauing ordered his Armie into two Battalions, in the former of them placed William the sonne of Duke Robert, the brother of King Henry; the other, Lewes himselfe led, consisting of his speciall and chiefeft Souldiers. King Henry also disposed his forces into three Battalles, the first, consisting of his Peeres and men of Normandy: In the second, himselfe kept among his owne guard, and daile attendants: and in the third, hee marshalled his sonnes with the maine strength of the Footemen. The Armies thus ordered, the troupes on both sides gaue assault, whereof the first Battallion of the French brake through the ranks of the

Norman Nobles, overthrowing their Horse-men, and forcing them to scatter, in which violence they likewise brake into King Henries battaile, and put it much out of order: but he taking courage, and comforting his men beganne a most bloody and bold conflict: wherein himselfe was twice strooke vpon the head by William Crispin Countie of Eureux (whom for his offences Henry had before banished) whose sword and strokes were so sure and so heauie, that albeit the Kings helmet was impeneetrable, yet with fine force was it beaten flat to his head, in such sort, that the blood came forth in abundance: but Henry feeling himselfe to be wounded, gathered with his rage more strength, and stroke the said Countie in such sort, that at one blow hee overthrew both him and his horse, and tooke him prisoner, by which example his Souldiers were led to fight like Lyons, and the French to betake themselves vnto flight. In this battaile died many thousands, and among them Baldwin Earle of Flanders: King Henry returning victorious, was receiued triumphantly into Roan.

(39) Foulke Earle of Anjou hauing lost Baldwin his martiall Companion, and seeing it was bootles to bandy against the Beaularke, fell to an agreement with him, which was confirmed by giuing his daughter vnto his sonne Prince William (now seauenteene yeeres old) whom Henry made inheritor of all his Kingdomes, whereupon both France and Flanders became his reconciled friends, and William did homage to King Lewes for his Dutchie of Normandy. These things thus ordered King Henrie vpon the twentie fift of Nouember, loosed from land at Barfuit, and prosperously arriued in England.

(40) Prince William, who now wanted but onely the name of a King, commanded another fluppe to be prepared for himselfe, his Brethren and Sisters, with many other Nobles and Gallants Courtiers, both of England and Normandy, who plying the Mariners with pots and wine (therein being instruments of their owne calamity approaching) made them bragge to out-faile the Kings ship gone before; and in the night putting forth from land, with a mery gale made way ouer the dancing waves, as swift as an arrow: but (as if the Heauens would haue King Henries too great felicities allaid, and tempered with sense of Courtly variety, in the midst of their iollity and singing, (alas they sang their last, and little thought on death) for suddainely the shippe dashed against a Rocke, not very farre from the Shoare, at which fearefull disaster, a hideous cry arose, all of them shifting (and yet through amazement not knowing how to shift) to saue themselves from the danger: For God repaying the reward for sinne, suffered not shafe so vnaturall wantons (for such were many of them, saith Paris) to haue Christian Buriall, but were so swallowed up of the Sea, when her waves were most calme. Prince William got speedily into the Cocke-boate, and might well haue escaped, had hee not pittied his sister the Countesse of Perche, crying vnto him for helpe; when turning the boat to her aid, so many struied to get in (euery man in such a case esteeming his life as much as a Prince) that with their weight it presently suncke, and of so princely a Traine no one escaped to relate that dolefull tragedie, saue onely a bafe fellow (a Butcher some say) who swamme all the night vpon the Maine-masse, and got shoare in the morning with much danger of life.

(41) This was the most vnfortunate Shipwracke that euer hapned in our Seas, bringing an inconceivable heauinesse to the King, and whole State: for therein perished Prince William Duke of Normandy, the ioy of his Father, and hope of his Nation; Richard his bafe Brother, his Sister Maud Countesse of Perche, Richard Earle of Chester, with his wife Lady Lucy, the Kings Nicce by his Sister Adela, Orwell the Earles Brother, the yong Dukes Gouernour, diuers of the Kings chiefe Officers, and most of the Princes, Geffrey Riddle, Robert Manduit, William

Henry II. The King dangerously affailed,

Ypodig. Neustri.

And as brauely acquirts himselfe

Baldwine Earle of Flanders slain.

An.D. 1120

Gen. 11. Prince William marries the Duke of Anjou daughter. Roger. Howd.

Prince William doth homage for Normandy.

* Harrefect.

Prince William puts to sea.

A most lamentable shipwracke. William Malmsb.

* Sedemitted late infecti five omnes, saith Paris.

Prince William prey to his sister cost him his life.

Malmsb lib. 5. de Reg. Onely one of all his traine escaped.

The chiefe of those who then perished. Math. Paris. John Stow. Rand. Higden.

The King violates his promise to the Peeres. Math. Paris.

Anselm molests married Priests.

Eadmerus.

King Philip of France diech, and Lewis succede. dech. Foly. 1er. King Henrie strengthens Normandy.

An.D. 1109 His daughter married to the Emperour. An. Reg. 10.

Archbishop Anselme diech. An.D. 1110

An. Reg. 11. Appearing Chastity did breed secret impurity. Eadmerus.

An.D. 1111

An. Reg. 12.

King Henry goes into Normandy against Rebels. Math. Paris.

Robert de Belusme an old Traitor taken.

A bloody father and a cruel patient.

Chro. Wallie. An.D. 1112 An. Reg. 13.

in *England*, and this *Enstate* had hee beene lawfully borne in wedlocke, had been heire to the Earledomes of *Hereford* and *Iurie*: notwithstanding he had as small a part in that inheritance of the Town of *Pacie* from which he tooke his surname, being commonly called *Euface* of *Pacy*, and had issue by this *Italian* his wife, *William* and *Roger* of *Pacy* his sonnes.

(76) A naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the continuor of the History of *William Gemeticensis*, and by *John Tillet* his follower, is reported by them to haue beene married to one *William Goet* a *Norman*; but in neither of these writers is any mention made of her name, or of his estate, issue or other relation.

(77) Another naturall daughter of King *Henrie* is without name, recited by the said Authors, and by them reported to be married to the Vicount of *Beaumont*, which is a Towne within the County of *Maygne*. Shee had issue by him, as *Roger of Howden* writeth, *Richard Vicount Beaumont*, Father of Queen *Ermengard* the wife of King *William* of *Scotland*; and

Robert the Abbot of *Mount-Saint Michael* mentioneth another of her sonnes, named *Ralph*, who (as he saith) was Bishop of *Angiers*.

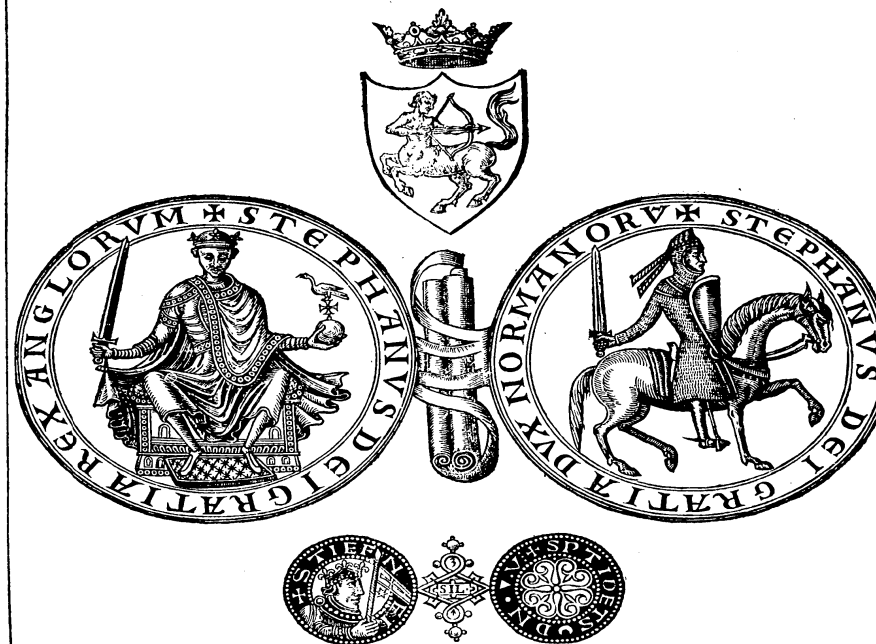
(78) Another naturall daughter also of King *Henry* is recited by the *Normans* and *French* writers before auouched, and reported by them to be married to *Mathew* of *Mountmorancy*, the sonne of *Bouehard* of *Mountmarancy*, from whom perhaps descended the House of *Mountmorancy*, who after came to be Earles and Dukes, being growne to be one of the greatest houses in *France*, next to the Princes of the blood, for possessions, alliances, and honour.

(79) *Elizabeth* the last naturall daughter of King *Henry* recounted by the former Authors, was unmarried in the time of the one, and her husband unknowne to the other; but both of them agree, that she was borne of *Elizabeth* the sister of *Walleran* Earle of *Mulan*, who was sister also of *Robert Beffue* Earle of *Leicester*, wife of *Gilbert* Earle of *Pembrooke*, and mother of Earle *Richard Strangbow*, the Conquerour of *Ireland*.



STEPHEN

STEPHEN THE TWO AND FORTIETH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN: HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER V.



Though the Empreſſe *Maud* had fealty ſworne vnto her in the life time of her Father: and againe both her ſelfe, and iſſue ordained to be his ſucceſſors in *Englands* Throne, as hath beene ſaid; yet ſo powerfull is *Ambition*, where the obiect is a *Diademe*, and ſo weak are all aſſurances which are built on the wauering *Multitude*, that King *Henries* providence, was ſoon defeated, and with his death al fealties reuerſed, and that by him onely who had contended to bee the formeſt of the *Laitie* in taking that oath, euen *Stephen* Earle of *Mortaine* and *Boloin*, a man whole deſcent was very Noble, being the third ſonne of *Stephen* Earle of *Blois* and *Champaigne*, who was the ſonne of Earle *Eudes*, and he of Earle *Theobald*, the ſonne of *Gerlon* the *Dane*, the companion of *Rollo*

Duke of *Normandy*; his mother was * *Adelicia* the third daughter of *William* the Conqueror by Queen *Maud* his wife: And himſelfe was aduanced to bee Earle of *Mortaigne* by King *Henry* his vncl, whole Crown he now endeauoured to viſurpe, being otherwiſe for his many princely parts, worthy to wield a Scepter, if his claime thereto had beene iuſt and warrantable.

(2) For as ſoone as Natures courſe had brought King *Henry*, where Princes and pooreſt Subiects are all equall; forthwith hee was working to diſpoſſeſſe his Iſſue, which onely now reſted in *Maud* and her Children; in which attempt it hapned fortunately for him (if any thing may bee counted fortunate, which is ioined with impietie) that his younger Brother *Henry* was then Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, & a very potent man in the State, who had induſtriouſly ſtirred himſelfe in making way to his entrance; and (vpon aſſurance of all liberties to the Church and Common-wealth) had drawne on alſo *William* Archbiſhop

Monarch 42

* Some call her *Adia*, others *Alia*.

Will. G. m.

Stephen brother his chiefe Agent

Malmſb. Nouel. lib. 1. Math. Paris. Henry Hunt. Archbiſhop of Canterbury Ste. p. 101. abetor

A traitorous po-
lit on.
Reg. 4. Wendover.
Mat. Paris.
Malmsb. Nouel.
lib. 1.
idem.

* Or high Ste-
ward
Mat. Paris.
Thos. Wal.
Tropidima.
Zouffrie.

* idem.
Feesly frowne to
Stephen.

Malmsb. Nouel.
lib. 1.
Mat. Paris.

Stephen's lonely
qualities.

Will. Malmsb.
lib. 1.

Rand. Higden.
Roger Houel.

Will. Malmsb.
lib. 1. Nouel.

Alleece-
fwe ne condi-
o ally to the
King.
idem.

King Stephen
faire promiser.

Huntingdon lib. 8.
Houel.

Hen. Huntingdon
* Malmsb. nouel.
lib. 1.
Kings Stephen
Charter.

* This Henry im-
prisoned the
Pope.

* Dated apud Ox-
ford. 1136 reg. 1

bishop of Canterbury, the very first man that had sworn unto *Maud* the Emperesse: by whose example many others were winde into the like peritue, * traitorously auowing, that it was balenefic for so many, and so great Peeres, to be subiect vnto a Woman. And to helpe forward those audacious beginnings, *Roger* Bishopp of *Salisbury*, the late Kings Treasurer protested (*Malmsbury*, who reports it, himselfe heard it from him) that they were free from the oath made to the Emperesse; for that without consent of the Barons he had married out of the Realm; but that which wrought most, was the testimony of *Hugh Bigot*, * Seneschall vnto King *Henry* departed, who comming over with *Stephen*, tooke his corporall oath, that the King on his death-bed, vpon some offence taken against his daughter *Maud*, disinherited her, and appointed this *Stephen* his nephew to be his successeur. These colourable instigations so moued the * *too credulous* Archbishop and the Peeres, that they all fowle fealty vnto him and became his Leigemen.

(3) His first landing in *England*, (being at *Whitland-bay*) by a tempest of thunder so wonderful & terrible that the people thought verily the ende of all was at hand, did prognosticke the storms of troubles which his peritue brought with him; for euen then both *Doner* & *Canterbury* fortified themselves against him, though *London* gaue better leaue to his entrance, whose Perion and presence drew euer the affections of the beholder, being in all parts complete with natures endowments, of personage passing comely, of disposition louing, cheerefull, and affable to the meanest, alwaies very liberal; but now especially, knowing his *Purfe* the best *Lanyer* to plead for his *Tit*; and in Martiall prowesse gaue place to none of that time wherein, though his whole raigne was continually spent, yet (by reason of King *Henries* great Treasure left) neuer burthened he the Commons with any exactions, a thing that euer gaineth the loue of the common fort: neither is he taxed with any other obseruable crime, save onely his peritue against the Emperesse *Dowager* and her sonne.

(4) Hee entred his gouernement the year of Christ Iesus, 1135. the second day of *December*, and was crowned at *Westminster* the twenty six of the same Moneth, being *Saint Stephens* day, by *William Corbell* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who with the rest of the Prelates doing him homage, and knowing now hee would yeeld to any conditions (for performance whereof his * Brother of *Winchester* did there engage himselfe for a pledge) that they tooke their oath of allegiance conditionally, (traitorously, I might say) to obey him as their King, so long as he should preferre their Church Liberties, and the vigour of Discipline: And that the Lay-Barons made vse also of this policie, appeareth by *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, who sware to be true Liegeman to the King, as long as the King would preferre to him his dignities, and keepe all Coucnants, wherupon the King promised for the present, that he would speedily reforme the ouer-hard lawes of his Predecessors, and mollifie the extreames thereof to their owne likings, vnder his Seale and Charter: and so thence hastening to meete the Corps of his deceased vnclie, (which was now brought into *England*) he honoured that pompous funeral, with his owne, and all his great Prelates and Peeres, attendance at *Reading*; whence presently he went to *Oxford*, where he sealed his fore-promised Charter, of many indulgent fauours: * prefacing therein, that hee attained the Crowne by Election onely; and that Pope *Innocentius* confirmed the same; whereby may be conceiued, that his Holinesse, either out of hatred to the Emperesse, (whose his band * *Henry* was no friend to the Papacie) or for some other holy ends, had no small hand in aduancing *Stephens* peritue and disloyal intrusion. The Tenour of the * Charter is this; *That all Liberties, Customes, and Possessions granted to the Church, should be firme and inforce;*

that all Persons and Causes Ecclesiasticall should appertaine onely to Ecclesiasticall iudicature: that none but Clergy men should euer intermeddle with the vacancies of Churches, or any Church-mens goods; that all bad vsages in the Land touching forrests, exactions, &c. should be utterly extirpate; the ancient Lawes restored, &c. As *Stephen* well knew, that they had chosen him their King, onely to make their vies of him, so these immunities he granted, rather to blear their Eies, then * with any purpose to manacle his own hands with such Parchment-Chaines.

(5) This his entrance was very peaceable (saith *Geruajus* of *Canterbury*) but by little, and little ciuill discord increased, to the lamentable destruction of men, and the land: whereto *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, half-brother to the Emperesse, whose wisdom and power King *Stephen* much feared, gaue a secret beginning, when amongst them that swore him fealty, hee concluded his (as we said) with this reueration, that his owne authority should be nothing empaired, meaning no longer to respect him as his King, then the King should him as a Peere: and a general surrence, to erect Castles for strength throughout the land, was no security to his peaceable estate. Intended indeed to strengthen the Kingdom against *Maud* the Emperesse; but proued the bane of all subiectue obedience: which was politicly considered by *Henry Fitz Emperesse*, in the conclusion of Peace betwixt King *Stephen* and him, when a thousand one hundred and fiftene Castles so raised, were againe razed and cast downe.

(6) The first man that professedly set himselfe opposite to *Stephens* viurpation, was *Baldwin* de *Redvers*, who fortified the City and Castle of *Excester* against him; the *Welshmen* also, bearing in minde the harms that *K. Henry* had done them, desired reuenge, and made many slaughters vpon the Kings people: Against these, *Stephen* proceeded with his band of *English* and *Flemmings*, and after a strong and chargeable siege, by famine drew forth *Baldwin*, his wife, and children, all which hee disherited and expulsed the Land, vnto so great lenity towards all other offenders there, that it gaue great encouragement to others rebellions. But in *Wales* the business prospered not so well, where at *Cardigan* a great battell was fought, with such slaughter and ouerbearing of the *English*, that the men by women were taken and led away Captiue, and so many drowned by the fall of a Bridge ouer *Tema*, that a passage was made ouer the water with the dead Carcases therein heaped.

(7) Neither thus onely, but some of the *English* also disliking King *Stephen*, secretly instigated *David* King of *Scotland*, to reuenge the wrongs done to the Emperesse *Maud*, a seruice as they vrged it very gratefull vnto her, and euen pleasing to God and Man. Hee therefore consenting, invaded the borders, and tooke from the *English* both *Carlisle* and *Newcastle*, which hee staffed with Garrison. Against these, King *Stephen* prepared, and with a great power came into those parts, where diuers accidents by diuers reporters are related, yet all agree that ere long peace was concluded, *Carlisle* still enioied by King *David*, and the Earldome of *Huntington* by Prince *Henry* his sonne; for which hee did homage at his fathers command, *David* himselfe refusing to doe (as *Effector Boetius* the Scottish writer affirmeth) for that he had giuen his faith before vnto *Maud* the Emperesse.

(8) King *Stephen* returned, and all in good quiet, he suddenly fell sicke of a *Lethargy*, yea & in such danger of life that the common report gaue fourth hee was dead, which stirred great troubles both in *England* and else where, for thereby his friends were stricken into great feare, and the factious more bold to prepare for Queene *Maud*; for *Hugh Bigot* one of his chieftest and first raisers fortified himselfe in the Castle of *Norwich*, and would not deliuer it vnto any save onely to the King, yea and very vnwillingly also vnto him: and in *Wales*, *Owen* and *Cadwalader* the

Book

chap. 5.

Stephen

ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

Stephen

ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

Stephen

ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

Stephen

ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

Stephen

ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

Stephen

ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

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ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

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ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

Stephen

ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

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ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

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ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

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ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

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ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

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ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

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Monarch 42.

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Monarch 42.

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Monarch 42.

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ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

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ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

Stephen

ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

Stephen

ENGLANDS MONARCHES.

Monarch 42.

447

the sonnes of *Gruffith ap Conan* Prince of that Country, carried great spoiles from the *English*, as of other goods; so also of Horse and Armour, and habiliments for warre; likewise in *Normandy*, Conspiracies began to bud forth; for *Geoffrey* Earle of *Anjou*, who in right of his wife made claime vnto all, easily got the hearts and endeauours of many to adhere vnto their heire; possessing himselfe of certain Castles; but entering further on the Demaines of one *Talevas*, a man of note (proscribed for some offence or displeasure by King *Stephen*) the *Normans* disliking that, and some other his doings, sent for the said Earle of *Blois* (*Stephens* elder Brother) offering him both their Dukedome, and their swords, and liues to defend him in it; who comming to *Luxonia*, *Robert* Earle of *Gloucester*, (not vnwilling any way to weaken King *Stephen*) deliuered vnto him vpon composition, the County of *Falefa*, himselfe carrying no small summe of money thence out of King *Henries* Treasure, and very thoroughly, (though secretly) watching all opportunities to aduance the title and designs of the Emperesse.

(9) *Stephen* recovered, and hearing these stirres, prepared himselfe first into *Normandy*, at whose approach, after some small attempts, the people (distracted betwixt feare, and sense of their duty) yeilded themselves vnto his power; surrendering their fenced Cities, and other strong holds. This good success thus fortunately begonne, hee hoped further to prosecute, by means of a league, which hee lately had made with *Lewis* the seventh King, of *France*: and hereupon created *Eustace* his eldest son liuing, Duke of *Normandie*, commanding him to do his homage for the same to *Lewis*.

(10) Earle *Thobald* seeing himselfe thus defeated of his hopes and purposes, stormed at the wrongs done by King *Stephen*; for hee, (his elder by birth, and *Bloues* Earldomes lawfull heire) laide his title both for *Normandie* and *England* also, now vsurped by *Stephen* his younger: notwithstanding (rage nought auailing without power) hee came to a composition, and remitted his Claime for two thousand marks annually to be paid. *Geoffrey* of *Aniou* likewise, whose title by his Wife was better then them both, not able at the present (being so far ouer-matched by the Kings power, wealth, & confederates) to do what he would, yeilded to necessity, and for five thousand marks yearly to be paid, suffered *Stephen* quietly to enioy the Crowne.

(11) Hauiug thus at once swept the two greatest rubbes out of his fortunes way, hee well hoped that all clouds of displeasure, and opposition, were now ouer-blowne, when vnexpectedly newes came, that *England* was in tumults, the sparkes of conspiracie, kindled secretly before in the hearts of factious Peers, now openly breaking forth, vpon aduantage of his absence in *Normandie*: therefore, hauiug not altogether coposid his busines in those parts, hee took ship for *England* in the depth of the winter; and euen in the *Vigill* of Christs Natiuitie, besieged, and after tooke the Castle of *Bedford*, that was manned against him in the behalfe of the *Scots*; about which time *David* their King hauiug entred *Northumberland* in the quarrell of Queene *Maud*, the ruler fort of his Armie (as commonly the best gouerned is not empty of such) reuenged too tragically the wrongs of the Emperesse, in ripping vp the wombes of women with child, and tossing their infants vpon the points of their speares, slaying the Priests at the Altar, and dimembering the slaine bodies in most vn humane manner.

(12) Against these, King *Stephen* made hastie forward, affirming it no policie, to giue one houres rest vnto the Enemy: and threatening more then hee accomplished, entred *Scotland*; whence after some small reuenge wrought, hee was hastily recalled; so many of his Nobles in *England* now in Armes against him, that hee was in a foretsette on euerie side. And what other could hee, as *surper*, expect from them,

but *Treason*, whom himselfe had formerly taught to be Traitors to their rightfull Soueraigne? But yet (as no Rebellion was euer without pretence of Reason and Justice) they alledged, that hee had * violated his Oath touching their Forreits, and other Immunities of Church and Common-wealth: but Church and Common-wealth, were but publique colours for priuate grudges, (as *Malmsbury*, who then liued, well vnfoldeth) which the Great-Ones conceiued against their King, because he would not grant them such Castles, Commands, and Lordships, as themselves liked and expected of him, whom they thought to be so obliged vnto them, that he ought denie them nothing. The endless and shamelesse importunities of these men, sometimes hee put off, alledging thereby, the import of his *Crownes* reuenges; sometimes hee was faine to iustifie, distrustful their falling from him: whose loialtie notwithstanding being built on so vn-noble grounds, was but colour-red, and therefore could not long bee permanent. Neither was it. For *Robert* of *Gloucester* (the Emperesses half-brother, and now her chiefe Counsellor and Captaine) finding those particular dislikes apt to be wrought on, and made seruicable for a common bechoofe; whetted on with the touch of confidence, and counsells of religious learned men, (who vrged him, with the hazard both of his credit, and soule, for neglect of his first, and only-lawfull, Oath to the Emperesse) sent threatening messages vnto King *Stephen*, charging him with his Oath of Allegiance vnto Lady *Maud* his Soueraigne, against whom hee had showed himselfe a most perfidious man, and had impiouslie drawne him with others to doe the like; and so denouncing *Stephen* an open Enemy to the State, and himselfe vnto *Stephen*, made from his faction with the assistance of many Nobles; among whom, *Milo*, a chiefe man of warre, and High Constable to King *Stephen*, reuolted from him, and became a great help to their proceedings.

(13) Earle *Robert* (whom erstfoones the enraged King discharged of his honours and possessions in *England*) tooke into the Castle of *Brifson*, and made good also his Castle of *Slade*; his complices likewise did the like in other places: for *William Talbot* manned the Castle of *Hereford*, *William* *Lowell* the Castle of *Carie*, *Paganell* the Castle of *Ludlow*, *William* de *Mount* the Castle of *Dunestor*, *Robert* de *Nichol* the Castle of *Warram*, *Eustace* *Fitz-Iohn* the Castle of * *Meltune*, *William* *Fitz-Alain* the Castle of *Shrewsbury*, and *Waldelinus* the Castle of *Douer*. And thus those forts which were erected to defend the Crowne, first offended the King, some few wherof as hee recovered, hee flatted to the ground, and wished the other no higher walls; still swearing by Gods Birth (his vntall Oath) hee would not so slightlie be vnseated of his Crowne, and wondering what should moue them, who had so readilie aduanced him, so speedily to vnstate him. One fresh motiue to these Noble-mens discontents was the Kings * seizing on some great men and their lands, on bare suspicion of their loialtie; and on the other side, the extraordinary fauour, which *Stephen* shewed to *William* de *Tyre*, and his *Flemmings* (which they interpreted as a contempt of themselves and their Nation) whose counsells hee generally followed, and chieffie relied vpon: In disdain whereof, they sent word to the Emperesse, that within five Monethes, hee should haue the Realme at command, according to their Oaths made to her Father.

(14) These turmoiles thus working in the bowels of the Kingdom, *David* King of *Scotland* had better opportunitie to assaile the sides and skirts thereof; and following what hee had begonne, with a very great Armie entring *Northumberland*, made great slaughter of the *English*, and destruction of their Country: Against whom the Northern Lords prepared, at the command of *Thurstan* Arch-bishop of *Torke* (left by King *Stephen* Lieutenant in those parts) who being by sickness kept from the Field, ap-
Cccc 2 pointed

* Huntingdon. lib. 8.

Malmsb. Nouel. lib. 1. pag. 105.

idem. lib. 1. pag. 102.

idem.

Earle Robert lends threats to King Stephen.

idem.

Malmsb. Nouel. lib. 1.

Geru. Darob. lib. 1. Malmsb.

Engl. Peeres tortoise against the King.

Henry Hunt lib. 8. Houel.

* De Maltona.

King Stephens vntall Oath. Malmsb. Nouel. lib. 1.

Malmsb. Nouel. libro secundo.

Ger. Dw.

An. D. 1139.

The King of Scotland his attempt against Stephen.

Simon Dun.

Houedon.
Hen. Hunting.

This field was
fought in August
An. 1138, neere
the mouth of
Humber.
Mat. Paris.

The great valor
of Prince Henry
of Scotland.

Math. Paris.
Houedon, & ali.
Tolyd. Origl.

Rand. Higden.
Earle Robert
leaves England.

A Peace betwixt
the King of Eng-
land and Scotland.
Math. Paris.
Henry Hunt.

Houedon.
Henry Hunt.

A. Do. 1140
King Stephen
pluckes downe
the Castles.

Math. Paris.
Novel.
lib.

Henry Hunt.
Houedon.

A great Council
at Oxford.

Gerard. Darab.

Malmes. loco
citato.

The Kings rage
of his Prelats.

Idem.

* Inford. Paris.

pointed Ralph Bishop of Durham his General, whose Inuictive Oration before their ioyning of bataille, occasioned vpon the foresaid misdeameors of some vndisciplined Scottish, is at large set down by Houedon, Huntingdon, Wendouer and others; in the close whereof, hee abolueth from punishment of sin, all such of his side, as should die in this bataille: which made the English more desperate in fight, who so formerly pressed vpon their enemies, that they forooke their King, he notwithstanding valiantly persifiting, till his dearest friends earnestly vrged him to auoid. But his son Henry, etcoming more of glory the life, rushed in amongst his retiring souldiers, and with vndaunted courage, perfwading them to regard themselves and his presence, with threat of shameful deaths to all such as fled, he held them in for a time; till at length ouer-laid with the maine-bataille of the English, the magnanimous Prince Henry, likewise quitted the field, bitterly cursing the forwardnesse of Fortune, and the mischance that hapned that day.

(15) With like fortunate successe, proceeded Stephen against his disobedient Barons, and wanne from them the Castles of Hereford, Gloucester, Wexley, Brisfow, Dudley and Shrewsbury, whereby hee weakened Earle Robert so much, that he was constrained to flee into France, and there intigated his sister the Empreffe to come into England.

(16) These domesticke opposites thus remoued out of his way, King Stephen re-addressed himselfe for the North, to prosecute that which Thurstan had begunne: first therefore winning the Castle of Leeds, he went into Scotland, where by the persuasion & proffesse of Mars and Vulcan (saith Paris) a Peace was concluded betwixt the two Kings; and Stephen thence returning, brought Prince Henry (whom he created Earle of Huntingdon) with him into England, and at the siege of Ludlow Castle, the aduenturous Prince was almost surpris'd, where the besieged with an Iron Grapple pluckt him from his horse, and so had taken him, but that King Stephen himselfe, with great valour and honour recovered him: who hauing wonne the Castle, went presently to Oxford, whither newes was brought him that the Empreffe was preparing for England.

(17) To make all sure as he went, Stephen thought it good to demolish, and race those Castles lately built, (hauing had experience to what troubles they had brought him) and to preuent the building of new; and namely, that of the Diuise, now (as hee surmised) in fortifying against him: hee therefore sent for Roger Bishop of Salisbury (the Founder both of that Castle, as also those other of Sherburn & Malmesbury) a man who in a bad cause had stood King Stephen in good stead, howloever some enuying his greatness, had incensed the King against him, and other Prelates, as if they were fallen from his side. The Bishop standing peremptorily on his innocencie, yet mistrusting the euent, craued the company of Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, and of Nigel Bishop of Ely; so with agreeat and well appointed traine, repaired to Oxford vnto the Court, where Stephen had summoned a Grand-Councell of the States.

(18) The King who expected of Church-men humility, seeing them now armed as men for the field, commanded his attendants to take armour likewise, and so entering communication of diuers matters with his Peeres and Prelates, their Souldiers casually meeting, fell at variance, where the Bishops friends had the worse, so that many of them were wounded, and the rest forsaking their masters ranne away. This great assembly thus disturbed, the King required the Bishops to satisfie his Court for these outrages of their seruants, which satisfaction should be, to deliuer the keyes of all their Castles to the King, as pledges of their fidelity, which they refusing, the Bishops of Salisbury and Lincoln were laid hold of; but Ely escaped to the Castle of Diuise. Alexander was imprisoned, till hee had yielded him his Castles of New-marke, and Slaford; Roger the

Cattles of Sherborne, and the Diuise (accounted then one of the goodliest Castles of Europe) besides forty thousand Markes in siluer; (which losses the Bishop did not long suruiue). The King employed the money to purchase Lady Constance, sister to Lewis King of France, to be wife vnto his sonne Eustace: all which was to strengthen himselfe against the Empreffe Maud, whose continuing he continually feared, & now before his expectation she was landed in England, at a fitt time for her designs, when all the great Prelates (who formerly were his chiefest friends) were highly incensed against the King for such oppression of their Brethren.

(19) The place of her arriage was at the port of Arundell, into which Castle shee was ioyfully received by William de Albany, who had married Queen Adeliza, the late wife to King Henry, whose Dowrie it was; from hence Earle Robert diuerting his course only with tenne horse-men, and as many Archers, (for in all hee brought ouer but one hundred and forty with him for so great an exploit) passed through the Land vnto Wallingford and Gloucester, soliciting his Complices for the aid of his sister the Empreffe. A man who then liued, holds him, in this bold attempt with so small forces, no way inferior to Julius Caesar, whom Lincie reports to haue begun his ciuill war, and to haue set himselfe against the whole world, onlie with five Cohorts of Souldiers.

(20) King Stephen as then lay in siege of Marmelburgh Castle, but hauing intelligence of this more dangerous an enemy, dislodged thence, and with all expedition made towards Arundell; whereat the Empreffe, wanting her Counsellor, was wonderfully perplexed, yet wanted not a womans wit to helpe at need; infrom that by the report of Gerardus, left her dignity and right might any way be endamaged, shee took an oath, that none of these the Kings enemies by her aduice or consent had entred the land, but with condition to carry themselves orderly without impeachment of the honour and allegiance due to the King; by which policy (to giue it no worse name) the so satisfied King Stephen (whom all do censure for too much credulity and facility towards his foes) that hee caused her to be conuained honourably vnto Brisfow, where she remained the space of two monethes, and then got thence vnto Wallingford.

(21) Earle Robert in the meane while disperfed the newes of the Empreffes approach, vnto whose aid so many gathered, that the lame Monke reporteth, no man was able to set downe their multitudes in context of historie, much lesse by way of Computation: then beganne (saith he) both labour and dolour, which brought the whole Realme to a most grieuous diuision, and in a manner to an utter ruine: for those that fauoured the King, what euill seuer could wrought or imagined, they did against them, that tooke part with the Empreffe: and contrariwise, Earle Robert, whose power daily encreased, tortured with cruelties all those that stood for the King; and to augment a more mischief, the Flemings left their owne Country, and came ouer by multitudes, like vnto a Company of hunger-starued Wolves, seeking to bring the Lands felicity vnto nothing.

(22) Stephen, whose head was now full of troubles, delaid no time to forward his Fortunes, but straightwaies besieged Maud and her brother in Wallingford Castle; notwithstanding, wearied with long labour and profiting little, hee caused a Tower of wood to be there erected, which he strongly fortified with me and munition, and then remoued to the siege of Malmesbury. His brother also of Winchester, a stout and politicke Prelate indeed, bestirred all his wilie wittes in Stephens behalfe; for inuincing certaine Noble-men to his Palace at Winchester, retained them prisoners, till hee had compelled them there, to resigne their Castles to the King. In the meane while Earle Robert subdued and spoiled Worcester; Ralph Parnell, in the Empreffes fauour, burned Nottingham; and Ranulph Earle of Chester, ioining in wilshes with Robert (whose daughter hee married) threwed himselfe

not

not vnwilling to annoy King Stephen, though he had receiued great honours at his hands. The Empreffe her selfe, the better to secure her owne person, and to giue access vnto her fauourites, tooke into Lincoln, where she meant to make her abode, storing the City with all prouisions necessarie.

(23) King Stephen, as vigilant as the other was policie, made straightwaies thitherward, and begirt the Citie with a strait siege, where hee had surpris'd his greatest Enemy, had hee not found meanes thence to escape; & to possessing himselfe of the City, sealed it, & the whole Countrey in verie good quiet. Soone after whose departure, Ranulph Earle of Chester, with his Countesse, and Brother, comming to Lincoln, to keepe their Christmas; the Citizens knowing the King's illoues, and desirous to enuie fauour with him, sent secret intelligence, that if he would surprize both those Brethren, he had now the fittest aduantage: whereto the King giuing care, came thither with great expedition; and whiles they, thus circumvented, stood on their guard in the Castle, the Earle escaped forth, and went to craue aid of the Empreffe, for rescue of his wife and brother whom hee left besieged. Earle Robert, hearing the newes, and glad of so faire an opportunity, ioined with Ranulph, and they both gathered all their powers both of Welsh and English, for the rescue of their friends in Lincoln: where, resolute first wading through the Riuer, which parted them from the Kings Armie, and was then deepe) vpon Candlemas day and yeere of Christ Iesus one thousand one hundred fortie one, they pitched their Tents, and in the Kings sight ordered their Battaille: One Squadron whereof, was lead by Earle Ranulph: the Disberited were the Guiders of another; in the third was Earle Robert himselfe; and the Welsh-men secured for the Wing. Their troopes thus marshalled, Ranulph appointed in rich Armor, and full of braue resolution, spake thus to his followers, in the presence of Robert of Gloucester.

(24) "I yeeld you vnfaigned thanks, Inuincible Captaine, and you, our companions in Armes) "which heere so resolute witnesse your loues vnto mee, vpon my sole request, euen to the hazard of your owne liues. Sith then, I am the chief cause of this your perill, it well befits me, that I my selfe be foremost in the hazard, and giue the first onfset of battaile against this faithlesse King; who made vs a shew of truce, onlie to take aduantage for our ruines; and therefore both mine owne courage, and the Kings vniuit dealing, giue mee cause to hope, that I shall forthwith breake asunder the strongest array of his Armie, and make my way through their midst, by dint of this my sword. If I shall be argument of your proffesse, to follow me, leading you the way, and to imitate mee, giuing you example. My thoughts already tell mee, that euen now I am breaking through his Battles, trampling on the neckes of his Chieftaines, and piercing with this my sword the very sides of the King himselfe. His speech though short and headie, as more fitting a Souldier than an Orator, yet well suited with the time, and was seconded with great applause of the Souldiers: Whereupon Robert Earle of Gloucester, slept forth and said.

(25) "It is not against right, most Noble Earle, that the honor of this daies felicity, and first assault, should be permitted vnto you; in regard of the greatness both of your descent, and your martiall achievement; but yet, if Descent bee stood on, I my selfe am both the sonne, and nephew, of a Mightie King; if Valour, heere now are many of choiest worth, of whom none liuing can challenge precedence for proffesse. But other reason ought now to sway. For sith the King, contrary to his Oath made to my Sister, impiously vsurped the Kingdom, he hath made a confusion of all things, both in causing the blood of many thousands to bee spilt, and in making many Owners (as him-

"(selfe was) of that which was not their owne, by depriuing other of their rightfull inheritance: Thele therefore thus ditherized, ought of right (in assistance of helpe from their righteous Iudge and reuenger) giue first assault on their vnrighteous oppressor; and God who iustly iudgeth his people, will (doubtlesse) looke downe from his heauenly habitation, and will not leaue vs succourlesse, whiles in a iust cause, wee impugne a most vniuit Intruder. But one thing, (most resolute Captaines and souldiers) I would haue you throughlie to consider, that through these Fennes (which with so much a doe you haue passed) there is no way fit for escape: heere must wee either vanquish, or leaue our liues, for hope of flight is none at all, nor is there any other way, left vs now to goe, but by our swords into the Citie: and (if I gesse a right) euen this, that wee haue no meanes to flee, will bee to vs the meanes (by diuine assistance) to get the Victorie; because they must needs trust to their Manhood, who see no hope to thrue by their Cowardize. Indeed, the Citizens of Lincoln keepe night to their houses, and in the brunt of the Battle, there will their mindes bee, and thither will their heeles follow, whiles you victoriously shall keepe the field. And consider farther with mee, what kinde of Captaines they haue: First A-laine Duke of Britaine, he comes armed, not against you, but God himselfe, a furious person, spainted with all filth of sinne, in malice vnmachable, who thinks it his greatest dishonour, to see any man exceed him in cruelty: with him commeth the treacherous Earle Robert Mellent, the very craft-master of fraud, in whose heart dwells impiety, guile in his mouth, cowardize in his actions; high of minde, vaine glorious in words, degenerate in performance; last in the fight, first in the flight. Next, comes Hugh By-god, his name necerelle founding his pericure; who thought it not sufficient to breake his oath with the Empreffe, but that hee must be once againe forsworn (as all the world doth know) that Henry at his death bequeathed the Crowne vnto Stephen, to the preiudice of his owne daughter; a man (in a word) who accounts Treachery a Vertue, and Pericure a courtly quality. Among these Gallants marcheth the Earle Albemarle, a man of a singular constancy in euill; very ready to attempt, & very loath to leaue any mischief, whose wife, through irrefommes of his vnassufferable filthy qualities, is gone from him; & the Earle that keeps her, hee commeth against vs too, a notorious adulterer, and the Non-pareill of impurity, a true Souldier of Bacchus, a stranger to Mars; to whom the sight of all blood, except of the Grape, is verie fearfull. Then setteth forth Simon Earle of Hampton, whose deeds consist altogether in words, and whose liberality onely in promises; for when he hath said, he hath done, and yee get no more. Lastly, you see here gathered a knot of Peeres, all like to their Prince, accustomed to robberies, enriched with rapines; fatted with man-slaughters, and all tainted with pericure. You therefore (Noble spirits) whom great Henry aduanced, and this Stephen hath cast downe, whom Henry made wealthy, and Stephen hath empouerished, be now courageous, and vpon assured confidence of your great valours, yea, of Gods iustice, seeke both your iust Reuenge, which God euen puts into your hands, on these vngodly wretches; and immortal Glorie, which shall hence-forward attend both your felices, and your posterity for euer. If you are all of this mind, for executing this Iudgement of God now vpon them, then vow your felices vnto God, and this his seruice; and forbear, nay rather forswear, to shew your backs to your foes.

At which words, all iointly lifting vp their hands, and acclamations vnto heauen, with a terrible shout abured all thought of flight, and quickning vp their braue spirits, aduanced gallantly towards the enemy.

(27) King

Alain Duke of
Britaine.

Robert Mellent.

Hugh By-god.

Earle Albemarle.

Earle Simon.

King Stephen ad-
dresse to the
Battle.

Math. Paris.
Simon Dunel.

Henry Hunt.
Roger Hounden.

Earle Robert.

Earle Ranulph.

The Wellsh.

(26) King Stephen, the meane while, was farre from being idle, who also ordered his Armie into three feuerall Battalions: the greatest part and best harnessed, whose horses he had sent away (perhaps also to deprive his men of all hope of flight) he appointed to remaine on foot with himself, and certain of his Nobles, all vnder one Banner. The horsemen he disposed into two feuerall wings, the one commaunded by *Alaine Duke of Britaine, Hugh Bigod Earle of Norfolk, Simon Earle of Hampton*, with the two Earles of *Mellent* and *Warren*; and the other Wing was gouerned by *William de Tpres* the Fleming. Then the King, because his voice was not very pleasing or audible, commaunded *Baldwine Fitz-Gilbert*, a man of great honour and prowesse, to utter his mind vnto the Army, who standing conveniently to be heard, spake vnto them as followeth.

"(27) All such as addresse themselves, and ex-
pote their liues, to the hazard of battaile, haue
three things aduisedly to be thought on: The e-
quitye of their cause; the Number of the Forces;
the sufficiency of their men. The first, left they
endanger the state of their Soules; the next, left
they be overlaied with multitude of their enemies;
and the last, left while they presume vpon num-
bers, they find them but faint-hearted, to their
utter ruine. But in all these, we know ourselues
to be sufficiently furnished. The Iustice of our
cause is, for obseruing the vow made before God
vnto our King, to withstand them that haue falsifi-
ed their faith, euen to the hazard of our liues. For
our Number, in Horsemen, is not inferior to theirs;
in Footmen we farre exceede them: and for suffi-
ciency, what words can equall the noble valour of
so many Earles, Lords, Captaines and Followers,
trained vp euer in the warres? But about all, the
incomparable prowesse and presence of our King,
will be in stead of thousands to vs. Sith then
this our Lord, and the Lords Anointed (to whom
you vowed your faith) is in field here amongst
you; now performe this your vow vnto God;
assured, that the more constant you proue in this
your Princes seruice, and faithfull aduise those
faithles periured persons, the more shall your re-
ward bee at the hands of God, and of him. There-
fore be both courageous, and confident; the rather,
considering against whom you fight: euen against
Robert the Base-borne Generall, whose vtmost worth
is well knowne; for he can threaten much, and
performe as little: as a Lions tongue, and a Hares
heart: his faire speech is his credit, his foule acti-
ons are his shame. Chesters Earle what is hee? a
man audacious, but without all iudgement; heady
to plore a treason, but still waunting in the pursuit
of it: ready to runne into battaile, but vncircum-
spect in any danger; aiming beyond his reach, and
conceiuing things merely impossible; and there-
fore hath he few with him that know him, but
leads onely a rout of vagrant rascals: so there is
nothing in him to be feared; for whatsoever he
beginnes like a Man, he ends it like a Woman; vn-
fortunate in all his vndertakings; in his encoun-
ters still either vanquished, or if he chance (rarely)
God wot on a victorie, it is with farre greater los-
ses then the conquered. The Wellshen he bring-
eth, are fitter for our contempt then feare: their
rascallnes you may easily see, for its naked and vn-
arm'd, who wanting both military Art and Pra-
ctise, runne headlong like brutes vpon the Hunters
Jaquins. The rest a few Nobles (if such they
may bee rearm'd) as common Souldiers, are but
fraglers and runnagates: of whom I would wish
their number greater; for the more they be, the
more successefull will bee their seruice. You
therefore (great Peeres and Worthies) it now be-
houeth (and indeed it much behoueth you) to bee
very mindfull, both of your Valours, and Noble-
nesse: this day aduance your Proues to the height,

"and following the footsteps of your famous An-
cestors, leaue to your posterities both a noble pat-
terne, and an euermlasting renowne. Your dayly
successe of victories, should quicken your hearts
this day to atchieue brauely, and the continuall
miscarrying of our enemies, will quicken their
heeles to flee as speedily: and (I dare say) they al-
ready repent of their coming hither, and are by
this time casting how to be gone, if the nature of
the place would giue them leaue. Then sith it is
impossible for them either to fight, or flee; why
come they hither, but euen by Gods own appoint-
ment, to offer themselves, and all their prouisions
into your hands: and here you see their horses,
their Armour, yea and their bodies, to rest at your
pleasure: reach forth therefore your warlike
hands to seize on that ioyfully, which God hath
freely brought you.

Which exhortation hee had scarcely closed, when
the noise of Trumpets, and shout of the enemies
comming on, was Rhetorick enough to incite them
to their tasks.

(28) A fore battaile was fought, and with equall
successe a long time maintained: for the band of
the disherited, whose particular wrongs whetted
their courage, (and were therefore politickly pla-
ced in the front) brake terribly into the Kings
Vauntgard; and contrariwise William of Tpres into
the Wellsh, vntill the Foreward of the Kings horse-
men beganne to shrinke backe, and (not without sus-
pition of treason) galloped away; when presently
the Earle of Chester encountered the Kings battaile of
foote, in whose strength he reposed most trust; but
it being overlaid with Assailants, beganne also to
faint, and to flee, leauing the King enraged, both
with his friends faint-heartednes, and with his foes
successe. A very strange sight it was (saith Paris)
there to behold King Stephen, left almost alone in
the field, yet noman daring to approach him, whiles grinding
his teeth, and foaming like a furious wild Boare, he drave
backe with his battle-axe whole troupes assailing him,
emasacring the chiefe of them to the eternall renowne
of his courage: if but a hundred such had there bene
with him, a whole Army had neuer been able to surprize
his person: yet as hee was single, hee held out, till
first his Battle-axe brake, and after that, his sword
also, with the force of his vnresistable strokes, flew
in peeces; and hee now weaponlesse, and (by an vn-
knowne doublet, an vn-noble hand) stricken down
with a great stone throwne at him, was seized on by
William of Kahames, a stout foot Knight, and by
Earle Roberts commaunded, preferred from any vio-
lence to his person, was carried prisoner vnto Maud
the Emperesse at Gloucester, & thence was sent bound
vnto Brisfow, where in the Castle he remained in safe
custody.

(29) The Emperesse hauing thus got the Lion in
her hold, triumphed not a little in her own fortune,
& now as sole Soueraign of Englands Monarchie,
commaunded all businesse, elected her Counsellors,
and bestowed many dignities where shee most fa-
uoured. Notwithstanding, that shee altered not
her stile of Emperesse, or Queene of Romanes, may
appeare by this her Broad-scale ensuing; vnder
which shee granted the custody of the Tower of Lon-
don vnto Geoffrey de Mandeuil, and his Heires,
counenancing with him therein, that he would not make
peace with the Citizens of London, without the said Ge-
offrey's consent, because they were his mortall enemies: but
this Earle being afterwards vnawares apprehended
in the Kings Court at Saint Albans, could not bee
released, till hee had surrendered both the Tower of
London, and other his Castles to the King.

Vpon these happy successes of the Emperesse, the
States-men rood not any longer for King Stephen,
but their faithles turning with his Fortune, all of them
surrendered their allegiance vnto her; the Kentish on-
ly excepted, where Stephens Queene, and William de
Tpres, maintained his quarrell to the vtmost of
their powers.

(30) But

THE TRVE SCVLPTVRE OF MAVD THE EMPRESSES BROAD SCALE,
APPENDANT TO HER CHARTERS.



(30) But the Emperesse conducted in State to
Winchester, had the Regall Crowne of the King-
dome then deliuered her; no man more for-
ward then Henry the Bishop, and Brother of Stephen,
who vpon the vowing to bee ruled by his aduise in
affaires of Estate, being then the Popes Legate, so-
lemnely in a Synode of the Clergie, accursed all such
as withstood the Emperesse, and blessed all them
that affixed her interest: but both hee, and his
friends forgot not to adde that wouted trayterous
clause of their oath, so long to keepe faith to her, as shee
kept her Couenants with them: and so with appaule
of the people, she came to London, and after much
peruasion and mediation (for that the Citizens
were very stiff against her) was receiued into the Ci-
ty with a roiall Procession.

(31) Neither was King Stephen thus defeated of
England onely, but Normandy also cast off the yoke
of subiection: for Geoffrey of Anion, husband of the
Emperesse, hauing some intelligence of this achie-
ued victorie, induced the Normans to incline vnto
him, by publishing the captiuation of Stephen, vna-
ble now to relieue them, or himselfe; and Dauid
King of Scotland for his part was not behind, to let
forward the claime of Lady Maud, assuming in her
behalf the County of Northumberland.

(32) Maud thus established, all now esteemed
her as Fortunes deare darling, and beheld her as
their onely rising sunne; the Prison walls over-
shadowing the Presence, feature, and fauours of
the now dejected vnfortunate Stephen, whose for-
rowful wife Queen Maud, incessantly sollicit the
Emperesse in her husbands behalfe, desiring his li-
berty, but not his Crowne, which hee was now con-
tented to let her enioy, and therunto offered for
pledges many great persons, who protested for him
to the Emperesse, that hee thenceforth would de-
voute himselfe vnto God, & either become a Monke
or a Pilgrime: Henry of Winchester also became a
suitor vnto her in the behalfe of his Nephew Eu-
face, King Stephens sonne, that the Countie be-
longing before to the Father, might bee conferred
vpon the sonne.

(33) The Londoners likewise hauing receiued her
into the City as their Lady, thought now (as most
dow with new Princes) they might haue what they
would aske, and became her importunate Suppli-
ants, that the ouer hard lawes imposed by her
Father, might now be remitted, and those of King
Edward might wholly bee in force. But shee reie-
cted all these Petitioners, out of pride, say some; but
it may seeme rather of policy, holding it safest,
to passe affaires of importance, not vpon intreaty, but
by due audience, and to gouerne the subiect with a
suauere austerities, rather then an indulgent lenitie.
But this too regular strictnes, which might haue
done well in alected gouernment, in this her yet

greene, and vnto secured citate, proued not so be-
houefull. For first, Queene Maud sent to her
sonne Euface, that their suites must bee obtained
onely by warre; willing him to make strong his
partie by the assistance of the Kentish: the Nobles
likewise, Stephens vndertakers, repined, that they
were so slightly regarded, or rather reiected: and the
Londoners also storming at the repulse of their de-
sires, deuided how they might take the Emperesse
their Prisoner, and so redeem King Stephen, to whom
their affectiōs were euer firm: but the hearing of their
conspiracie, fled secretly in the night, and tooke in-
to Oxford, which in all her difficulties shee euer
found true vnto her, out of their loue, both to her
cause, and to her Father; & threatening due reuenge
for her late wrongs, wrought it vpon the Nobles in
prison, and (more then was due or decent) vpon
Stephen himself, whom the commaunded to be laden
with Irons, and to bee abridged of all princely fer-
uities:

(34) Winchester high mind not brooking the Em-
peresses deniall of his suite, in behalfe of his Nephew
Euface, vpon secret conferences with Queen Maud,
by her lamentable entreaties, began to melt in his
affection towards the distressed King his brother; &
in fine, resolving to trie the vtmost for him, ab-
solved all those whom before hee had excommuni-
cated; pretending, that the Barons had all kept faith
with her, but shee had not kept touch with them; and thin-
king this a fitt time to worke for his brother, soli-
cited the discontented Londoners in his behalfe, and
stored the Castles of Waltham, Farnham, and Win-
chester with Munition and men; meane while the
Emperesse came speedily to Gloucester, to conferre
with Milo her chiefe friend, and presently againe
returning to Oxford (which she chose for her Court
and chiefe place of abode) was there maintained on-
ly at his charge, not hauing one dayes diet, or pro-
uision of her owne, to requite which fidelity, and
other noble seruices, shee there created him Earle of
Hereford.

(35) Her forces recollected, & thither assembled,
shee went forthwith to the City of Winchester, accom-
panied with Dauid King of Scotland her vnckle, Earle
Robert her brother, and many other Nobles; where
sending for the Bishop being then in the City (whose
aid shee could hardly spare, and therefore was defi-
rous of his reconciliation) though hee mistrusted
some perill, yet not daring to send aduiall, returned
the Messenger with this equiuocal answer, that he
would with all speed addresse himselfe, as if hee had
meant to follow them: so forthwith issuing secre-
tly out of the City, did indeed addresse himselfe to
worke her ruine: for, sending for Queene Maud
her sonne Euface, the Londoners, and William Tpres,
(afterwards created Earle of Kent) made strong his
part, himselfe and friends abiding in the City, whiles

E c c c the

* King Stephens

wife.

The Nobles of-
fended, fall off
from her.

Matth. Dunel.
lib. 2.

The Londoners
conspire against
her.

Nic. Trivet.

Roger Hounden.

Ger. Dor.

Matth. Dunel.
libro secundo.

Henry of Win-
chester recalls his
Excommunication.

* Idem locutur.

The Emperesse
maintained
at Stephens
charges.

The Bishop of
Winchester equi-
uocath.

* Ego parabo me.

Will. Matins.

Will. Malmes.
Gerwaf. Darob.

Hee fires
Winchester.
* Alins The Ca-
uents at Hyde.
Malmesb.

Ger. Darob.
The Bishop of
Winchester en-
trappeth the
Empresse.

Malmesb. lib. 2.

The Empresse
carried as a dead
Corie.
Will. Walsingham.
Ypodigm. Newfur.

Malmes.
Ger. Dor.

Earle Robert
taken.
Malmesb. lib. 2.

Will. Malmes.

Will. Malmes.
An. D. 1142.
The King and
Earle Robert re-
deeme each o-
ther out of
prison.
Roger Howden.

Matib. Paris.
* Malmesb.

the Empresse and her Nobles defended themselves in the Castle, not aduenturing to goe forth amongst so many their mortall enemies: and soone after, to worke his wrathfull will, knowing the Citizens to bee more affected to the Empresse then to him, commanded the said Citie to be set on fire, where in the Monastery of Nunnes, above twentie Churches, the Convent of S. Grimbald, and the better part of the Citie, were consumed to ashes.

(36) Seven weekes thus spent, in this counter-siege of the Citie and Castle, the Bishopp, to deceive the Empresse, commanded peace to bee proclaimed, and the Gates to be set open towards evening. The Empresse then, who had endured such troubles and so long a restraint, greedie desired to change her lodging, and to recreate her perplexed spirits in some other place; so taking horse, accompanied with her brother, Reinold Earle of Cornwall, her servants, and many others her friends, besides Earle Robert, who followed behind with a troupe of Nobles and Knights; presentlie at the Bishoppes commandment, shee was pursued by his Souldiers, and many of her traine wounded and taken prisoners; the Empresse by good providence escaped into the Castle of Lutegarsball, and thence to the Castle Diniz: where understanding that shee was still in hazard to bee surprized, shee was contented, (as what will not necessity endure, & a womans wit devise?) to be laide in a coffin bound fast with cords; and so, as if it had bene her Corie, carried in a horrelitter to the Citie of Gloucester: in which bonds of her owne distresse, shee had good occasion to remember the chaines of King Stephens captivitie. To such extremities were these two Princes at the selfe same time subiect, that whiles they turmoiled for spacious Kingdomes, brought themselves to the very extreame wants, of aire, and of elbow-roume; but with such dalliance doth Fortune (wee see) oftentimes follow her game, that shee maketh even Monarchs the Balls of her play, and toffeth them lastly into the Hazard, whence hardly they escape with safetie of life. Yet this was not the worst; for Earle Robert her brother, whilest hee was busied in providing for her safetie, then for his owne, was taken by his pursuers at Stoubreg with others; brought backe to Winchester, and there presented by the Bishop vnto Queene Maude, King Stephens wife, who committed him to the custodie of William Ypres, and he for more safetie to Gloucester; but others taking sanctuarie in the Nunns Monastery of Warwell were burned together with the place: Thus then the King on the one side, and the Earle on the other, were kept in safe custodie; but the Queene labouring for the Kings release, and the Countesse for the Earles, many Articles were propounded, and many messengers imploied: at length, this was thought fittest, that Stephen should bee restored to his kingdom, and Robert vnder him to haue the whole government of the Land; so that both of them should now jointly uphold that, which they (the two Ring-leaders) by opposition had cast downe. But Earle Robert as he was no whit dejected in mind, with any frowne of Fortune whatsoever, so referred hee his fidelity to the Empresse vnstained, and vnmoued either with feare or faire inticements, still refusing to capitulate for his freedome, but to his Sisters liking, who likewise bare fo bravae a minde, that were her state neuer so weake, shee would not consent nor giue the least care to any composition for the Crowne.

(37) Then was enmitie increased, the Kingdom divided, and the peoples hatred kindled in maintaining the factions, all fore-running the ruine of the Land: For these two Chieftaines wearied with irksomnes of irons, and hard imprisonment, made exchange the one for the other, without any farther mention of peace, and so studied not onely to renew their former designs, but to encrease the lands miserie by more eage warres. Stephen in England wrought the people for him, & Robert taking pledge

es of the Nobles to attend and guard the Empresse at Oxford till his returne, went into Normandie to sollicite Geoffrey her husband for her defence. But the Earle having troubles with his owne Nobilitie, and the Normans fearfully brought to any subiection, thought it not convenient by his owne absence for a state in hope, to hazard that in hand; and therefore sent with Robert some strength of Armes, and with them his young sonne Prince Henrie into England.

(38) The Empresse in his absence, had well fortified herselfe in Oxford, whom Stephen (vising the benefit of Roberts absence) followed with an eage pursuite, and wanne the Suburbs even vnto the Citie gates; then girt hee the Empresse with so strait a siege, (meaning neuer to giue over, till hee had now made her fure in his possession) that for two monethes whatsoever Strength or Stratagem could performe in assault or defense, was there put in practice, till at length great penurie enforced to thinke of a surrender: but thea, a woman (whose sexe hath often deceived wise men) resolute once againe to overreach her foe by wit, whom shee could not by force: whereto the time did fit her wishes; for being a winter, sharpe about measure, the Ruer Thames that runnes by the Citie walls, was then congealed with a strong crufted Ice, and besides a great growd did then continue, and had covered the ground. Maude vpon these advantages, put in practice a most dangerous attempt: for cloathing herselfe, and some choice of her company, in white linnen garments, to deceive the eyes of the Sentinells, issued secretly by night out of a posterne-gate, and passing the frozen Ruer, ranne on foote, through ice, and snow, ditches, and vallies, for five miles, even to Abingdon, the falling snow still beating in their faces; and there taking horse, the same night got to the Castle of Wallingford, to the great ioy, and also admiration, of all that were therein.

(39) In the meane while, Earle Robert, with Prince Henrie, were arrived in England at Warham hauen, and presentlie besieged the Castle there, (so to withdraw the King from siege of his sister;) but hearing of the happie escape of the Empresse, came with young Henry vnto his mother, whose sight made her forget the griefe and sorowes that shee had long endured. Then was Oxford vpon conditions yielded to the King; and Wilton fired by the bastard Earle Robert: The Towre of London, with the Castles of Walden, Pleisef, and Lincoln, yielded to Stephen; the Castles of Warham, and Portland, yielded to Robert: The Earles of Chester, and Essex, surprized by the King; William Martell the great fauourite, taken and imprisoned by the Earle. Thus sundrie yeeres passing with variable successes to and fro, and cury yeere heaping on each side, fresh calamities, to the great ruine of the whole land; the Empresse, euen wearied with those warres and uncertainties of successe, went into Normandie, chusing rather to be vnder the protection of her husband in peace, then to raigne in England perplexed with troubles: and to the same end shee had not long before, sent her young sonne Henrie to his father, who desired to haue him rather heire of a Dukedome with safetie, then of a Crowne with daylie hazard.

(40) Stephen, that by a fresh surprizall of Randall Earle of Chester had got Lincoln, and entring thence into (which no King before him durst doe, for that certain wizards had prophesied euill luck vnto such) at christmas did there wear the Regall Crowne on his head, and after the Emperesses departure, caused the Barons of England, to sweare allegiance vnto Prince Euface his sonne; by which two complements, hee supposed all had bene fure on his side; and the rather, for that the most faithful, puissant, and euer-renowned Earles, Robert of Gloucester, and Milo of Hereford the two great and glorious pillars, which had by many Conquests supported their Anouciens cause, were now conquered by death; and the rest of the Nobles, applying themselves to the

Times,

An. D. 1148.
The King
Hasteth into
England.
An. D. 1149
Ger. Dor.

The King
besieged
Oxford.
Gerwaf.

Nik. Trid.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1150
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1151
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1152
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1153
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1154
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1155
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1156
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1157
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1158
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1159
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1160
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

An. D. 1161
Ger. Dor.
Nik. Trid.
Hiden.

Times, kept themselves quiet in the absence of these Competitors; all which gaue no little assurance vnto Stephens estate.

(41) But Henry Fitz-Empresse, grown now from a Child, thought it best a while to leave Mercury, (for it is said hee was Bookish) and to follow Mars; so knowing his preference would preferre much his purposes (for men would bee loth to hazard all for one, who himselfe would neglect all) halted againe into England, with an Armie of valiant and choice Souldiers; to whom joined the discontented Earle of Chester, Roger the sonne of Miles deceased, with many more Knights and Gallants of the English: hee therefore tooke into the North, and met with David his cosen, King of Scotland, of whom hee was most honourably received, and solemnely sacred with the Military honour of Knighthood: and thence forward sought all occasions to prouoke both King Stephen, and his sonne Euface against him: and having setled some courtes with certain Peeres for the pursuit of his designs in England, hee returned into Normandy to compose & set forward some other businesse, which might be auailable for these his ends.

(42) Where long he staid not, but that Geoffrey his Father departed this life, and left him his Heire both of Anjou and Normandy; and the yeere following, hee matched in marriage with Eleanor Duchesse of Guien and Aquitaine, lately diuorced from Lodowicke King of France for consanguinity, and adultery (saith Paris) after shee had borne him two daughters; Lodowicke fearing issue-male by this marriage to the dishonouring of his said daughters, greatly impugned Duke Henry; and Stephen suspecting his greatnes, now being Duke of Normandy, Anjou, Aquitaine, and Guien, both of them fought each way to impeach his peace: Lodowicke, with Prince Euface, in the parts beyond seas, and Stephen in England, to make fure his succellion, fought to inuelt the said Prince Euface with the English Diadem; both to prevent, and utterly deuide Henry Fitz-Empresse for euer: for calling a Councell at London, King Stephen commaunded Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate Prince Euface for their King; which hee refused to doe, and that by commandment from the Pope (whose holy See can deale on both sides, as makes most for their advantage) alledging now, that his Father was an vnrper, and perjured Intruder: whereupon the honest Archbishop fled into Normandy, and the King seized vpon all his possessions. It may seeme, that one cause of the Popes inclining to young Henries title, was to strengthen him against his enemy King Lewis of France, who had highly offended his Holines, for casting the Popes Bull (whereby hee required the fruits of Vacancies of all Cathedral Churches in France) into the fire, saying, hee had rather the Popes Bull (should rest in the fire, then his owne (saith Mather) in hell.

(43) King Stephen thus defeated of his purpose, and seeing his Title questioned by the Church, who had before approued it, resolved to make it good by the sword: for winning the Castle of Mubey, fortified Malmesbury, and laid a trait siege vnto Wallingford, against which hee erected the Castle Crumme, to stoppe the passages of their reliefe, or coming forth. But Henry after hee had calmed the boisterous stormes of warre, in the parts beyond the seas, came ouer into England well appointed, vnto whom also resorted many of the Nobility, who yielded vp themselves, and about thirty strong Castles to the young Duke: now well furnished, halted to raise the siege of Wallingford, and there vnderooke a great enterprize; for hee incircled the Besiegers with a great and deepe Trench, whereby hee kept them from reliefe, as they did keepe the Besieged.

(44) Stephen following hastily to succour his men, (though with the lesse edge, for that hee neuer sped well in any assault of that Castle) pitched downe his

Tents, euen neere his enemy; and ready on both sides to giue bataille: the Winter stormes were suddenly so troublesome, that nothing could bee done; but those somewhat ouerblowne, and the Armies scarce three furlongs asunder, as King Stephen was busied in disposing of his host, and giuing direction for order of the bataille, his horse vnder him rising with his fore-feet, fell flat vpon the earth, not without danger to his Rider; and thus did hee thrice ere hee left, which thing his Nobles secretly muttering, interpreted for an vn lucky preface: when William Earle of Arundell, a bold and eloquent man, went to him and aduised him to a peace; affirming the title of Duke Henry to be iust; that the Nobility on both parts there present, were neerely linked in Alliances & Blood, and how these stood affected, was very doubtfull; yea, that Brethren were there assembled, the one against the other, whereof must needs follow an vn naturall warre betwixt them, & of dangerous consequence, euen to him that contested. With these and the like allegations at last Stephen beganne to bend, and a parley for peace was signified vnto the Duke. Henry already warme for the bataille, and his thoughts fixed on nothing lesse then peace, could hardly moderate his youthful affections; yet at his friends importunity, hee yielded to conferre with King Stephen.

(45) The place for conference was so appointed; that the ruer Thames parted the presence of these two Princes; so that from either banke they saluted each others, and after a long conference, agreeing on a truce, and vpon faire termes of amity departed, commaunding all weapons and attempts of warre to be laide aside.

(46) But Euface, who hitherto had attended Fortune for the Crowne, and now hopelesse to haue as his Fathers Successor, was greatly displeased with this new moulded friendship, and in a fury departed the field, purposing to raise himselfe by his owne means; and coming to Bury, vrged the Monks of Saint Edmunds for money, to set forward his heady designs: But the wiser amongst them vnwilling to bee wagers of new warres (which though ill for all sorts, yet proued euer worst to the Clergie mens possessions) denied his request; wherewith enraged, hee commanded his men to carry their corne and other prouision into his owne Castle, situated hard by. But being set at dinner, wee reade of him (saith mine Author) that euen the verie first bit that hee put in his mouth, drave him into a frensie, whereof shortly after hee died; whose body was interred at Feuerham in Kent.

(47) The death of Prince Euface so much aduantaged Duke Henry, that thereupon (the truce in likelihood expiring) many fell off vnto him, and many Castles were deliuered, as Bertwell, Reading, Warwicke, Stamford, and others; wherewith Stephen was not a little displeased, and thinking to entrappe the yong venturous Duke, with a strong Army followed him vnto Wallingford: But God himselfe looking down from heauen (saith Mather of S. Albans) made there an end of those long calamities, by stirring the minds of chiefe men in the land to labour for peace: such was Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henrie Bishop of Winchester, who hauing troubled the realm with fire and sword, moued now to repentance, wrought so effectually with his brother, that hee inclined vnto a wished peace, contented to adopt the Duke for his Son and Successor; and so committing both together to Oxford (a blessed sight to so distressed and distracted a Kingdom;) there did all the Nobles do fealty to him, as to the vndoubted Heire of the land; and the Duke to acknowledge this as a fauour, yielded him the honour of a Father, and the roialtie of all Kingly power during his life.

(48) Notwithstanding, the cleere Sunne shine of these faire daies, was somewhat darkened with a cloud of treacherie, and lowd attempts of the Flemings; who enuying Englands peace, vpon Barham

ready to ioin
bataille.
Henry Hunt.

Vn lucky preface
to K. Stephen.

A Parley betwixt
K. Stephen and
Fitz-Empresse.

Gerwaf. Darob.

A truce conclu-
ded.
Matib. Paris.

Euface K. Ste-
phens son like
not the truce.

John Teasly.

Polydori.

Ger. Darob.
Prince Euface
died.

Polydori.
Matib. Paris.

The King and
Fitz-Empresse
accorded.

Gerwaf.

An. D. 1154
Prince Henry in
danger by trea-
chery.

Downes, intended to surprize Prince Henry in his returne from Dover, and presence of King Stephen. In this conspiracie was William the Kings son, though but yong, who himselfe meaning to haue one cast at the Crowne, instantly before it should haue been effected, was through the wantonnes of his horse cast to the ground, and with the fall brake his legges; to whose assistance, whiles euery one gathered and lamented, Henry vpon secret notice of the treason hastned vnto Canterbury, and thence to London, and soone after ouer the seas into Normandy.

(49) And Stephen now after he had reigned eightene yeeres, ten months, and odde daies, departed this life at Dover, in the Monastery of the Monkes, of an illacke palsy, mixed with his olde diseale the Emrod, the twenty five of October, and yeere of Christs Natiuitie, 1154. A most worthy Souldier, faith Paris: and (in a word) one who wanted nothing but a iust title to haue made him an excellent King; in his ordinary deportment very deuout; the fruites wherof were shewed in erecting with sufficient endowments, the Abbeyes of Cogshall in Essex, of Furnesse in Lancashire, the houses of Nunnes at Carew, and Higham, an Hospitall at Yorke, and the Monastery of Feversham in Kent, where his Queene, his sonne, and lastly, himselfe were enterr'd: but since, his body for the gaine of the lead, wherein it was coffined, was cast into the riuer. So vn certaine is man (yea greatest Princes) of any rest in this world, euen after burials, and restlesse may their bodies be also (who for filthy lucre) thus enuie to the dead, the quiet of their graues.

His Wife.

(50) Maud, the Wife of King Stephen, was the daughter of Eustace Earle of Bulloigne, the brother of Godfrey, and Baldwin Kings of Ierusalem: her Mother was Mary, sister to Maud Queene of England, wife of King Henrie, her husbands Predecessor. Shee was crowned at Westminster vpon Sunday, being Easter-day, and the two and twenty of March, in the first yeere of her husbands raigne, and of Grace, 1136. and being Queene fiftene yeeres, she died at Hedingham Castle in Essex, the third of May, and yeere of Christ, 1151. and was buried in his Monastery at Feversham in Kent.

His Issue.

(51) Baldwin, the eldest sonne of King Stephen and Queene Maud (bearing the name of King Baldwin his vn cle) was born in the time of the reign of K. Henry his fathers vn cle; and died in his infancy, during the reign of the same King. He was buried at London in the Church of the Priorie of the Trinity within Algate, which was a house of blacke * Canons of the Augustinian order, founded by Q. Maud, the first wife of the foresaid King Henry the first.

(52) Eustace the second sonne of King Stephen, & of Queene Maud his wife, being the heire apparent to them both; when his Father was King, was created Earle of Boulogne, which dignity was the inheritance of his mother. Hee married Constance sister of Lewis the seuenth King of France, daughter of King Lewis the Grasse: who afterward was remarried to Raymond the third Earle of Toulouse: for Eustace died before her without Issue by her, the tenth day of August, in the eighteenth yeere of his Fathers

raigne, and of Grace, 1152. Hee was buried by his mother in his Fathers Monastery at Feversham in Kent.

(53) William, the third and yongest sonne of King Stephen and Queene Maud, married Isabell daughter and heire of William Warren, the third Earle of Surrey, with whom hee had that Earledome; hee was in his Fathers life time Earle of Surrey, Lord of Norwich and Pevensy in England, Earle of Mortayne, and Lord Eagle of Normandy. After his fathers death, King Henry the second made him Knight, resumed those things that hee held of the Crowne, restored him to all that his Father held before hee was King. And so he was Earle of Bolloigne, Surrey, and Mortayne, and being with him in his journey to Tholouze, died without issue, in his returne homeward, in the Moneth of October, the seuenth of King Henries raigne, and of Christ Iesus, 1160.

(54) Maud, the eldest daughter of King Stephen and Queene Maud, was borne before her father was King, in the reign of King Henrie the first, her vn cle; in whole time also shee deceased, beeing but yongue, (though some report shee was wife to the Earle of Milten) and was enterr'd at London, with her brother Baldwin, in the Priorie of the Trinity aforesaid, then commonly called Christs Church, and now late named the Dukes Place within Algate.

(55) Marie, the yonger daughter of King Stephen and Queene Maud, was a Nun, and Abbess of the Nunnerie at Rumsey in Hampshire; notwithstanding, when her brother William, Earle of Bolloigne, was deceased without issue, shee was secretly taken from thence, and married to Matthew the yonger sonne of Terry of Alsace, and brother of Philip Earle of Flanders, who in her right was Earle of Bolloigne. Shee was his wife ten yeeres, and was then diuorced from him, by the sentence of the Pope, and enforced to returne to her Monastery, hauing had issue by him two daughters, which were Ide and Maude, allowed by the censure of the Church to be legitimate. Lady Ide, the elder, was married to Raymond of Damp-Martine, in her right Earle of Bolloigne; and Maude, the yonger, to Henrie Duke of Lorraine.

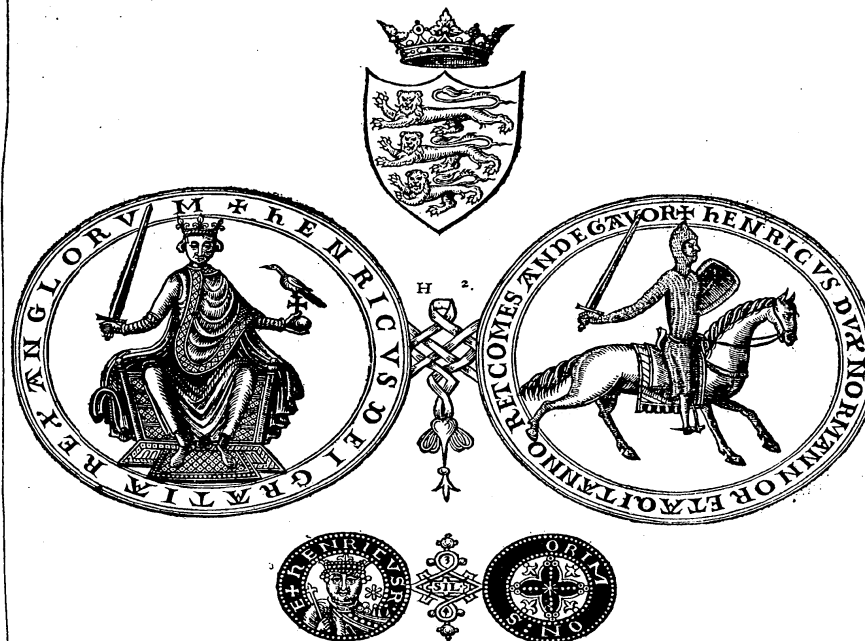
His Naturall Issue.

(56) William, the Naturall sonne of King Stephen, is mistaken of some to bee the same William, that was Earle of Bolloigne. Others, who know that William Earle of Bolloigne was lawfully borne, do thinke that his father had no other son named William but him; wherein let William Earle of Bolloigne, the lawfull son of King Stephen, be himselfe a lawfull witness of the truth, who hauing best cause to know it, doth best prouocut; and in an ancient Charter of his, beeing written in those daies, and extant in these, doth name him for a witness, and calleth him his Brother.

(57) Geruase, another Naturall sonne of King Stephen, begotten on a gentle-woman named Dame-isa, and borne in Normandy, was brought into England by his father, the fifth yeere of his Raigne, Anno Dom. 1140. Hee was the same yeere, by his fathers meanes, made Abbat of Westminster, and so continued for the space of twenty yeeres: hee deceased there the twentie sixt of August, in the sixt yeere of the raigne of King Henrie the second, the yeere of Grace 1160. and lieth buried in the South part of the cloister, within the said Monasterie, vnder a flat stone of black marble, which is remaining there vntil this day.

HENRIE

HENRIE THE SECOND, DVKE OF NORMANDY, GUYEN AND AQUI-TAINE, THE FORTIE THIRD MONARCH OF THE ENGLISHMEN, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER VI.



former fortunes, hauing already been touched; his counsels, acts, and other affaires of greatest importance, after the death of King Stephen come now to be handled.

(2) Hee came not to the Crown vnexpected, nor vn desired; for the opinion of the man, and hope conceiued of his future gouernement, had the force to hold England in good obedience without the presence of a King, about sixe weekes, whose entrance like that of the Soule into the Body, did quicken, and enspirite the Realme, as then (in the person of

England) this clozing verse, or Epiphoneme spake:

*Spiritus es, caro sum: te nunc intrante renixi.
T'hou, Soule; I Body am: by thee to life I came.*

Neither did his presence diminish the expectations raised, but was saluted King with generall acclamations, and with no lesse ioy at Westminster by Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury, annointed and crowned: the summe of whose first courtes for settling his State was this.

(3) Sundry Castles (nests of Rebels) hee flattereth to the earth, some others hee fortifies or resumes at his pleasure; chiefly such estates, as had bene alienated from the Crowne, as the hire and vnjust reward of those who withstood his claime. Others write, that hee promiscuously tooke all such lands into his owne possession, as were by Iurors found vpon oath to haue belonged at any time vnto the Crowne. Some Earles vnduly created, hee reduceth to priuate condition, and purgeth the Realme from

P f f f

for

Prince Henry goeth into Normandy.
King Stephen dieeth.

Paris.
Booke of S. Albanes.

John Stow.

Ger. Dou.

* The first Canon Regular in England was of this place Anno 1108, and the Prior thereof was Alderman of London.
Stow, Surrey.

Monarch 43.

Henry II.

His acceſſion and Coronation.
Theobald, Neuber, John, Paris.

His first actions.
Mat. Paris.

Lib. Monast. S. Albani.

Polyd. Vir. lib. 13.

Pseudo-Comitis, Iacob Mar. Paris.

Roger Howden.

Roger. Howden.

Math. Paris.
ad A.D. 1155.

Ger. Dorob.

Lib. Mon. B. S. M.

Math. Paris.

* Powell in hist.
Camb. p. 222. mis-
takes a bridge for
a castle. In old
records indecible
bridge. North is
called bridge, which
caused that error.Powell writes that
it was a Welsh
man, who shot
the arrow at the
King's child.Roger Howden.
Annal. p. 2.Math. Paris.
ad an. Dom. 1161.Polyd. Virg. in
H. 2.

forraine Souldiers, chiefly from the *Flemings*, whose mercenary swarms most pestered the same, and had most infected him. And because Government is the Soule of State, and Wifeedom the Soule of Government, he chooseth to himselfe a Body of Councell out of the most eminent persons of both sorts: such was *Theobald* Archbishop of *Canterbury*; and for that selfe consideration, he laid the Chancellorship of England vpon *Thomas Becket*, and held in speciall fauour *John of Oxford*, with sundry other Prelates of chiefest note: of the Laity, he had *Robert* Earle of *Chesster*, chiefest Iusticiar of England, *Richard de Luci*, Iocellin de *Bailull*, *Alan de Neaile* and others: but for a Cabanet-Counsellour at all times, he had his owne mother, *Matilda* the Emperesse, one of the most fage and experienced Ladies of the World. Thus then furnished, and assembling a Councell at *Wallingford*, hee awell for his owne securing, as for the assurance of his Children, sweares the Realme to the succession of his sonnes *William* and *Henry*, the one being in remainder to the other.

(4) But quiet consultation did not take vp the most of his time, even in the daies of these Sun-shining beginnings: for the reign of *Stephen*, a most gentle Prince (who thought, out of the necessity of his owne estate, that it was not safe for him to be seuered) having giuen way for many of the mighty, to maintaine fundrie insolencies; these now feeling a restraint, beganne not a little to repine: but *Hugh de Mortimer*, wanton with greatness, and the most arrogant man alicie, stuff his Castles of *Glocester*, *Higmore*, and *Bridgenorth* with rebellious Garrisons, which *Henry* notwithstanding reduced to subiection, though in the siege of the last named, not without imminent perill of his person, had not *Hubert de S. Clare*, cast himselfe betweene death and the King, taking the arrow into his owne bosome to preferre his Soueraignes life. It bound *Tiberius* to *Seianus* most of all, when a part of the banquette Caue in which they were, suddenly falling, *Seianus* was found to haue borne the ruine from the Emperour, with the perill of his life: but *Seianus* suruiued that aduerture, which our *Seneca* did not, saue only in the better renowne thereof, which deserues to be immortal, being an Act of piety, worthy of a Statue, with *Cadmus*, *Curtius*, *Manlius*, or whosoever else haue willingly sacrificed themselves for their Country, or for the Father of their Country, the King.

(5) *Henrie* thus hauing in some sort settled England, hasteth into *France* to King *Leuis* in the first yeere of his reign, and there did homage vnto him for *Normandy*, *Aquitane*, *Angiou*, *Main* and *Tourain*, which partly were his patrimony, and partly the inheritance of *Eleanor* his wife.

(6) His domesticke enemies being subdued or appeased, hee put his brother *Geffrey* by force to a pension, the summe whereof (if it be any thing to the purpose to know) was 1000. l. *English*, and 2000. l. *Arion* by yeere, wringing out of his possession all such territories, as by their Fathers last Will and Testament, were bequeathed to him in *France*. But *Geffrey* did not long enjoy the said annuity, or his brothers friendship: for in the third yeere, death brought a discharge, and *Henry* was disburdened of those payments. For his violence in taking away those lands, King *Henry* might alledge he was eldest brother: but that allegation might bee auoided with his owne consent, which once hee gaue: but the great *Elisax*, called *Reason of State*, (though falsely so called, vnlesse it bee seasoned with Iustice, and Religion) hath so transmutatue a faculty, as to make Copper seeme Gold, right wrong, and wrong right; yea, when all Pleas faile, it will stand for good, while there are forces to support it.

(7) This accord betweene the two brethren, being thus (howsoever) established, the King repaires into

England, and at *Chesster* enters amity with *Malcolme* King of *Scots*, on such termes, as his Grandfather had done, yet *Salus omnibus dignitatibus suis*, sauing to himselfe all his dignities: and the said *Malcolme* restored to *Henry* the City of *Karlew*, *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*, &c. and *Henry* restored to him the Earledome of *Huntington* in England. And so iustly dreadfull did the growing puissance of this young Monarch appeare to his greatest enemies, that *Hugh Bigod* Earle of *Norfolke*, who had potent means to doe mischief, rendered his Castle to bee at his disposal.

(8) The Welsh notwithstanding forsooke not themselves, but did some memorable matters vnder conduct of the valiant Prince *Owen* against the *English*, in defence of *North-Wales*, and their Countries liberty, to the losse of the *English*, and extreme danger of the Kings owne person, whose Standard roiall was cowardly abandoned, and the King reported to be slaine: for which *Henrie de Essex*, the Kings Standard-Bearer at that conflict, was afterward accused by *Robert de Monford* his neere Kinsman, and in single bataille within lists was vanquished at *Reading*, where the said *Henry de Essex* was slaine a Monke, and died. *Mathew Paris* relates the whole voiage of King *Henry* summarily thus: That *Henry* prepared a very great Army against the Welsh, with full purpose to ouercome them both by land and sea; that hee cut vp the woods and Forrests, and laid open a way; that hee recovered the Castle of *Ruthlaw* and other fortresses taken from his Ancestors; that hee repaired the Castle of *Basingwerke*, and that hauing brought the Welsh to his will, hee returned with triumph into England.

(9) After this, himselfe and his wife Queene *Eleanor* being openly crowned vpon Christmas day, (* some say Easter day) at the Citie of *Winchester*, they both at the offertorie laid their Diademes vpon the high Altar, vowing neuer to wear them after; this being now the third time in which at three severall places, *Westminster*, *Lincolne*, and *Winchester*, he had beene crowned. This deuout act of his, did flow perhaps out of some such speculation as that of *Caninius*, who thought none truly worthy the name of King, but Godalone, or that, vpon which *Godfrey of Bullion*, refused to wear a crowne of gold in *Hierusalem*, where our Lord and Sauour had beene crowned with thornes. For this King had at times the pangs and symptoms of mortification and piety, and did heerein acknowledge the onely giuer and taker-away of kingdoms God Almighty; putting himselfe and Realme, vnder the protection of that Maieftie of whom hee held paramount; and professing (as it were) that from thenceforth hee would direct his actions to the glorie of his omnipotent Master, which is indecde the only finall caule of all true monarchie.

(10) Not long after, hauing established his affaires in England, hee crost the Seas into *Normandie*: where successfullie fundrie matters of importance fell out: as the seizure of the City of *Nantes* in *Britaine* after his brother *Geffrey*'s death; his journey to *Paris*, being invited thither by *Leuis* and his wife the Queene; the vnprofitable siege of *Tholouse* laid by King *Henrie*, where *Malcolme* King of *Scots* was in companie with him; the vnripe marriage of his sonne *Henrie* to *Margaret* the French Kings daughter, whom *Thomas Becket* then Lord Chancellor had formerlie conducted with verie great State from *Paris*, by consent of parents for that purpose; the offence taken at those spousals by *Leuis*, for that the children were but infants, and that himselfe was a loofer thereby; the warre heereupon attempted by *Leuis*, fortifying *Chaumont*, which the French hauing quit the Field by flight) King *Henrie* recovered with aduantage; the Armies of both these great Kings, being afterward at point (as it were) to ioinc, dispersed vpon reconciliation of the two Kings, by rea-

Reg. Howden.
ad. p. 1161.
p. 1161.Math. Paris.
Epist. No. 1161.
lib. 13. c. 12.
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Epist. No. 1161.
lib. 13. c. 12.Math. Paris.
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Epist. No. 1161.
lib. 13. c. 12.

reason of a marriage concluded vpon, betweene *Richard*, King *Henries* second son, and *Alice* the French Kings daughter: All which and some other, not drawing with them any extraordinarie sequell, nor offering much matter for ciuill document, must not preponderate the handling of things more rare and considerable.

(11) For after these accidents, beganne the famous controuerfies betweene the King and his Arch-bishop *Becket*, a man of an inuincible stomack and resolution in his life, and after death reputed by some for a great Saint or Martyr; as is likewise noted of *Henrie*, * that he was the most politike, martiall, rich, and honoured Prince of all his time. This Prelate by birth a *Londoner*, (though his mother, a *Saracen*, * say some) by profession a * *Ciuitian*, was by *Theobald* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, both made his Arch-deacon, and also placed about the person of Duke *Henrie*, who being now King, advanced him in the verie first yeere of his reign to bee Lord Chancellor of England, in which high honor he carried himselfe like another King, and afterward vpon the death of *Theobald*, though the * Monks objected against *Becket*, that neither a Courtier nor a Souldier (as * hee had beene both) were fit to succede in so high and sacred a function, yet the King gaue him that Arch-bishopricke, partly in reward, and partly in further hope of his ready and faithful seruice. Which to be true, a Legend of his Miracles can best relate. *Nonnullis tamen &c.* Many (saith hee) iudged his promotion not Canonical, because it was procured more by the importunity of the King, then by the voices of Clergie, or People; and it was noted as presumption and indiscretion in him, to take vpon him to guide the Sterne, who was scarce fit to handle an Oare, and that being (kild only in worldly affaires, hee did not tremble to ascend vnto that sacred top of so great dignitie. Where to agree the reports of two learned Monks who then liued, (for such Authors onely we will heerein follow, as shall bee vnpartiall) * one of which testifies, that the Pope about that time calling a Councell at *Tours* (and the King giuing Licence to his Arch-bishops and Bishops to goe thither) *Becket* secretly iurued his Arch-bishopricke, which hee had receiued from the Kings hand, into the Popeshands. The * other saith, *Becket* himselfe confessed, that, not Canonical Election did call him, but publick power droue him in, nor the will of God, but mans pleasure, placed him in the roome. Howsoeuer, these being memorable arguments of the Kings exceeding loue; let vs now see how this great Prelate endeouored to deserue it, or how hee chanced to lose it.

(12) Great and flourishing was the state of the English Church & Common-wealth at this season; the quiet of both which, the King studied & hoped to establish by the vndoubted assistance of his great fauourite *Becket*, whose counsell & authority he knew might much further his princely designs, especially touching affaires of the Church, and abuses of Church men, which then were grown to a dangerous height: whereof let vs heare the Monke of *Naborough* speake: It was declared in the Kings presence, how that Clergy had committed aboue a hundred murders vnder his reign; wherewith the King highly offended, hee was in punishing of them, when hee too vehemently; but the blame of the Kings too much earnestness, must lie on the Prelates, in as much as they gaue the cause thereof: for, whereas sacred Canons ordaine, that Clerks found guilty, not onely of heinous and gricuous finnes, but also of lesser, should bee degraded, and thousands of such were in the Church of England, like innumerable chaffe amongst a little good cornes, yet very few such, for these many yeeres haue beene depriued. The Prelates forsooth, while they bestirre themselves, rather to uphold the liberties & dignities of Clerks, then to chastice, and cut off their vices, thinke they doe God and his Church good seruice, in protecting from publicke Discipline such heinous offenders, whom (by duty of their places) they ought to correct according to the Canons censure, whereby they through their impunity, hauing liber-

ty to doe what they list, haue neither feare of God, (whose iudgements they thinke is farre off) neither of men in authority, sit on the one side they Prelates neglect to reforme them, and on the other side, they are thus exempt by their order from the temporall iurisdiction.

(13) This being the state of the Church and Realme, wherein some were so miured without remedy, and others so iniurious without coercion, as if neither sort were in condition of Subiects; the King (who was a man of excellent Wifeedom, Constancy, and Zeale) tooke especial care of quickning the publicke Discipline, and the rigour of ancient lawes, which thus lay neglected; for which end hee had seileld choise Ministers of Iustice through all parts of his lands, and vpon complaints brought him by his Subiects of the remissions, and other defects of his Iudges, hee accordingly by his princely prouidence applied remedies, and chastised the delinquents. The like remissions (to censure it no harder) was complained of in his Spirituall Iudges, occasioned by a murder, committed by a Priest of *Sarum* Diocesse, whom the Archbishop commanded to be depriued, & put into an Abbey, whereby he was freed from sharper punishment, intended by the Kings Iusticiaries: with which (and some other like affronts of his Archbishop) the King conceiued no little displeasure, as requiring, that Iustice should be ministered to all alike without partiality, & seeing this apparently to tend vnto the ruine of all roiall gouernment: the Archbishop on the other side, stood no lesse peremptory on the immunities of his Clergy and See: yea so farre, as that hee challenged from the Crown (to the Kings great offence) the custody of *Rochester* Castle and other Forts, which the King for securing his state had returned into his owne hands.

(14) This maine controuerfise betwixt *Regnum*, & *Sacerdotium*, the Crowne and the Mitre, *Houeden* (who then also liued) thus summarily deliucrs: The King would that all such of the Clergy as were deprehened in any Robberie, Murder, Felonie, burning of houses, and the like, should bee tried and aduised in his temporal Courts, as Lay-men were: against which, the Archbishops resolution was, that all Clergy men offending should bee tried onely in the Spirituall Courts, and by men of their owne coate; who if they were convicted, should at first be onely depriued of their office and benefice: but if they should againe be guilty of the like, they should then bee aduised at the Kings pleasure. The King finding himselfe to bee hereby but a Demi-King, depriued of all Soueraignty ouer one half-deale of his Kingdom, and perceiving *Becket*'s stiffnesse, in thus contesting with his Soueraigne, to bee no way mollifiable by whatsoever his old fauours, or fresh persuasions; notwithstanding resolved to put nothing in execution, which should not first bee ratified and strengthened with consent of his Bishops of whose ready assent to so iuit demands hee had no cause to doubt: who therupon assembling at *Westminster*, the King, tooke both offence there, at the Archbishops thwarting his desires, and occasion also to establish sundry other Articles, which hee called his Grandfathers Customes, peremptorily vrging *Becket* to yeeld therunto, without any such reservation of sauing in all things his order, and right of the Church, wherewith he would haue limited his assent.

(15) The points in those Ordinances which the Archbishop principally stucke at, as * himselfe did set them downe in his letters to the Pope, and his owne Suffragan Bishops within the Diocesse of *Canterbury*, were principally these: 1. That none should appeale to the See of *Rome* for any cause whatsoever, without the Kings licence. 2. That it should not be lawfull for any Archbishop or Bishop to depart the Realme, and repaire to the Pope vpon his summons, without the Kings licence. 3. That no Bishop should excommunicate any one whomsoever, holding of the King in chiefe, or put any other of his officers vnder Interdict, without the Kings licence. 4. That Clerks criminous should bee tri-

Idem Henricus.
lib. 1. cap. 1.Houeden.
M. Fox.

M. Fox. p. 264.

Nubrig. l. 2. c. 16.
fine detecta.Grosus fil.
ad An. 1163. c. 1.
refert iura Cui.
Ecclesie reuocare.

Jbidem.

Roger Houeden.
ad An. 1163.

Nubrigus.

Ger. Dorobor.

Points which the
Archbishop
would not con-
sent vnto.
* Ep. Tho. ad Alex.
3. P. P. Ep. Th. ad
Suffr. suos apud
Roge. Houed.

King Henry pro-
ceeds the conquest
of Ireland.

Girald. Camb. de
expug. lib. 2.

Annalib. Hibber.
apud Camb. p. 794.
An. Dom. 1166.

* Annalib. Hibber.
ibid.

Girald. Camb.
lib. 2. cap. 1. in
Hiber. expug.

* Poligemie, &c.
Polydor. Virid. 13.
* Girald. Camb.
lib. 2. expug. lib. 2. c. 7.
Edmund Complacit
apud Hist. of Ire-
land lib. 2. c. 2. O. S.
Rossus Warwic.
MS.
* Comitan. lib. 2. c. 1.
MS.

idem. ibid.

Bulle Stadium.
apud Mat. Paris.

Refusar. Warwic.
MS.

Gul. Nubrig. lib.
2. c. 26.

(46) Henry therefore, among so many perplexities rising out of the Archbishops murder, saw no way to ready for the calming his own perturbations, or for the averting mens thoughts from the consideration of that scandalous tragédie, as to undertake some great and noble enterprize, which now offered it self very seasonably. For Ireland, a verie spacious and plentiful land, and lying commodiously for the vies of the English, burned in it self with ciuill diuisions, kindled among the petty Kings and Princes thereof: while *Rotherick the Great*, called *O Conor Dui*, Prince of *Connaght*, abusing his power and the aduantage of the times, to the oppression of his Neighbours, sought to make himselfe the vniuersall King thereof, hauing already inuaded the Title & Seile of KING AND MONARCH OF IRELAND. And this his purpose was much aduanced by the fatal and familiar error of proceedings in like cases: for the Irish Princes, either through distrust or pride, forbearing to vniite their forces against the common enemy, while each prouides for one, they are all as it were, ouercome.

(47) Moreouer *Dermot Mac Murrough* (in that time of the Irish *Pentarchie*, or five-fold Kingdome) hauing secretly stolne away the wife of *Rotherick* (a light woman, and consenting or plotting rather, & vrging the rape it self) added to *Rothericks* ambition, a iust desire of reuenge, for so notable, impudent, and publicke iniurie, so much the more odious in *Dermots* person, for that hee was old: neither was this all; for the causes of this change were higher.

(48) The onely disposer and transferor of Kingdomes is God, & in Ireland to moue him to offence (without which no Kingdome is transferred) against the people thereof, all such finnes abounded, as commonly forgoe the greatest changes: for not onely the manners of the Nation were extremely corrupted, but the Christian faith it selfe decayed; barbarisme ouerrunning the one, and * more then superstitions the other. But it may seeme by some * Authors, that *King Henries* particular inducements to that Action, were both an ancient title vnto that Kingdome, deriued from his ancestors (the kings of England) for many ages before him; and * many vn-sufferable wrongs (by their Piracies) vnto the English Nation, buying and selling their Captiues, and using Turkish tyranny on their bodies: which made the Irish Clergy them selfes confesse, that they had deserued no other, then that their land should be transferred to that Nation whom they had so cruelly handled. Notwithstanding, *King Henry*, who knew how great and dangerous tumults the Popes had raised on small occasions, thought his way would be much easier, if he went onward with the Popes good fauour, which hee easily obtained (so liberal is his holinesse of that which is none of his) for a fee; viz. a penny yearly to be paid to *Saint Peter* of every house in Ireland. Touching which point, *Rossus of Warwic* (no Protestant, I assure you,) saith, That *Englands King is not bound to rely on the Popes graunt for Ireland, nor yet to pay that tax, because hee had claime to that Kingdome by an hereditary right*: and that the Pope had no temporall interest therein (as his fauorites pretend) the often-mentioned Monke of *Newborough* can tell vs, who saith, that *Nunquam externa subiacit diuini, Ireland was neuer subiect to any foraine command*.

(49) God Almighty therefore did now put it into the heart of *Henry*, for the reforming of that kingdome, to make a Conquest thereof, hauing in his infinite wisdom before hand fitted all circumstances needfull to concur, for inducing 'so warie and frugal a Prince to such an enterprize, which thus tooke beginning.

(50) *Dermot Mac Murgh*, being in possession of his fatal *Helen* (the adulterous wife of *Rothericke*) was pursued so eagerly with the reuenging sword of

his enemy (who, howsoeuer wounded in heart with the abuse of his Bed, reioiced in the colour and occasion ministred thereby, for him to scile vpon the flourishing Prouinces of *Leinster*) as hee was driuen to flie from place to place, and at the length to quitte his kingdome also, the subiects whereof his tyrannic and vices had vnited, in their affections toward him. Thus desperate of help at home, his last deliberations were to draw in foraine aides, the necessity of his case requiring it; and for that purpose, finally resolues to repaire to the court of the wife and potent *Henric*, King of England, being then in *Aquitain*: neither could *Dermot* but knowe, that it had heeretofore bene in *Henries* designs, at such time as hee ment to subdue it for *William of Anglou*, his youngest brother, and also, because his present Dominions did halfe (as it were) enuiron it. In which hopes he was not decieued; for *Henric* listened therunto verie willingly, as to a thing which hee had indeede a some yeeres before projected.

(51) King *Dermot* therefore was heard in his suite. But, because the thing, as at that time, neither seemed great enough, for such a Prince as *Henric* to undertake directly, nor as yet was held sufficiently discovered to his hand; that therefore the Ice might be broken by inferior means, and as well the conueniences, as inconueniences, founded to the depth, (without engaging the roiall person, name, or power,) it was by the Kings letters permitted to *Dermot* (the exiled Prince) to draw what * aduenturers, or voluntaries, either the commiseration of his estate, or other respects, of pietie, profit, or delight in armes, could allure to the action. Now whether it were, for that he, whose Countreis lay toward the coasts of *Wales*, (and within ken vpon a cleere day) by commodity thereof might entertaine intelligence, as well as traffike, with the inhabitants of those parts; or, for that the fame of their Cheualrie did inuite; or, for that his acquaintance at his arriual grew there first; or, for that these and many other circumstances mette in this accident: sure it is, that *Dermot* raised his first, and principall succours from among the English Colonies there.

(52) The Welsh had then in their hands a valiant Gentleman of Norman race, one *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, who by *Gilbert de Clare* was entrusted with the defence of the towne of *Cardigan*, but through * treachery the Towne being surpris'd, *Robert* was also deliuered vp to *Rhese ap Gruffydd*, Prince of *South Wales*, who would hearken to no other endements of his liberty, but onely, that he should for euer abandon his possessions in *Wales*. Whereupon (the opportunity of *Dermots* quarrel giuing hopes of new fortunes) immediately hee entered into contract with the Irish King, promising by a certaine day to come to his succour, with as many Voluntaries, as his remaining fortunes, or the hope of the voyage could stirre: which he * did accordingly performe, leauing it very disputable, whether with more successe or courage. But *Dermot* well knowing that the fortunes of this Gentleman (to whose valor nothing seemed impossible) were viable to vndergo the whole weight of the vnknowne worke, had formerly deale with that renowned Lord, *Richard* of the house of *Clare*, * Earle of *Pembrooke*, furnam'd *Strang-bow*: the man whom the Fate of Ireland did expect.

(53) *Dermots* persuasions to the Earle were of this kind: That the enterprize, besides the facultie thereof, was full of pietie, honour, iustice, and commoditie: That it appeared so to King *Henry* himselfe, by whose leaue hee was free to gather what forces he could: That hee was driuen out by the cruell ambition of Neighbours, & * treacherie of wicked Subiects. That *Leinster* was a Kingdome, and though but a part, yet cleere-ly the best and richest part of Ireland. That multitudes offered themselves to his aid, but his cares were not onely for a Generall to lead them, but for one to whom hee might leaue his kingdome also.

Camb. p. 794.

Girald. Camb.

Girald. Camb. lib. 2. c. 2.

Hiber. expug.

* Mat. Paris. Ann. Dom. 1166.

Dermot. lib. 2. c. 2.

idem. ibid.

* Annalib. Hibber. ibid.

Girald. Camb. lib. 2. c. 2.

Hiber. expug.

* Poligemie, &c. Polydor. Virid. 13.

* Girald. Camb. lib. 2. expug. lib. 2. c. 7.

Edmund Complacit apud Hist. of Ireland lib. 2. c. 2.

O. S. Rossus Warwic. MS.

* Comitan. lib. 2. c. 1. MS.

idem. ibid.

Bulle Stadium. apud Mat. Paris.

Refusar. Warwic. MS.

Gul. Nubrig. lib. 2. c. 26.

* Annalib. Hibber. apud Camb. p. 794.

Girald. Camb. lib. 2. c. 2.

Hiber. expug.

* Poligemie, &c. Polydor. Virid. 13.

* Girald. Camb. lib. 2. expug. lib. 2. c. 7.

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* Annalib. Hibber. apud Camb. p. 794.

Girald. Camb. lib. 2. c. 2.

Hiber. expug.

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* Girald. Camb. lib. 2. expug. lib. 2. c. 7.

Edmund Complacit apud Hist. of Ireland lib. 2. c. 2.

O. S. Rossus Warwic. MS.

* Comitan. lib. 2. c. 1. MS.

also: That the Earle was he, as the onely man, in whose person all the respects of birth, honour, bounty, valour, youth and fortunes did happily meete: That the Earle (in his conceit) did dwell but narrowly (considering what hee was worthe of) pent-vp in the straights of an Earldomes title, for whom a great Kingdome was not great. That they who would not allow *Leinster* for a kingdome, did forget, that *England* once was brooken into lesser Rates; and if *Dermot* were not a King, neither then were *Ells*, *Cissa*, *Vffa*, *Sigbert*, *Crida*, and the rest in the Saxon seven-headed government: that the quantity of Dominion made more or lesse strong, but not more or lesse a King. That he was rightfull King of *Leinster*, as Sonne and Heire to *Murgh King of Leinster*: that if hee must forgoe his inheritance, it should be to such as had done him no wrong, and were worthy of it; to *Richard Strong-bow* and his followers, and not to *Rothericke* and Rebels. That hee was not vnking'd, though vnkingdome'd: that *Eua* his daughter (*Eua* the pearle and Harre of *Ireland*) should indeed be *Eua* to his enemies to bring vpon them death, and iust confusion: that yet in defeating the Tyrant *Rotherick* of his hopes by plaiting *Earle Richard* and his Forces, hee should prouide for his Country, not destroy it. That if it did fall out otherwise, yet his disloiall people had their iust deserts, who obiecting vices to their Sovereigns, did themselves commit vile treasons. Indeed (quoth he) I was neuer such a King, as that I was not also a Man. But for those matters betwene God and me, here is now no place to account, for though his iustice hath found me out, yet his mercy hath left me more friends at home, then the number & measure of my finnes deserue: My quarrell is most iust, as against most wicked rebels and vlturpers: Restore me then (my Lord) by your puissance to my native soile, and my lawfull rights therein: restore with me Religion and Discipline to the ancient splendor thereof, which was not greater in any Realme about vs then in *Ireland*: reduce the stray, enlighten our ignorance, polish our rudeness, and let not such abundant matter of merite and immortal glory escape you. God himselfe will prosper the enterprize: sholy Church hath long since approued it: and vpon such Authors what can miscarry? And though in this noble and Christian courage nothing can weigh so much, (and these I see worth mightily) yet to satisfie all respects, Thou shalt haue far larger territories then here Thou canst possesse, and goodly lands to distribute for reward among thy friends and followers. My last offers now shall not shew a more desire to vithy forces, then aloue to thy person & vertues. They are not trifles I propoſe, but that of which God himselfe doth seeme to me to haue laid the ground; seeing it is his holy will that thou at this time shouldst bee without a wife. Know thou then, that I haue that one daughter *Eua*, the heire of my Crowne, and comfort of my age: let thine owne eye tell thee how faire and worthy: this I dare auouch, that thou wilt thinke far broader seas wel crost, for view of so honest beauty: the in the first blossome of her youth, a vertuous virgin, and by both Parents borne of Princes, shall at thine arriual, with this right hand, bee made thine, and with her after my death, my whole realme, and other my rights whatsoeuer: which were they infinitely more; (despite not such loue, nor the alliance of one distressed, but neuertheless a King,) I would repute them farre too little for such a sonne in law: who though thy selfe as yet no King, art come of Kings, and it is my whole and last ambition, that I may liue to make thee one. The Earle accepted the conditions, resolute to serue *Dermot* againe, and for that purpose bound himselfe by soleme contract, to the full performance of his part within a certaine time.

(53) *Dermot* hauing thus negotiated his affaires and set it in so good forwardnes, while his friends in *England* prepared themselves and their Forces, left hee should seeme to rely vpon foraine aides, and so to diminish with them the reputation of his owne valour and alliances at home; hee failes backe into his Country, carrying with him the promises of confederates, and there; both by his presence and persuasions did the best hee could to facilitate the entrance of the English, whose honourable entertainements, deuotions, ciuility, riches, valours, wisdom, and victorious greatnesse he spared not to celebrate, as instruments aduancing his own designs: which raised no little expectation, mixt with contrary affections of desire and feare.

(54) The next year, when the season grew fit for an Army to take the field, *Robert Fitz-Stephen* accompanied with *Maurice Fitz-Gerald* his halfe brother by the furer side, & * a competent number of Souldiers, repoling (vnder God) their chief hope in their swords and courages, set saile for *Ireland*; and in the beginning of May came on shore, at a place called by the Irish, *Bunn* (by the English at this day commonly, *Bagg* and *Bunn*) which in our language signifies *Sacred*: a word which (so much as names may be prefaces of things) did as it were hallo the attempt of the English with a lucky and gracious omination, whereof the Inhabitants at this present retain this rime.

At the head of *Bagg* and *Bunn*, *Ireland* was lost and won.

(55) The next day after, *Maurice de Prendergast* also, with * other men of Armes, and many Archers in two shippes arriued there, being parcell of *Fitz-Stephans* Forces and Companions of his Fortunes, who ioining themselves together, immediately marcht to the City of *Weisford* vnder their Banners, and that in the greatest brauery they could, (the Knights and Men at Armes in their Coates of Arms & Colours) to draw thereby now at the first the greater reputation to themselves, and with opinion so gotten, to fill vp the finalnes of their numbers: in which manner affailing the City, the Irish therein rendred themselves, and in reward of the seruice, being also * according to capitulation, and encouragement of others, who were to proceed in this warre, *Dermot*, to whose vie the English Generall had taken it, bestowed the City it selfe, and the Country about vpon *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, at his pleasure to be disposed off: and there the first Colony of our Nation was planted, which hath euer since innumereably maintained their abode among innumerable changes in the world, retaining at this day the ancient attire of the English, and the language also it selfe, though brackish with the mixture of vulgar Irish, which therefore by a distinct name is called *Weisford* speech, current onely in that City, & the County about.

(56) But *Robert Fitz-Stephen* thus aduanced, for his more assurance, beganne to raise a * Town at *Carricke*, making the place which nature had already fortified, much more by Art defensible. This entrie into *Ireland* being by him now made (vnder the name of *Henry King of England*) and the successe exceeding hope, *Richard Strong-bow* receiuing aduertisement from *Dermot*, and the new Lord of *Weisford*, of all occurrences; thought fitt, first to dispatch * some supplies to *Fitz-Stephen*, which about the beginning of May, vnder the conduct of *Raimund le groſſe* (a Gentleman of the Earles family) were accordingly sent: and after *Raimund* the Earle himselfe in the same yeere set forth: His Forces were about * two hundred men of Armes, and a thousand other Souldiers, with whom he came late to Anchor in the Bay of *Waterford*, vpon the Vigil of *Saint Bartholomew*, August 23. Ann. 1171. *Earle Richard* the Generall, knowing that expedie did carry with it terrour and aduantage, presently marcht to *Porthlargo*, (the

Robert Fitz-Stephen said into *Ireland*.
* *Trigunia*, *Mili-tibus*.

Mamfe, *Clonmel*, in *Custed*, *Patric*, *White*.
An. D. 1170
They were Souldiers of all sorts 300.
Stowes Annals, ad An. Dom. 1170.

* *Manus*, *Cr. Clonmel*, *ibid*.
* The name of *Pendergast* yet remains in *Ireland*: taken first (as seemeth) to be a Towne of that name in *Wen-brookshire*.
* *Tendergast*, *Boat*, *Armour*, was *Gully*, a *Saturny* *Star*, as my learned Friend, *M. Rolin* (whose notes haue giuen mee much light in this King's life, and diuers others) himselfe obserued in the *Friscs Church* at *Clonmel*.
* *Girald. Camb.* in *expug. Hiber.* *Camb. p. 728*.
The first English Colony.

Weisford speech.

* *Camb. ibid*.

Earle Richard prepared for *Ireland*.

* *Annal. Hibber.* apud *Camb. p. 795*.
Raimund sent before with supplies.
* *Annal. Hibber.* apud *Camb. p. 728*.
An. 1171.
Chron. Regum Normie apud *Camb.*
Stowes Annals apud *Camb.*
Annal. Hibber. apud *Camb. p. 728*.
p. 1170. ut patet *ibid*. ad An. 1170.

Earle Richards
first attempts
Waterford taken

He married the
Lady Eua.

Earle Richard
marched th
Dublin.

* Camd. p. 752.

Dublin taken.

Dermot King of
Ireland dieth.
* Annal. Ulster.
p. 614.

* 1099. P. 1099.
Nic. Trivet.
p. 83.
* Girald. Camb.
cap. 13. lib. 1.

* Idem lib. 1. c. 19.

Girald. Camb.

(the Irish name of *Waterford*) and upon the very next day tooke the City by force, and sacrificed the armed Inhabitants to the reuenge of *Dermot*, so the rather to make room, and security for themselves, to the exceeding terrour, and iust dismay of all about, as they who found, that howeouer the preence was to reuenge *Dermot*, the purpose was to seat the English for euer.

(57) But *Dermot*, Author of this calamity to his Nation, resolute in his purpose, in full complement of his Contract, doth openly in solemn manner bestow his promised daughter *Eua*, vpon the Conquerour in marriage, with his owne right hand giuing her in the Church: at which time, the famous *Strong-bow* did not celebrate his particular Wedding-day, but the indissoluble knot of the Irish allegiance to the English Soueraignie, with the same Ring which circled his Viues finger, affiancing that Iland to this our Country.

(58) The Marriage performed, it was far from the mind of the Earle to spend much time in reuels and feasts, but consults with his men of warre what was next to be done for the settling his Father in law King *Dermot*, and for finishing the Conquest which was now so happily begunne, in two severall parts of Ireland at once. Leaving therefore a sufficient Garrison to make good the places already gained, & to secure the lading of fresh supplies, he sets forward with his selected Companies, to whose victorious weapons the whole Realme lay open, so farre forth, that *Rotherick* himself was very well contented (notwithstanding his lately usurped, & swelling title of Monarch of Ireland) to hold himselfe within the bogs and fastenesses of his peculiar Realme, the wild, and mountainous *Connaught*; meane while, *Strongbow* keeps on his way ouer the bosome of Ireland to the principall City thereof, *Dublin*, taking in (as he marcheth) all the places about, and securing himselfe by pledges, of their loyalty, or otherwise, as he saw most fitt. In which journey, pleased with the delight and fertile situation of *Kildare*, he resolved there to settle his abode, and to erect a seate to his posterity.

The conquest of *Dublin* being speedily, and most happily achieved, not long after, *Dermot Mac Murrough*, Father in law to the Earle (whom the Irish for his affection to the English, call *Dermot Ninn-gall*, that is, *Dermot the Strangers friend*) breathed his last at *Ferrydyng*, (splenis derum.)

(59) The fame of these successes waisting ouer the Irish seas, and comming to the King, made him resolute to passe in person thither, that he might haue the honor of the Conquest; and not approving such forwardnes in the Earle, who (as some say) went against his expresse commandement, (and indeed * *Giraldus*, who liued at that time, calls his leaue no better then an Ironicalle leaue) and for that hee knew not to what insolvency such faire fortune might in time allure, as also for that they seemed to handle the *Natives* too rigorously; * thereupon hee forbids by his Proclamations, any vessel, to carry any thing out of his Dominions into Ireland, and commands all English to returne before Easter, and leaue off their attempts, or their estates in England should be seized for the King. By which Edict these affaires were brought into fearefull extremity, which was changed into better condition by the trauell of *Heruicus de Monte Marisco*, on the behalfe of the Earle, and the aduenturers, who finding the King in *Glocestershire* with an Army for Ireland, appeared his displeasure vpon these termes: That the King should haue the head City of the Kingdom, *Dublin*, with the adiacent Cantredes, with all the Coast townes and Castles, the rest to remaine to the Conquerours to hold of the King, and of his Heires, and so to be under his protection, as Subjects ought, and as they were before; which subiection it seemed to the King they ment to haue renounced.

(60) The Kings goodly Nauy lay in *Milford* haven, to which as hee iourned, hee thundered against

the Welsh Nobility, comming to entertaine him, for suffering *Strongbow* to depart: At last being imbarke, he had a faire Gale which set him safe in Ireland with all his Forces at *Waterford*, where first hee commits to prison *Robert Fitz-Stephen*, whom the Citizens presented bound, hauing held him in custody, vnder color of doing good seruice, because hee had entred Ireland without the Kings particular leaue; yet soon after the King released him, but deprived him of *weissford* and the territories. Then takes he the hostages of such petty Kings, and principall persons of the Irish as repaired, dismissing them in honourable sort, meaning to winne them by gentle, and not exasperating courses; and marching through *Offryrie* to *Dublin*, he takes *Rotherick* the King of *Connaughts* homage by *Hugh Lacie*, and *William Fitz-Aldein*: lastly, at *Dublin* he kept his Christmas in Royall Rayle, which to behold, very many of the Irish Princes came thither.

(61) Mindfull now of his duty to God, the Iland being calme, and silent through the preence of such a mighty Monarch, the most noble King of England, and triumphant of Ireland (as mine Author (Ileth him) cauleth a Synode to be holden at *Castles* for reformation of the Irish Church, where amongst sundry other constitutions, to which the Irish Clergy did willingly submit, it was decreed, That all the Church-lands, and their possessions should be altogether free from the exaction of secular men, & that from thenceforth, all Diuine things should be handled in euery part of Ireland in such sort, as the Church of England handleth them. For (saith the Constitution) "it is most iust, and meete, that as Ireland hath by Gods mercy obtained a Lord, and King out of England, so also that from thence, they should receive a better forme of life, and manners, then here- tofore they vfed."

(62) The King continuing his politicke ieaousies, and thinking *Strongbow* to be as yet too great, draws from his dependency *Raimund*, *Atlo Cogan*, *William Makarel*, and other of the best Capitaines, & makes them his owne by bounty. But before hee could fully establish that Kingdome (the inseparable euil fate thereof, which would neuer suffer it to enioy the blessed benefite of exact ciuility) other affaires which hee esteemed more necessary, call him away, and therefore hauing left *Hugh Lacie* at *Dublin*, hee sets saile for England vpon Easter Monday, and landed happily at Saint *Dauids* in *Pembrooke-shire*, from whence with all speed hee posteth into *Normandie*.

(63) In *Normandy* there attended for his arriual two Cardinals, sent as Legates at his owne request, for taking his purgation concerning the death of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, whereof, vpon oath that hee was no way consenting to that cruel, and sacrilegious reuenge, and declaring withall his infinite sorrow for hauing in his anger giuen occasion by rash words for others to doe that deepe, and giuing further oath to performe enioined penances, he was by them absolved. The condition of his absolutions were, That hee should at his owne charge maintaine two hundred Souldiers for an whole yeere for defence of the holy land. That hee should suffer Appelles to be made freely. That hee should reuoke all customes introduced to the preiudice of the Churches liberty. That hee should restore and make vp the possessions of the Church of *Canterbury*. That hee should freely receiue all such as were in banishment for *Becketts* cause, &c. Not long after *Thomas* was canonized by Pope *Alexander*, and so not onely the victorie clearly giuen him against King *Henry*, but a triumph also.

(64) Now beganne the wombe of rebellion, and vnnaturall conspiracies to disclose the mischiefes which were ordained to exercise this right redoubted King and Warriour, hatched here at home by the malice (some say) of *Eleanor* his Queene, at such time as hee was absent in Ireland, so that as * one writes

And, the King Henry doing in

Girald. Camb. lib. 1. c. 19.

Religious theol. lib. 1. c. 19.

* Idem cap. 13.

* Earle de Northfolke, who was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury.

* Earle de Northfolke, who was killed at the battle of Tewkesbury.

Girald. Camb. lib. 1. c. 19.

Math. Paris. lib. 1. c. 19.

Math. Paris. lib. 1. c. 19.

Math. Paris. lib. 1. c. 19.

* Math. Paris. lib. 1. c. 19.

writes, God stirred up the Kings owne bowells against himselfe. Causes of this vnhappy diffention, there were many: First a Queene and Wife, violentie vindicative for wrong done vnto her Bed by the King, who was immoderate addicted to variety of lous: then Ambition in an euill-naturd Child, and lastlie, pernicious Actors and instruments, who, for their owne ends, nourished this cursed mischief; so as if we should out of our flories recapitulate the fullall occasions taken by the sonne against the father, wee should rather shew you the colours, then the causes: For none of these causes which his Son pretended, seemed great enough with men that feare God, to beare out such continuall diuisions as followed.

(65) The head of this conspiracy was verie great, and iustly verie terrible: for on the side of King *Henry* the sonne, there were the Kings of France and Scotland, * *Richard* and *Geffrey*, two yonger sonnes of the King of England, whom by their mothers persuasions they forooke, to follow the yonger King; *David* the Scottish Kings brother, *Philip* Earle of Flanders, (a Peere of France, and a potent Prince), *Matthew* Earle of *Bologna*, *Theobald* Earle of *Blais*, *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, *Thomas* Earle of *Leicester*, *Hugh* Bigot Earle of *Norfolke*, *Roger* *Mowbray*, and other great ones, in great numbers, so as nothing seemed wanting, but onely a good cause, which (such as it was) Queene *Eleanor*, like an *Alecco*, kept alive, so much as lay in her, with perpetuall fomentations. And indeed the scope of these confederats did require no lesse a combination, it being to depole the Father, whom it pleased them (for countenance of their vngodly armes) to repute no King, because hee had crowned his sonne.

(66) Though nothing then could come more greuous, to the bleeding heart of a most louing father, then such a warre; yet not to bee vnprouided, hee (like a fouldier) prepares himselfe, when faire meanes faile, and found multitudes ready to liue, and die with him; the indignitie of the vnnaturall reuolt, did so much inflame all honest courages, which acknowledged him their Soueraigne.

(67) The particular accidents of the wars would fill a volume. At one time *Normandie*, *Guien*, and *Britaine* were invaded by the confederats in France, and at the same time *Cumberland* by the Scots. But the King of England had friends in all those parts, and himselfe hearing that *Vernuil* was * besieged by the French King in person, hee beganne at last to kindle, hauing like a sleeping Lion, sitten still all that while, and (for that the place had, vpon parole, agreed to render if aid came not by a day) hee arriued to their succour within the time, * sending King *Lewis* word that hee should gette him forth of *Normandie* with speed, or he would without faile, come, and see how hee did vpon that verie day. *Lewis*, meaning nothing less then to put his owne Crowne in danger, while hee sought one for his sonne in law, and therefore in all the warre-time, would neuer set vp his rest vpon a battell, but willing otherwise to doe to King *Henry* the father, all the harme hee could, by countenancing the faction, and supporting the reuolted malecontents with his best meanes, and knowing King *Henry* was a slower and terrible Prince when he came indeede to fight, immediately raised his siege, and with as much hast as hee might, abandoned the place * leaving his Camp, tents, and warlike prouisions behind, and retired into France.

(68) And though King *Henry*, beginning now indeede to shake his dreadfull sword, had many faile daies of his enemies, mixt with some losses both of men and other strengths, though not great, nor many, in regard of the ouerthrowes which on his behalfe were giuen: For that in *Britaine* his forces had in battell vanquished *Hugh* Earle of *Chester*, & *Ralph* de *Foulers*, and slaine about one thousand and fife hundred of their army; & in England, *Reignald* Earle of *Cornwall*, and *Richard* de *Lucie*, had in bloudie battell * ouerthrowne the insolent Earle of *Leicester*, and

* entered the towne of *Leicester* by force; and that he had the persons of the said * *Hugh* *Lupus* Earle of *Chester*, *Ralph* de *Fulgiers*, and verie many other prisoners of especiall note and Nobility: yet *Lewis* the French King mouing a parole, the father desirous to vie the good fortune of war, to reclaim his rebels, was so willing to make peace, that hee might seeme to haue outgone expectation in the qualitie of his offers, but through such wicked persuasions, as were vfed, preuailed not.

(69) A violent firebrand in this diuision, was *Robert* Earle of *Leicester*, being matched with a Ladie no lesse proud, and stomachous then himselfe; who at this meeting, was not contented to haue affronted King *Henry* the father, on the behalfe of his yonger Lord, and Master the sonne, but (after many words of reproach) is said to haue laid his daring hand vpon his sword, with purpose to haue stricken the King, had hee not been with-holden: (and where such spirits had to doe, it is easie to gesse what kinds of counsell were like to be embraced and pursued,) hauing forsaken the father, not for that the others cause was more honest, but for that (saith *Thomas* *Walsingham*) the father King, labouring to enlarge the regall power, sought to set his foote vpon the neckes of the proud and haughtie.

(70) But God, who ment to chastise the King, and not to deliuer him vp into his enemies hands, destroyed those hopes, that moued the sonnes to their vnnaturall attempts; for it was not long after, when newes came into *Normandy*, that his faithfull friends and seruants, * *Richard* de *Lucie*, and *Humfrey* de *Bohun* his Constable of England, together with the powers of *Reignald* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings vnle, *Robert* Earle of *Glocester*, and *William* Earle of *Arundell*, not farre from *Burie*, courageously encountered with the Earle of *Leicester*, and his * *Flemings*, of whom about * fife thousand were slaine, or taken, and among the prisoners was the Earle himself, and * his *Amazonian* Countesse, whose persons at his commandement were not long after, brought ouer into *Normandie*.

(71) This * great victorie and other good success, did so much aduantage the King, that *Lewis* beginning to distrust the enterprize, fought for fixe monethes truce for himselfe, and had it granted; but because there were yet in England, two principall men, * the Earle of *Norfolke*, and *Roger* *Mowbray*, which held out; hauing *Leicester* for their *Randenou*, and seat of warre, with no small numbers of partakers, notwithstanding that *Geffrey* (the Elect of *Lincolne*, the Kings base sonne) had taken two of *Mowbrays* Cattles, and done other good seruice for his Lord and Father, the truce serued the enimie for no other purpose but to breath, and to repaire himselfe.

(72) The father (of whom *Lewis* said, that hee seemed not to goe, but to flie, he went with such celerity from one place to Kingdome to another) in the meane while, recouers *Xaints* from *Richard* his violent sonne, weakening that partie by so much, and would haue weakened it farr more, but that aduertisements came post, declaring such matter, as made him speede into *Normandie*.

(73) Thither * came vnto him out of England, *Richard* (the Elect of *Winchester*) sent with all hast by the Kings Iustitaries, to lay open vnto him, the dangerous estate wherin the Realme at that time stood. For after that *Philip* Earle of *Flanders* had solemnely sworne to invade England, in supportation of yonger *Henries* quarrell, sundrie forces arriuing and ioining with *Hugh* Bigot Earle of *Norfolke*, had taken and spoiled the Citie of *Norwich*, and done otherwise much harme, whereby the yonger King and his faction had taken great encouragement, as if the die of warre were turned, and allwell the yonger King as the Earle of *Flanders*, were come with forces to the Coasts, there to transport for England: * *Moreouer*, *Robert* Earle *Ferrers* of *Derby* (who was slaine from

* Polyd. Virg.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Heneden.

* Math. Paris. lib. 1. c. 19.

* Roger de Housh.

* Polyd. Virg.

The Kings victorie in England being an ent.

* Roger de Housh. lib. 1. c. 19.

* Gallot guldam vocat. * Housh. and Polyd. Virg. saith 10000. were there slaine.

* Math. Paris. lib. 1. c. 19.

* Lewis King of France concludes a truce.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Math. Paris. lib. 1. c. 19.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Math. Paris. lib. 1. c. 19.

* Great new danger against the King.

* Reg. Housh.

from the father) had suddenly entred vpon *Nottin-gham*, burnt the towne, beaten out the Kings Garrison, slaine the people, and (enrich with spoile) retired to *Leicester*, whether about the same time, *Anketill Malorie* (Constable thereof) had also brought about two hundred prisoners taken at *Northampton*, which he (with slaughter of the like number of the Towns-men) had also suddenly surpris'd and taken: so that the Realme stood doubtfull, and in extreme perill; to the encrease whereof, *William King of Scots* (being deepe in the confederacy) invaded *England*, diuiding his Forces, himselfe with part waling *Northumberland*, and *Duncan* (a very cruell Capitaine) with the other destroying the western Borders.

King Henry
sailes into
Normandy.

(74) The Father wonderfully stirred herewith, leaves *Normandy* in as good assurance as the time would permit, and sends before him to the Ships, *Eleanor* his owne Queene, and Queene *Margaret* his sonnes wife, his sonne *Iohn*, &c. the Earle of *Leicester* and his Countesse, with many other prisoners, and a mighty Armie; but the winde changing, and hee compelled to stay in harbour at *Barbiselet* in *Normandy*, where hee had taken shipping, he is said (God touching his heart) to haue vttered these words with much remorse, in the presence of al; If my purpose in this voyage be for the peace of the Clergy and people, and if the King of heauen shall vouchsafe to quiet and calme these troubles at my arriual, then for his mercies sake wee beseech him to send vs a prosperous winde: But if he be against it, and hath reloued to visit the Kingdom of *England* with the rod of his fury, let him graunt mee neuer to touch the shore of that Country more. His Prayer thus vttered from the depth of soule, was secunded with a fresh perie of wind: whereupon setting saile, hee arriued safe the same day with all his Nauie at the Port of *Hampton* in *England*.

*Vira B. Th. l. 4. c. 5.
*Epist. ad Arch. Rauen. apud Housden.

*Reg. Housden. in l. 2. p. 308.

Mat. Paris, Ann. 1174.
Wulfingh, Nidrigensi, cap. 11.
Gerv. Dorob. &c.

*Apud Baron. An. Dom. 1174.

Mat. Paris, Reg. Housden, Tpodig. Neill, Hecfor Boetius, l. 3. l. c. 3. faith

(75) The next day he took his journey towards *Canterbury*, where (as it appeareth) the residue of his penance enjoined him at his Absolution, was to be performed. For, besides the fore-mentioned conditions, the Legates enjoined him (saith the Author of *Becket's* life) some other thing secretly, which came not to our knowledge; yea the Legates themselves wrote in their owne letters, that hee then promised to do (voluntarily, if yee list to beleue it) some things which was not fit for them to lay open in writing. And well might they be ashamed thereof; but if it were so vnfit to be written, how vnfit was it to be imposed on such a Soueraigne Prince? what it was, let *Housden* report. The King comming towards the Church, where the late Archbishop was buried, clad all in wollen, went three miles barefooted, informing, that the very ground where hee went, was bloody, as was evidently seene, much blood running from his tender feet which were cut with the hard stones. Neither yet was this the worst; for after all this, He receiued Discipline at the hands of the Bishops, of a great many Priests, and of the Monks. Gervasius names Abbots also, whereby appears, that euery seuerall fort were to haue a hand in that seruice. *Matthew Paris* can tell you more plainly what that Discipline was: viz. he receiued the Discipline of rods on his bare flesh, receiving of euery religious man, (a great multitude of them being there gathered) 3. or 5. strokes a peece: whence we may easily beleue, *Baronius* and his * Author spake within compass, who acknowledge hee receiued 80. lathes. To such height was the Papall tyranny and pride grown towards those of whom God had said expressly, Touch not mine Anointed.

(76) Yet some Monkes of that age, attribute the happy and great successe which ensued, to the reconciliation which King Henry thus made with God for the blood of *Thomas*, because it pleased God to deliuer his enemy *William King of Scots* into the hands of his souldiers about that very time, & did also with stormes beat backe into *France* his dis-

obedient sonne the young King, being now vnder saile for *England*, scattering the whole Fleet, and almost sinking it with tempest:

(77) The Kings other actions till his next returne into *Normandy*, which was not long after, (because *Lewis King of France*, and his sonne in law the young King Henry, the head to which all this putrified humour drew, with the Earle of *Flanders* had laid a strong siege to the City of *Rouen*) * *Thomas Walsingham* comprehends in these few wordes; He tamed his Rebels, put his enemies to flight, seized on their fortresses. And so hauing in a manner miraculously quieted the Realme, hee takes with him the King of *Scotland*, the Earles of *Leicester* and *Chester*, with other his chiefe Prisoners * (whom hee after wards first imprisoned at *Cain* in *Normandy*, & then at *Faleis*) but leauing his seditious wife behind him vnder straight custody, hee arriues with his puifance in *Normandy*, which being vnder tooode in the Confederates Campe, the same * brake vp, and first setting fire on all the engines of warre, retreated into *France* in such sort, that the *English* souldiers laid hold vpon much munition and warlike furniture. *Roger Housden* (a very sure Author) saith * that the confederates had onely besieged *Rouen* vpon one side, and that *Lewis* hearing that the victorie was to King Henry was within *Rouen*, did first send away the weake, and worst of his Armie, and then deceiuing the *English* with a solemne promise of returning the next day, to enter into a conference with the King about making a final agreement, did depart; so that *Housden* aggravates the dishonour of the retreat, with the note of faith-breach.

(78) Let the greatness and felicity of this King bee now but slightly looked vpon, and it will appear, that no Prince of those times was hitherto so much bound to God for manifold fauours as hee. The King and power of *Manifol*, after so many attempts with the young King of *England*, and all their forces, flying at his presence without any stroke stricken, the valiant king of *Scotland* prisoner, and the chieftest of his Rebels vnder his foote, *England* assured, *Scotland* dismaied, *Ireland* retained, *Wales* ministering souldiers, *Normandy* in possession, and all the coasting Regions, *Britaine*, *Angion*, *Poitou*, *Main*, *Tourain*, *Limousin*, *Gascogne*, *Guien*, &c. from thence as farre as the Mountains which separate *Spain* from *France*, vnder his dominion; and the blessing of Peace shortly after ensuing, vpon such termes as himselfe could reasonably wish, made him like another *Salomon* to bee sought vnto: his Wisdome and Magnificence being in such high credite through the Christian World, that the Kings of *Castile* and *Nauarre* chose him sole Arbitrator in their debate, which to both their contentment he most wisely determined; and then * at one time in his Palace at Westminster were seene together, the Ambassadors of *Manuel* Emperour of *Constantinople*, of *Fredericke* Emperour of *Romans*, of * *William* Archbishop of *Triers* in *Germany*, (a mighty Prince) of the Duke of *Saxony*, and of *Philip* Earle of *Flanders*. Moreover he had the government of *France* for a time, the Kingdom of *Ierusalem* offered him, but refused, and two of his daughters married to the two Kings * of *Castile* and *Sicilie*.

(79) There was first therefore a truce taken betwixt the three Kings, *Lewis* and the two *Henries*; wherein *Richard* (who stood out) was left to his Fathers prosecution, who seeing himselfe thus destitute after many flashes of preparation to resist, and great conflicts with himselfe, put himselfe most humbly into his Fathers mercy, and throwing himselfe * with teares at his feet, obtained the pardon hee begd, and a full restitution to his most inward grace and fauour. A most christian, fatherly, wife & happy Act; for *Richard* ouercome with this vnexpected and incredible goodnes, neuer desisted till hee had brought the young King to a finall attone-

the Kings
kings of
Ann. Dom.

* Tpod. Neill.

* Reg. Housden.

* Ann. Dom. 1174.

* Reg. Housden.

The great
tyranny

An. Dom.

* Ann. Dom. 1174.

* Reg. Housden.

* Mat. Paris.

* Reg. Housden.

ment, armes being laid apart vpon all hands. The chief points of that wished peace were: 1. That *Henry* the young King with *Richard* and *Geffrey* his brethren should returne, freed from all oathes of confederation, to the King their Fathers obedience, as to their Lord and Father. 2. That Prisoners should be set at large without ranfome on all hands. 3. That *William King of Scots*, the Earle of *Leicester* and *Chester*, *Ralph de Fulgiers*, & other, who had compoun-

ded for their ranfome, before this conclusion, should haue no benefite of this exemption. 4. That King *Henry* the Father should take assurance of loyalty toward him by hostage, or oath of such as were charged. 5. That King *Henry* the son should ratifie that Grant which his Father the King had made to his son *Iohn*, of some Castles, & yerely rents in *England*, &c. The Scale it selfe, wherewith the young king made this mentioned Ratification, we haue here annexed.



(80) Touching King *William* of *Scotland*, his fore-mentioned compounding: our Historians all agree not, * some saying more, * some lesse: but * *Hecfor Boetius* (a Scottish Historian of some credite with that Nation) writes; 1. That King *William* was to pay 100000. l. Striueling for his ranfome, the one half in present coin, the other 50000. l. vpon time. 2. That for assurance of that summe the Earldomes of *Northumberland*, *Cumberland* & *Huntingdon* should rest in mortgage. 3. That K. *William* should moue no warre against *England* for the retention of those lands. 4. That, for the more security of the premises, the Castles of *Berwick*, *Edenburgh*, *Roxburgh* & *Striueling* should be deliuered to the *English*.

(81) In the meane while, King *Henry* according to Couenants, discharged out of captiuitie nine hundred sixty and nine men of Arms, taken in thole late warres; and King *Henry* the sonne discharged about one hundredth; and hauing accomplished whatsoeuer might content or secure his Father, they prepared for *England*, where the ioiois letters of their comming written by the Father, had begotten great and longing expectations in the subjects, which hee did, (saith *Paris*) That whom the generall danger of warre had afflicted, the common gladnesse might recomfort. In their trauaile thitherward the confidence was such vpon this fresh reconciliation, that one Chamber and table serued both, for whom before one Kingdom was not wide enough. They landed at *Portsmouth* vpon Friday, 20. of May, 1175.

(82) The face of *England* at this present, was like that of a quiet skie and sea, no blast, no billow, no appearing signe of discontentment; which the better to continue, King *Henry* the Father accompanied with the King his sonne, omitted no office of a iust and prudent Gouverneur, visiting a great part of his Realme in person, consulting, ordering and enacting such lawes and courtes, as might most establish the good of Peace. Hence it came, that at *London* both the Kings were present in a Synode, in which *Richard* lately chosen Archbishop of *Canterbury*, did publish (* with the Kings assent) certain Canons for the better government of the Church of *England*, beginning thus; At the true fountaine of all happy rule, that is to say, at the honour of God, and establishment of Religion & Discipline, &c. amongst the rest, this one Canon in especial words is enacted, both by authority of the King & Synode, (and indeed worthy for euer to bee in force) That euery Patrone taking reward for any presentation, should for euer loofe

the Patronage thereof. And the same Kings not long after being at *Woodstocke*, in accomplishment of such holy purposes, by aduise of the Clergy provided men to such Bishopricks, Abbacies, and principall cures as were vacant, where King *Henry* the Father forgot not his true friend *Iohn* of *Oxford*, whom he preferred to the See of *Norwich*.

(83) From hence comming to *Turke*, he set those parts in peace, whither *William King of Scots* repaireing, sundry matters of importance were handled betwene the two Kings: as likewise afterward at *Windsor* (where the King had called a great assembly of the Lords Spirituall and Temporall) *Robert* King of *Commanche* in *Ireland* (at the suite of his Ambassadors, the Archbishop of *Thamoin* and *Tommund*, & others of that nation, subjects to *Rotherick*) was receiued into protection & fauour, and became Tributary: K. *Henry* being vnwilling * to fill him with hooke of gold, which in warring vpon *Ireland* hee should seem to do. In an other Parliament, not long after at *Northampton*, he caused *England* to be diuided into six circuits, & to each Circuit three Iusticiars Itinerants deputed, and allowed to giue his lawes more free passage, as also the better to secure himself he threw to the carth sundry * Castles which had bin formerly kept against him, as *Leicester*, *Huntington*, *Walton*, *Groby*, *Stutesbury*, &c. and had the rest both in his *English* and in his French Dominions committed to his disposition.

(84) The young King * about these times discovered fresh alienations in his mind against his Father; who yet dissembling all, did arme notwithstanding vpon the defensive, and replenished both *England* and *Normandie* with Garrisons, which drew the sonne the sooner to come in.

(85) But the old King not vnwilling perhaps (left the Brethren concord might proue no better then a conspiracy against the Father) that his warlike Children should contend, * did nourish debate among them: Certaine it is, that to diuert the warre from himselfe, hee appealed his sonne the King with an encrease of maintenance for himselfe, amounting in the whole to an hundredth pounds *Annuum* by the day, and ten pounds of the same money for his wife the Queene: and whereas *Alice* (daughter of *Lewis* then King of *France*, who was married at three yeares of age to *Richard* (second sonne of King *Henry*) when hee was but leuer, and now demanded of King *Henry* the Father, to the intent that *Richard* her husband might enjoy her, the old King who was

The Kings at
Turke.

* Polyd. Virg. Parliament at
Northampton.

An. D. 1176.
The first Iusticiars Itinerants, Hecfor, in Hen. 2. Housden.

* Math. Paris. Reg. Housden. Mansel.

* Reg. Housden. Polyd. Virg.

* The Wulfingh. in Tpod. Neill.

Polyd. Virg. in Hen. 2. calls her Alice.

* Reg. Houd.

An.D. 1183.

* Reg. Wind.
Math. Paris.
Th. Walf. in
Tgodig. Newff.

* Reg. Houd.

King Henrie the
sonne dies in the
flower of his
youth.
* Reg. Wind. MS.
Math. Paris.
Thom. Walf.
Tgodig. Newff.

* Reg. Houd.

An.D. 1183.

An.D. 1184.

* Math. Paris.
Roger Wend.

* Reg. Houd.

Math. Paris.

* Reg. Houd.
fol. 35B.

* suspected to have deflowered her, for that time shifted of the delivery of her person, in such sort that peace was not hindered thereby.

(86) But while the young King by his Fathers * instigation fought by force to constrain young Richard to do homage to him for Aquitaine, and King Henry the Father for the same cause commanded Geoffrey his third son, Duke of Britaine (whom some for his extraordinary perfiduousness in this service toward his Father, and manifold sacrilege, calls the * Child of Perdition) to aide and assist his said elder brother; while also the jealous Father (out of the strife of his sonnes) fought his own safety, and in nourishing it, had by the treachery of the said sonnes bin twice endangered, and had at both times been wonderfully preferred; and while the young King by profound dissimulations, plotted to bring both his Father and Brother Richard into subjection; behold the hand of God by taking away the young King at Martell not farre from Linoges, where his Father lay at siege, gave an end to this odious, fowle and intricate contention.

(87) Thus was his life cut off like a Weauers threed (say * Authors) who had by dying cut of the hope of many: But what fouer his life was, which God thus shortened at his age of twentie and eight yeeres; certainly his death was not inglorious, but worthy to be set out in Tables at large as a pattern to disobedient Children: for his Father refusing to visite him (fearing his owne life,) but sending his Ring in signe of forgiveness; the dying Prince most humbly with floods of teares kissing the same, made a most sorrowfull confession of his finnes, and feeling death approach, would needs be drawne (as an unworthy sinner) out of his owne bed, and laid vpon another, strewed with ashes, where his soule departed in a most penitent manner from his body; which being related to the Father, hee fell vpon the earth, weeping bitterly, and (like another David for his Absolon) mourned very much, O quam nefandum est, saith "one most grauely: O how hainous a thing it is for "sons to persecute the father! for neither the sword of the "fighter nor the hand of an enemy, did avenge the fathers "wrong: but a fever and a flux with excoriation of the "bowels. His body was buried (by his owne desire) at Roan; (which yet was not done without trouble, as if the factions, of which hee was the cause in his life, did by a kind of Fate, not forsake him being dead; for the Citizens of Mauns having entered it, they of Roan without menaces, and the fathers expresse commandement, could not obtaine it, who thereupon was taken vp againe,) but his wife Queene Margaret was sent backe into France, and his surviving sonnes were once againe reduced to due obedience, nor any enemy daring to appeare.

(88) Who would not haue thought, that this stirring Prince, should haue had opportunitie to end his daies in peace and glorie? but it was otherwise ordained by God, and ancient writers hold, hee was principallie scourged, for being drawne, by seeming reasons of State, to put off an holy enterprise, the occasion whereof, was laid as it were at his foote. For Heraclius Patriarcke of Hierusalem, drawne with the supereminence fame of King Henries wildome, valour, riches, and puissance, traualled from thence into England, where, * at Clerkenwell by London, in an assemblie of the States purposefully called, the king made knowne to them: That Pope Lucius had by earnest letters, commended the lamettable state of the Holie-land, and the Patriarcke Heraclius vnto him: That Heraclius (there present) had stirred compassion, and teares, at the rehearsal of the tragically afflictions of the Easterne world, and had brought with him (for memorable * signes, that the suite was by common consent of the Countrey) the Keyes of the places of Christs Natinitie, Passion, and Resurrection; of Davids Tower, and of the holy Sepulchre; and the humble offer of the Kingdom of Hierusalem, with the Ensigne or Standard of the Kingdom, as * duilie belong-

ing to him, who was right heire thereunto, to wit, the sonne of Geoffrey Earle of Anion, whose brother Fulke was king of Hierusalem.

(89) Neutrality, (the King hauing, at left-wile formally, adured the Lords to aduise him, that which should be most for his soules health) it was thought fit, to aide the cause with money, but not to employ his person, nor the person of any child hee had, which was the Patriarcks last request; and thereupon (to the vnpeakeable griefe of the said Patriarcke, and of the whole Christiantie of the East) hee refused the said Kingdome, and abandoned as noble an occasion of immortall renowne, as euer any King of England had been offered; but gave leaue * to all such as would, to take vpon them the Crosse and seruice. This Heraclius is hee who dedicated the Temple Church in London, as by this Inscription ouer the Church doore in the Stone-worke doth appeare.

ANNO AB INCARNATIONE DOMINI M.C.LXXXV. DEDICATA HEC ECCLIESIA IN HONOREM BEATE MARIE A DNO BRACLIO DEI GRATIA SANCTER SVRRECTIONIS ECCLESIE PATRIARCHA II IDVS FEBRVRII Q. RAM ANATIM PETENTIBVS DE INVICTA S. PENITENTIA LX DIES INDVLST.

(90) Thus the sorrowfull Patriarcke being dismissed (not forgetting as * some doe write, to thunder against the King for abandoning the cause) brought back nothing but discomfort and despair, the Westerne Princes (by the Diuels malicious Arts) being wrapt and knotted in mutuall suspitions and quarrells indetermined, whereupon shortly after, ensued, with the losse of Ierusalem, the captivity of Guido King thereof, and of innumerable Christians besides; whom Sultan Saladin, Prince of the Mussulmans or Saracens, to the griefe and disgrace of all the Christian world, did vanquish.

(91) But King Henries mind was more fixed on settling the state of his already-poffessed Kingdomes, and therefore in a great Parliament, held at Oxford, (vnto which came Rhefus and David, Kings of South-Wales and North-Wales, with other their chiefe Nobles, which al did there sweare fealtie to the King) hee being desirous to aduance his sonne John (whom hee exceedingly loued, and commonly in sport, hee called Sans-terre) hauing assured vpon him certaine Lands and Rents in England and Normandie, did there verie solemnly giue him also the title & Kingdome of Ireland; for, (besides the foresaid Bull of Pope Adrian the fourth, who for signe of inuestiture had also sent a * ring of gold, which were laid vp in the Records at Winchester) Giraldus (who liued in that age) tells vs (to omitte what hee writes of one Gurguntius that Guillelmus King of Ireland, was tributarie to the famous Arthur: that Baion (whence (saith hee) the Irish came) was at that present vnder King Henrie the second; and that the Irish Princes had voluntarily submitted themselves, as vnto him who by the * Law of a Sociall warre, was become their Soueraigne. But that Author had not seene belike, or did not remember (when thus he went about to proue a legal right in the King) what others write of * Egfrides vngodly spoiles in Ireland, or of * Edgars Charter, in which is said to bee contained, that hee had vnder his rule the chiefe City of Ireland Dublin, and the greatest part of the kingdome also. But King Henrie strengthening his other rights with Grants of the Popes, Adrian, and Alexander, obtained also of Yrbane the third (for Lucius the third, who was Alexanders successor, would not gratifie the King therein) that it should bee lawfull for him, to crowne which of his sonnes hee would, King of Ireland, to whom hee sent a crowne of Feathers woven with gold, in all their Grants referring to the Ro-

King Henrie

* Reg. Houd.

An. Ind. 1183.

Henrie II.

An.D.

Reg. Houd.

* Girald.

An.D.

* Girald.

* Girald.

* Girald.

* Girald.

* Girald.

* Girald.

* Girald.

* Girald.

* Girald.

man See, the Peters pence, and rights; whereupon the King gaue the same to his sonne John, whose Coronation (tong with the like before) his father only did delay, at such time as two Cardinales offered to celebrate that solemnitie.

(92) At Windsor therefore his father giuing him the * Order of knight-hood (at which time hee was about * twelve yeeres old) sent him forthwith into Ireland, where the Arch-bishop of Dublin and the State, entertained him, but (by reason of such parsimonie toward his souldiers as was vsed) hee returned the same yeere without doing much, but not without hauing wasted the most part of his Armie, in skirmishes with the Irish. His Seile in his scale of Ireland (though Houden faith, his father made him Regem, a king) was onely, Sigillum Iohannis filij regis Anglie Domini Hibernie, Lord of Ireland.

(93) King Henrie, hearing now that his martiall sonne, Earle Richard, had fortified in Poitou against him, and vanquished Geoffrey Earle of Britaine, * prepares a puissant armie, vpon terror whereof, Richard came in, rendering vp Poitou to his mother Elenor, (whose inheritance it was) at his fathers commandement. The same yeere wherein the West was thus desiled with vnnatural diuisions, the East was likewise polluted with the cursed Apostasie of one Richard de S. Albane (whom wee shame to thinke, was English) who renouncing the Christian beleefe (vpon the Patriarcks discomfortable returne) became a principall Commander vnder the Sultan of Babylon, Saladine, whom the Christians drave, with losse and slaughter of his armie, from Hierusalem. But on the other side, reuenge of disobedience still pursued Geoffrey, sonne of King Henrie, who was in a * Torment at Paris troden to death vnder the horse feete. A miserable end, and a fearful.

(94) About which times, betweene the French and English all things stood vnstirred, now warre, then peace, and warre againe, by reason that Philip (who had been crowned King some yeeres before, during the life of Lewis) challenging the custodie of Arthur, the Posthumus sonne, and heire of Geoffrey Earle of Britaine, and sometimes one thing, and sometime another, could not haue his will: Whiles Earle Richard turning to Philip against his Father, but obtaining a truce for two yeeres, such amity (if there be any amity among mighty Princes) grew between king Philip and Earle Richard, heire apparant of England and Normandie, &c. that one bed and boord serued both. The Father perplexed, calls his sonne home, who pretending many griefes, as the detention of Alice his Spoule, the doubt of disinherison, and other things, stood out againe, and againe after a while submits to his Father. Then bursts forth Philip into Armes; and things so standing, the heauy newes of Ierusalem lost, flew into Christendom. When this City was formerly recovered by Godfrey of Boheim, an Yrbane was Pope, a Fredericke was Emperour, an Heraclius Patriarcke; so now when it was lost, an Yrbane was Pope, a Fredericke was Emperour, and an Heraclius Patriarcke.

(95) Vpon these newes Henry and Philip meet, and for the honour of God, laying downe displeasure, in presence of William Archbishop of Tyre, at which time some say a Crosse appeared in the aire, take vpon them, as Souldiers of Christ, the badge of the Crosse, and there the better to distinguish themselves, it was agreed that the * French should weare read Crosse, the English White, and the Flemish Greene. And this determination was seconded with warlike preparations, leuies of money, and institution of martiall Discipline: all which notwithstanding nothing went forward.

(96) At Richard began the breach of this honourable confederation, who taking reuenge vpon certaine Rebels of his in Poitou, who brooked not his hard hand; one mischiefe drew another, and at the last both the Kings of England and France became parties to the quarrell, greatly against the minde of

K. Henry, whose heart was firmly fetted (as it seems) to reuenge the cause of Christ vpon Sultan Saladine: for that in his * answer to the Patriarch of Antioch, imploring aide, he concludes, That among other Princes himselfe, and sonne, reiecting this "worlds glory, and despiing all pleasures whatsoever, and setting behind, all things which were of "this World, would in their owne person with "their whole Forces by the fauour of the Lord "speedily visite him. And sure the state of those parts required it, Saladine hauing slaine many of the Knights Templars and Nobles, and about thirty thousand footmen, with innumerable other in Cities and Townes by him subdued. Among all which grievous accidents, we cannot (to reason lower thereby with sweet) omit one noble protestation made by the chiefe crossed Lords, Philip Earle of Flanders, the Earle of Blois, and other, who being required to "take parts, made answer: That they would not "contrary to their promise to God, put armour on, "against any Christian, till they had done their deu-

"uore against Saladine.

(97) In the treaties therefore between Henry and Philip, the demands of Philip on the behalfe of Richard were such, and so vnwise for the King (as that all his subjects should sweare fealty to Richard during the Fathers life, but yet reseruing their allegiance to the Father) that Richard apparently fell off, and became Liegeman for Normandie, &c. to Philip King of France; and at a new Treaty (by mediation of a Cardinall Legate) the demands of Philip being more hard then before, as that King Henry should not onely settle the Kingdome vpon Richard, but take John also with him into Palestine, or that otherwise Richard would not goe (being iealous of his brothers grace with his Father) Henry would consent to none of those insolent propositions, but disdaining to seeme to be enforced, they betooke them selues on all sides to their swords.

(98) The effect whereof was, that former good fortunes forsaking King Henry, hee sustained many losses by the Armies of King Philip and Richard, & was driuen out of Mentz in Mauns (the city where he was born, & which hee loued above all other places) by firing of the Suburbs before the enemy came, being casually consumed, hee was glad to yeeld to such conditions as it pleased Philip to prescribe. It is written "that at the meeting of these two Kings, the skie being cleare, a thunderbolt stroke betweene them, and after a little pause coming together againe, it thundered more terribly, so that Henry had faine off his horse, but that his people sustained him; whereupon hee came presently to an end, though it were to his vnpeakeable griefe; his Kingly heart being vsed to giue, and not to take conditions.

(99) Fearefull was the speech which King Henrie, when hee abandoned Mentz by reason of the fire, vttered against Richard; which was, That sith hee "had taken from him that day the thing that hee "most loued in this world, he would requite him, "for after that day hee would deprime him of that "thing which in him should best please a Child, to "wit, his Heart. But after the peace concluded, (vpon mediation) between the sides, another thing struck neerer; for finding the name of his sonne John first in the Catalogue of the Conspirators against him in that action, hee bitterly cursed the howre of his birth, laying Gods curse and his vpon his sonnes, which hee would neuer recall, for any perswasion of the Bishoppes and others: but coming to Chinon fell there grievously sicke, and feeling death approach, hee caused himselfe to be borne into the Church before the Altar, where after humble confession, and sorrow for his finnes, hee departed his life.

(100) It shal not (in contempt of humane glory) be forgotten, that this puissant Monarch being dead his people presently left him, and fell to spoile all hee had, leauing him naked, of whom * one saith trulle "and

* 2 p. 118. MS.
ad Parier Antioch.
apud Reg. Houd.
pag. 367.An.D. 1189.
An.Reg. 35.

* Reg. Houd.

King Henrie
death.Holin. pag. 119.
in Hen. 2.

An.D. 1189.

Accidents after
his death, which
was, when hee had
reigned 35. yeeres
7. monthes and
4. daies, being
63. yeeres of age.
* Roger Houd.

"and grauely, *Per me mufica, &c. Surely, thefe flies
fought honey, thefe volues a Carcase, thefe Anis grains;
for they did not follow the Man but the fpoile and bootie.*
Neither muft it be vnremembred, that the fierce
and violent *Richard* (now heire of all) coming to
meete his Fathers body, roially adorned for the
buriall according to the Maieftie of his eftate; the ve-
ry Corfe (as it were abhorring and accusing him for
his vnnaturall behauiours) guffied forth blood;
whereat *Richard* pierced with remorse, melted into
floods of teares in moft humble and repentant ma-
ner, attending vpon the remains of his vnfortunate
Father to the Graue.

His Wife.

(101) *Eleanor*, the Wife of King *Henry*, was the
eldest of the two Daughters, and the sole Heire of
William Duke of *Aquitaine*, the fifth of that name, &
the ninth in fuccelfion, fonne of Duke *William* the
fourth, her Mother was Daughter to *Raimund* Earle
of *Thouloufe*, and her great Dowrie was moriue first
to King *Lewis*, (who had two daughters by her,
Mary and *Alice*) and after to King *Henry*, to marry
her. There are of the * *French* Hiftorians who re-
port that king *Henry* had a former wife, and that
fhee bare vnto him Prince *Henry*: but Writers of
our owne affaires (and * some alfo of the *French*), ac-
knowledge but onely *Eleanor* for his Wife. Certain
it is, that king *Henries* times were much famoufed
by two Women of much differing qualities; the one
was his renowned Mother *Matilda*, whose Epitaph
thus comprised part of her glory:

*Ortu magna, viro maior, sed maxima prole:
Hic iacet Henrici Filia, Sponfa, Parens.*

*Here Henries Mother, Daughter, wife doth reft:
By Birth, much; more, by Spoufe; by Child, moft bleft.*

The other was this *Eleanor* his Wife; the first caufe
of thefe bloudie Warres, which long after continu-
ed as hereditary betwixt *England* and *France*, yea and
the bellows of that vnnaturall difcord, betwixt her
husband and his fonnes. Shee much out-liued her
husband (as a bad thing fickers longeft) beeing so
happie as to fee three of her fonnes, aduanced to the
Crowne, and so vnhappy as to fee two of them in
their graues: for the liued till King *Johns* time.

His Issue.

(102) *William*, the eldest fonne and first child of
King *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was borne
before his father was King, and while hee was but
Duke of *Normandy*, in the eighteenth yeere of the
raigne of King *Stephen*, 1152. and the fourth yeere
after, (his father beeing then King, and in the second
yeere of his raigne) the Nobilitie of *England* fware
vnto him their fealties, as to the heire apparant of the
Kingdome, at the Caffe of *Wallingford* in *Berkeshire*;
but he decaied the yeere following, being the third
of his fathers raigne, and the fifth of his owne age
1156. He was buried in the Monastery of *Reading*
at the feete of his great Grandfather, King *Henrie*
the first.

(103) *Henrie*, the second fonne of King *Henry*,
and Queene *Eleanor*, beeing borne the last of Febru-
arie 1156. was their heire apparant, after the death
of his brother *William*; was Duke of *Normandie*,
Earle of *Arion* and *Maigne*; and was crowned King
of *England*, at *Westminster*, by Roger Arch-bishop
of *York*, the fifteenth of Iulie 1170. His wife was
Margaret, daughter of *Lewis* the *Tonger*, King of
France, married to him at *Duburgh* in *Normandy*, the
second of Nouember 1160. crowned Queene at
Wincheſter, by Ratvocke of *Warwicke* Arch-bishop
of *Roan*, the 21. of Nouember 1163, and furiuing him
was remarried to *Bela*, King of *Hungarie*: He died
without issue, before his father, at *Marcell* in *Tou-
raine*, the eleuenth of Iulie, the twentie fixe yeere of

his fathers raigne 1182. and was buried in the
Church of our Lady at *Roan*.

(104) *Richard*, the third fonne of King *Henrie*,
and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Oxford*, (in the Kings
Pallace there, called *Beau-Mount*), in September the
fourth yeere of his fathers raigne 1157. He pro-
ued a Prince of great valor, and was therefore furna-
med in French *Coeur-de-Lion*; in English *Lions-Heart*:
hee was created Earle of *Poytiau*, and had the whole
Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, for which he did his homage
to King *Lewis* the *Tonger* of *France*, in the eighteenth
yeere of his fathers raigne 1170. yet afterward he
conceiued some discontentment against his father,
and maintained warres vpon him, but was reconcil-
ed againe into his loue, and fucceeded him in his
Kingdome.

(105) *Geffrey*, the fourth fonne of King *Henrie*,
and of Queene *Eleanor*, was borne the twentie third
of September, in the fifth yeere of his fathers raigne
1159. Hee married *Constance* daughter and heire
of *Conan* Duke of *Britaine*, and in her right was Duke
of *Britaine*, and did his homage to his brother *Henry*
for the fame Dutchie, and receiued the homages of
the Barrons of the fame: hee died at *Paris*, in the
thirtie two yeere of his fathers raigne 1186. in the
nineteenth of Auguft, and is buried in the quire of
our Ladies Church there: hee had issue *Arthur*
Duke of *Britaine*, borne after his fathers decaie, the
heire apparant of King *Richard*, and by some fuppo-
sed to bee made away by King *John*; and alfo *Eleanor*
called the *Damfell* of *Britaine*, who died in prifon in
the raigne of King *Henrie* the third.

(106) *Philip*, the fifth fonne of King *Henrie*, and
Queene *Eleanor*, may bee miftrufte, to be miftaken
by Antiquaries of our time, as mifunder-ftanding
the ancient writers, who mentioning the birth of
Philip the Kings fonne, might by good likelihood, be
thought to meane, *Philip* fonne of *Lewis* the *Yonger*
King of *France*, who was borne about this time, and
was after King of the fame Countrey. But *Mr. Tho-
mas Talbot*, an exact traualier in genealogies, hath
not onely fet him downe in this place, amongst the
children of this King, but alfo warranteth the fame,
to bee done with good authoritie: howfoeuer, it is
apparent, his life was verie fhort.

(107) *John*, the fixth and yongest fonne of King
Henrie, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne in the thir-
teenth yeere of his fathers raigne, in Anno 1166.
hee was iclinglie furnamed by his father *Sans terre*,
in English without Land, becaufe hee was borne laft,
as if there had beene nothing left for him: Notwith-
ftanding foone after, hee was created Earle of *Mor-
taine*, and had more-ouer by degrees, the Earle-
domes of *Cornwall*, and *Glouceſter*, the Counties of
Derby and *Lancaster*, the Honors of *Wallingford* and
Nottingham, the Castles of *Tikkhill*, *Marlborow*, and
Ludgarſhall, with many other great Seigniories, and
(about them all) was alfo Lord of *Ireland*, and at the
laft fucceeded his brother *Richard* in all his Domini-
ons and was King of *England*.

(108) *Matilda*, the eldest daughter of King *Hen-
ry*, and Queene *Eleanor*, borne in the third yeere of
her fathers raigne, married to *Henrie*, furnamed the
Lion Duke of *Saxonie*; *Lothar* that died yong, *Otho*
the fourth German Emperour, and *William* borne at
Wincheſter, progenitor of the Dukes of *Brunſwicke*,
who bare for their Armes, the Coat of *England*, with
the two Lions, as King *Henrie* his Grandfather bare,
before the match with Queene *Eleanor*, and *Matilda*
married to *Geffrey* Earle of *Perch*: Shee furiuing
him, and died in the first yeere of the reign of her
brother King *Richard*, and was buried by her hus-
band, in the Church of *S. Blafe* at *Brunſwicke*.

(109) *Eleanor*, the second daughter of King *Hen-
rie*, and Queene *Eleanor*, was borne at *Roan* in *Nor-
mandy*, in the eight yeere of her fathers raigne, 1162.
She was married to *Alfonſe*, the ninth of that name,
furnamed the *Good*, King of *Caſtile* in *Spain*, and had
issue by him *Sanchez*, that died in his infancy: *Per-
dinando*

dinando that died in his youth, *Henry* King of *Ca-
ſtile* after his Father, *Blanche* Queene of *France*, wife
to King *Lewis* the 8. and mother of Saint *Lewis*.
Berengar married to *Alfonſe* king of *Lion*: *Præca*
Queene of *Portugall*, and *Eleanor* wife of *Tames* king
of *Aragdon*.

(110) *Ioane*, the third and yongest daughter of
king *Henry*, and Queene *Eleanor* his wife, was borne
at the City of *Angiers* in *France*, in the month of
October, the 13. yeare of her Fathers raigne, which
was the yeere of our Lord, 1166. when thee was e-
leuen yeeres of age; thee was with great honour
conueied to the City of *Palermo*, and there married
to *William* the second of that name, king of *Sicill*,
Duke of *Apulia*, and Prince of *Capua*, vpon Sunday
the 13. day of *Februarie*, 1177. and was crowned
Queene the fame day at the fame place. Shee had
a fonne by him named *Boamund*, whom his Father
when hee was returned from his Chriftning, cre-
ated Duke of *Apulia*: but the child died first, and
the Father after, leauing no issue. And the furi-
uing, married againe, and was the third wife of *Rai-
mund* the fourth of that name, Earle of *Thoulouze*, by
him thee had Issue *Raimund* the laft Earle of that
houfe, *Bertrand* Lord of *Branguell*, *Montelore*, and
Salutac, and a daughter married to *Berald* of *Elbeine*,
Prince of *Oreng*.

His Naturall Issue.

(111) *William* the Naturall fonne of king *Henry*,
born of *Rofamund*, the daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clif-
ford*; which Lady for her incomparable beauty was
reputed (with alluſion to her name) *Rofa mundi*, the
Roſe of the world: the deare affection the king bare
her, cauſed both burning iealouſie in the Queene,
and fatall ruine to her ſelfe, albeit the amorous
king, for her ſecreſie and ſecuritie, (but what wallies
will not iealouſie eie pierce through?) had built for
her a moſt artificiall Labyrinth at *Woodſtocke* in *Ox-
fordſhire*, with ſuch cunning windings and intricate
paſſages, as had not Fate, and Heauens reuenge on
Adultery, ſhewed the way, the enraged Queen had
not ſo ſoone beene rid of her Riual, nor that wan-
ton Dame of her life. Shee was buried in the *Nun-
nery* of *Godſtow* by *Oxford* with this Epitaph.

*Hac iacet in Tumba Roſa mundi, non Roſa munda;
Non redolet, ſed olet, quæ redolere ſolet.*

(Roſe,
This Tombe doth here encloſe the Worlds moſt beauctous
Roſe, paſſing ſweet ere while, Now nought but odour vile.

But *Hugh* (called the Saint) Biſhop of *Lincolne*,
thought the Hearſe of a Harlot no fit ſpectacle for
a Quire of Virgins to contemplate, & therefore him-
ſelfe in perſon cauſed her bones to be caſt forth of
the Church; which yet thoſe chaſt filters afterward
recollected, and placed there againe with much ho-
nour, erecting a goodly Croſſe, thus inſcribed to the
honour of her memory:

*Qui meat hac, oret, Signumque ſalutis adoret,
Vtq; tibi detur requies Roſamunda, precetur.*

*All you which paſſe this way, This Croſſe adore, and pray,
That Roſamunds Soule may True reſt poſſeſſe for aye.*

The first Sonne which by her King *Henry* had, was
the ſaid *William*, furnamed in French, *Longſpee*, in
English, *Long-ſword*. He was Earle of *Salisbury*,
in right of *Ela* his Wife, Daughter and heire of
William Earle of that Countrey, ſon of Earle *Patrick*,
by whom hee had Issue *William* Earle of *Salisbury*,
Stephen Earle of *Viſter*, *Ela* Counteſſe of *Warwicke*,
Ida Lady *Beucham* of *Bedford*, and *Iſabell* Lady *Veſci*:
his ſonne Earle *William* the ſecond, had Earle
William the third, Father of *Margaret*, Wife of
Henry Laſie Earle of *Lincolne*: hee died in the Caſtle
of old *Salisbury*, and was buried in the Cathe-
dral Church of the New City, in the ninth yeare
of the raigne of king *Henry* the third.

(112) *Geffrey* an other Naturall ſonne of king
Henry, was borne of the Lady *Rofamund* aforeſaid:
This man in his tender youth, was (by his Fathers
procurement) made Archdeacon of *Lincolne*, and
after Biſhop of that See, which hee held aboue
ſeauen yeeres without conſecration. and then re-
ſigning it, in the yeare, 1181. into the hands of *Ra-
chard* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and his Father; hee
was made Chancellour of *England*, and afterward
by his brother king *Richard*, hee was aduanced to
the Archbiſhopricke of *York*, (being conſecrated at
Tours in *France*, An. 1191.) which See he gouerned
with good approbation. But in the time of his Bro-
ther King *John*, hee vnderwent many difficulties, by
oppoſing the Kings purpoſes, who therefore made
ſeizure of his whole ſtate, and An. 1207. he left the
Land and after ſiue yeeres baniſhment, died, viz.
Ann. 1213.

(113) *Morgan*, an other Naturall ſonne of King
Henry, is thought by * ſome (becauſe ſo ſmall men-
tion is made of him) to haue bene of no long life af-
ter his birth, and to haue bene borne of ſome wo-
man in *Wales*, where this Chriſtian name is moſt
commonly vſed, and whither this King vpon many
occations, ſometimes reſorted. But * ſome others
(whoſe ſtudiouſ paines, deſerue much thanks of
poſteritie) report, that hee was gotten on the wife
of one *Rodulph Bloeth* (or *Blewet*) a knight, and liued
both to bee *Prouoſt* of *Beuerley*, and to be elected to
the Biſhopricke of *Durham*, when coming to *Rome*
for a diſpenſation (becauſe his Baſtardie made him
otherwiſe vncapable) the Pope willed him to pro-
feſſe himſelfe *Blewets* lawfull ſon, and not the Kings
Naturall, promiſing to conſecrate him on that con-
dition: but he, vſing the aduice of one *William Lane*
his Clerke, told the Pope, that for no worldly pro-
motion, he would renounce his father, or deny him-
ſelfe to bee of roiall blood: ſo blind were ſome Pre-
lats of thoſe times, who eſteemed ſpiritual functions,
to be but worldly promotions.

Geru. Dorob.

An. D. 1181.

* *Mr. Ferrers.*

* *Goodwin* of the
H. of *Durham*,
liued ſtewin
the life of King
John.



Hhhh

RICHARD

Houeden.

The agreement
between the
Kings of France
and England.

* Ger. Dor.

* Houeden.

The agreement
solemnly ratifi-
ed on all parts.

* Matib. Paris.

The Kings of
France and Eng-
land set forward
to the Holy Land.* Roger Houed.
Matib. Paris.The City of Mel-
jana in Sicilia
the Rendezvous
of the Kings.* All & Mon.
P. 15. 314.Roger Houed.
Matib. Paris.

Reg. Houed.

paid) the Castles of *Rochesbrough*, and *Berwicke* (cautionarie Castles, or gage places, for part of his ransom) should be restored. 2. That he should have all such deeds, instruments, and charters, made by him to the late King *Henrie*, which had by constraint or duress been obtained: and himselfe to be freed from all encombrances, claimes, or pretensions whatsoever. 3. That he should have all such dignities, as his brother *Malcolm* held in *England*, (for which King *William* did there make fealties) and all such Lands as his Ancestors did hold of the *English* Crowne.

(14) The State of *England* being thus in the maine, and other meane points established, King *Richard* crost the Seas into *France* to *Philip* King thereof, according to appointment, that from thence, with minds & forces united, they might set forward under the Ensigne of the Crossie, which after some stay (occasioned by the death of the *French* Queen) they did, upon these Christian and friendly termes; 1. That each of them preserve the others honour, and beare faith to him for life, and member, and earthly dignity. 2. That neither of them shall faile the other in their affaires; but that the King of *France* shall helpe the King of *England* to defend his land, even as hee would defend the City of *Paris*, if it were besieged; and *Richard* King of *England*, shall helpe the King of *France* to defend his land, even as he would defend his City *Rouen* if it were besieged. This * being fairly engroft, and afterward ratified with oath, and sent by the kings themselves in person, the Earles and Barons sware in solemn manner, that they would not trespass against their fealty, nor stirre any warre in either of the kings Dominions, so long as they were in that pilgrimage: on the other side, the * Archbishops and Bishops did firmly promise (in *verbo veritatis*, in the word of truth) that they would accuse and excommunicate all such as did transgresse this agreement.

(15) Thus (after some necessary staies) these two the greatest Monarchs of the West, set forward over land (toward the publike service of Christianity) with such numbers as themselves thought best; which were so great, that having advanced (not without some little losse of people by the fall of the Bridge over the river *Rhene* at *Lions*, which brake by reason of the throng) beyond the said violent streame, they parted company; *Philip* passing over the *Alpes* into *Italy*, and *Richard* to the Sea-side at *Marisilia*, there to meete with his Nauie, which being compact of all the chiefe Ships in *England*, *Normandy*, and other his *French* Dominions, was there appointed to attend.

(16) But the voiage being very long, and King *Richard* comming to the Port before his Fleet, after eight daies expectation there, waxing impatient of delay, embarkt himselfe * in twenty hired Gallies, and ten great hulkes or Busses (a kind of shipping as it seemes peculiar then to the Mediterranean seas) and set saile toward *Messana* in *Sicilia*, the Rendezvous of both the kings and of their Armies: in which passage, lying at Anchor (on occasion,) in the mouth of the river *Tiber* not far from *Rome*, * *Ottavianus*, the Bishoppe of *Naples* repaired unto him, desiring him in the Popes name, that hee would visite his Holinesse; which the King denied to do, saying to the Popes charge many blamefull matters touching the Romish Simony, and Couetousnesse, with many other reproaches, alleading that they took 7000. Markes for consecration of the Bishoppe of *Atians*, 1500. Markes for the Legatine power of *William* Bishop of *Ely*, but of the Archbishop of *Burdanx* an infinite summe of money: whereupon hee refused to see *Rome*. Thus (after sundry accidents and commings on land) hearing that his Nauy was safe, hee * staid for them by the way, and then came to anchor not long after (to wit, 23. of September) before the City of *Messana*, with so great a shew of power, and sound of Warlike Instruments, and other signes of Maicesty, in the sight of *Philip* and his

French, and of many other Nations there assembled, that it stroke horror into the Inhabitants, (saith *Houeden*) and moued no small enuy in the hearts of his confederates.

(17) From this time forward, as it may seeme (the Enemy of Concord feeding the maleuolent passions of men with perpetual matter of debate) the king of *France* was neuer truly king *Richards* friend in heart, but upon the same day (whether streightned in prouisions or otherwise) hee left the king of *England*; but by contrary wind was driuen backe before night, where (after many troubles and quarrels betweene the *English* and *Sicilians*) the two kings peaced againe, and fetled a new & as firme a league, as they could, during that martiall pilgrimage.

(18) *Tancred* was at that time king of *Sicilia* by vsurpation, after the death of *William*, who had married *Joan* sister of king *Richard*, whom (at that time upon displeasure and quarrell being prisoner) *Tancred* set at liberty, sending her in honourable manner to her brother, and did yeeld to sundry Articles, and also present payments of ample summes. Feare wrought on both parts; for *Richard* being among strangers, and not very sure of the *French*, leised vpon a strength of the *Griffons* (people much redoubted in those parts, till the arrivall * of the *English*) & in a tumult took the City of *Messana* it selfe, where hee displaced his Ensignes, till for the *French* Kings loue hee was content to disaunce them, and to entrust the City to the Knights Templars and Hospitallers, vntill *Tancred* had fulfilled all such things as *Richard* did challenge to be due, being many.

(19) Vpon great deliberation therefore, the *Sicilian* King made answer, that hee had already paid to his sister, late Queene of that land, a very great quantity of coine in recompence of her Dowry or Iointure, and would satisfie all his other demands (concerning the Legacies intended by his Predecessor king *William*, to the Father of king *Richard*) as far as hee ought according to the custome of that kingdom, and thereupon gaue vnto him for the quiclaime of his sisters Iointure, twenty thousand ounces of gold: and further to bee acquitted of all other claims & pretences, as also in consideration that *Arthur* Duke of *Brittain*, nephew & next heire of king *Richard* (if *Richard* died without issue) should take to wife the daughter of K. *Tancred*, hee paid him other twenty thousand ounces of gold, and of his owne accord, and for King *Richards* loue, and for the loue of the *English* Nation (which, saith our * Author, was then in great reputation through the kingdom of *Sicilie*) as also to bee the more assured of performance, hee gaue him other twenty thousand ounces of gold, besides afterward foure great Ships, called *Vrsers*, and fiftene Gallies.

(20) King *Richard* on the other side, not to be wanting to any matter, which in honor and equitie might be expected of him, besides letters Patents, hee put in vpon their Oaths for his sureties, two Arch-bishops, and two Bishops of his owne there present, and twentie great Lords, and principall men his subiects, whose names (because many of their posterities doe yet stand) are heere inserted out of the said letters Patents, as they are vpon record in *Houeden*.

Jordanus de Humex his Constable, *Wilhelmus de Curci*, *Richardus de Camilla*, *Girardus de Tabeot*, *Robertus Sablul*, *Guido de Croun*, *Garinus filius Geroldi*, *Bertramus de Vardun*, *W. Chamberlangus de Tankerville*, *Robertus de Nouo-burgo*, *Hugo Bardolf*, *Wigain de Chereburg*, *Gilbertus de Wascuil*, *Hugo le Bruin*, *Johannes de Piller*, *Amauri de Munford*, *Andreas de Chawenni*, *Wilhelmus de Forz*, *Gaufridus de Rancune*, *Amauri Torell*, and other not named.

(21) Moreover for final assurance, hee offereth that Pope *Clement* should undertake for performance of his part in the said agreement; and that the said *Clement* would accordingly undertake, hee requests him by most officious letters, giuing him leaue with-

King Richd
SiciliansReg. Houed.
P. 153.

* Idem.

All & Mon.
P. 153.The second
twelueking
chard and
Tancred.Arthur King
of Brittain* Reg. Houed.
P. 153.Three score
and out
gold pieces
King & theKing Richd
sureties* Reg. Houed.
P. 153.

* Idem.

* Idem.

* Idem.

* Idem.

* Idem.

* Idem.

* Idem.

out any reluctance) to put his dominions (vpon any his breach) vnder severest censures.

(22) This peace and accord being happily thus concluded, King *Tancred* (having most royally and lovingly feasted the King of *England* for three daies and three nights in a Castle of his) discovered, vpon the way at *Tauernim* in his returne, a foule and vnprincipally conspiracie of *Philip* (whome one of our Writers calls the *vain-glorious King*) against the head and safety of King *Richard*, which comming to be scanned betweene the two Kings, the *French* charged the *English* with picking of quarrels; and added, that valcise *Richard* married his sister *Alice*, according as hee ought, having beene contracted long before together, hee would be his enemy while hee breathed; whereunto King *Richard* (being pressed) did replye: That his * sister during the time of her abode in *England*, had a child by his Father *Henry* King of *England*, which hee was ready to proue by many witnesss there present: so that King *Richard* had farre more cause then a supicion of dishonesty (which * some write) to refuse the marriage. This falling out so shamefully, *Philip* (vpon certaine conditions betweene *Richard* and him) left him at liberty to take a wife where he thought good, but neuer (as it may seeme) forgave him his euill will while they two liued together.

(23) And because acts of Christian remorfe and humility are too rare among the Great ones of this vaine world, it were a crime to pretermitt the exemplar humiliation of this famous General K. *Richard*, at this time, who (to vse my * Authors words) inspired with diuine grace, and studying to fitt himselfe for the great attempt hee had in hand, was stung at the foule with so iust compunction for his finnes, that calling before him his Archbishops and Bishops into a Chappell, at the house where hee was lodged without the walles of *Messana*; hee blushed not to make a penitent confession of his manifold excesses, humbly praying God of mercy, and them (as his subordinate Ministers) of Absolution; & God (saith *Houeden*) respected him with eyes of Mercy, and gaue him a penitent heart, so that from thenceforth hee proued a man fearing God, eschewing euill, and doing good. * O felix illius, &c. O happy he, who so fals, that "he may rise more strong: O happy he, who after penitence, relapseth not into fault and ruine."

(24) Whereupon adding his mind to diuine contemplations, & meditation of the christian Church, whole Champion now hee was; hee desired conference of one *Ioachim* (a Cistercia Abbot) whose great learning and deepe understanding in the Scriptures, with an opinion of a Prophetical inspiration, made him so famous ouer the world, that King *Richard* sent for him, being then in *Calabria* neere *Sicilie*, whom at his comming hee heard preaching and expounding the *Apocalypse* of *S. Iohn*, touching the afflictions of the Church, and of *Antichrist*, which (saith hee) was then borne, and in the City of *Rome*, and shall bee aduanced in the See *Apolliticke*, of whom the Apostle said, hee should extoll himselfe aboue all that is called God, and that the seuen Crownes were the Kings and Princes of the earth which obeyed him. Surely, neere about this very time hapned that in *Rome*, which might seeme to giue great probability to that Abbots opinion, especially, if Emperours and Kings bee truly called * Gods, ouer whom *Antichrist* also should extoll himself: for in the same moneth that *Richard* left *Messana*, was the Coronation of *Henry* the Emperour, and his Emperesse *Constantia*, in *S. Peters* Church; where Pope *Celestine*, the very next day after his own consecration to the Papacie, sate in his Pontificall chaire, holding the Emperiall golden Crowne betwixt his feete and the Emperour (as likewise the Emperesse) stooping low, receiued on his head the Diadem from the Popes feet; and presently againe the Pope strake the Emperours crowne with his foot, and dasht it to the ground, signifying that hee had power to throw him (vpon his demerites) out of his Empire: but the Cardinals catching up the crowne,

put it againe on the Emperours head.

(25) The same day in which *Philip* & his *French* Forces set saile out of the Hauens of *Messana*, arrived *Alienor* King *Richards* mother, accompanied with *Berengaria* his new intended Spouse, daughter to * *Sanctius* King of *Nauarre*, whom afterward he tooke to wife in *Cyprus*; but his Mother after a short stay returned by *Rome* into *England*, leaving the young Lady with *Joan* Queene Dowager of *Sicilie*, both which accompanied the King toward the holy Land, his whole Nauie being * one hundred and fifty great ships, and fifty three Gallies well appointed for the warre, and * many other Sailes and Vessels: and (not to omit the same because it is recorded as a singularity) hee had among all these, * thirteen Buce or Bucies, which had each of them three course of Sailes to saile with: but no Writer (so farre as we yet find) declares what numbers of Souldiers were in the *English* Armie.

(26) This Nauie roall betweene the Isles of *Rhodes* and *Cyprus*, (for the honor and good of King *Richard*) was scattered by God with a terrible tempest, some one or two of which suffered wreck vpon the Isle of *Cyprus*, whom * *Cusae* (or as other call him *Iakius*, Emperour of the *Griffons*) being a tyrant did spoile, and contrary to Christian Religion, (which was his profession, though, some mistake) and all honour and humanity, hee would not (among other his vnprincipally, or rather barbarous behauiours) suffer the Kings sister, and Lady *Berengaria*, with other of that tender societie, to come into harbour, to their great discontentment and perill, a * Shippe or two sinking there: but neither would God, nor King *Richard* forgive it him.

(27) For the said vnworthy Prince hauing thrice refused to make restitution of his vnlawfull seizers and prisoners, was entred vpon by the *English*, driuen from the shoares with great dishonour and slaughter; the City *Limefawn* left for a prey to the victors, and himselfe beaten againe out of his Campe, and taken, and after an escape made by him, his onlie daughter and heire yielding her selfe, and her Father lastly comming againe of his owne accord (as despairing to lie hid) vnder custodie, and thrust into fetters of gold and silver, the whole land (with all the people, strength, and riches thereof) became subiect to the King of *England*, and both Father and Daughter led away into captivity.

(28) There arrived at *Limefawn*, to salute and honour King *Richard* within three dayes after his first victory, *Guido* King of *Ierusalem*, *Geoffrey* de * *Leizant* his brother, *Raimund* Prince of *Antioch*, *Leir Boemond* his sonne, &c. offering their seruices, and swearing to bee his against all men; with whose priuaty King *Richard* seised the flourishing and spacious land of *Cyprus*, by antiquity celebrated as the very seat of *Venus*, which that it might so proue to himselfe, in the ioyous moneth, hee solemnly took to wife his beloued Lady *Berengaria*.

(29) The person of the Emperour (for by that lofty title Writers call him,) was sent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, vnder the custody of *Ralph Fitz Godfrey*, Lord * Chamberlaine to King *Richard*: his daughter was committed to the two Queenes *Berengaria* and *Joan*: the land it selfe was entrusted to *Richard* de *Camule*, and *Robert de Turnham* his Viceroyes, with competent force and prouisions, and the Islanders suffered to enioy all such lawes and liberties, as they held in the time of *Manuel* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, or (as now they call it) of *Stamboli*.

(30) This fame of *Richard* was much enlarged by his conquering a mighty * Argoſcy, called a *Dromond*, wherein were aboard one thousand and five hundred *Sarazens* (though disguised vnder *French* Flagges) furnished, besides all other prouisions, with fire-works, barrells or cages of venomous serpents, and the like, for the vse of the *Sarazens* at *Acon*, (anciently called *Pholomias*, to the siege whereof hee was then sailing,) thirteene hun-

perour, but com-
more probable
with relation to
German.
A.D. 1197.
The King of
France lets saile
for the Holy-
Land.

* Ro. Hist. f. 392.

* 2^o Pod. Neuf.

Man. Par. ad A.
D. 1197.
2^o Pod. Neuf.

* Houed.
King Richd
Nauie scattered.

* 2^o Pod. Neuf.
Matib. Paris.
* Houed.
Ger. Dor.
Hed. Dact. l. 13.
cap. 7.

* Houed. fol. 392.

King Richard
subdues the Isle
of Cyprus.
Ro. Houed.
Mat. Paris.
2^o Pod. Neuf.
Ger. Dor.
All and Mon.
p. 320. Holin. p.

* Luffigian.

* Reg. Houed.
P. 392.
All and Mon.
P. 318.

* Reg. Houed.
Mat. Paris.
2^o Pod. Neuf.

death of which Miscreants, he sacrificed to Mars & Neptune, keeping the rest for ransome.

(31) Philip King of France, (in hope perhaps to conquer Acon before the English could arrive, and to winne thereby that glory intire) came safe before that City in Easter weeke; but as yet had not forced the same: at which time (that the Reader may observe the general disposition of the western Christians in those dayes) there engirded Acon (omitting the many great Prelates, Princes, Earles, and Honourable Cheifes) these Nations following, the Genoayes and Florentines, the English vnder Hubert Bishop of Salisbury, afterward Archbishop of Canterbury, Flemings, Almains, Danes, Dutch, Frislanders, Pisans, Lombards, besides the Knights Templars (collected out of all Nations) and beside the aides of the *Assians*: all which lay quartered at the Seige in order, as here they are placed, at that time in which the King of France arrived. But Richard King of England with his victorious and triumphant Nauie (which when it went out of Cyprus, being much belike augmented) did containe 254. tall shippes, and about 60. Gallies brought terror & dismay to the besieged, and comfort to the Christians, vpon the Sunday after Pentecost, being about the middle of Iune.

(32) The seige was so vehemently plied, that (notwithstanding sundry dissensions between Philip and Richard, the two competitors of glorie in this voiage) after severall breaches and assaults, the last whereof was made by the Pisans and English, vpon the twelfth of Iuly following, many offers of composition made by the Saladines, being utterly refused, the City of Acon was rendred to the Christians vpon these conditions. 1. That Saladin (Prince of Miscreants) should by a certaine day restore the holy Crosse. 2. That he should set at liberty fifteen hundred Christian Captives. 3. That the City with all the things contained therein should remain and be to the Christians. 4. That the Turks or Sarazens should haue their liues only saved, if these conditions were performed. 5. That they should pay twenty thousand Bizants, (peeces of gold) toward the charges of the Kings. To take possession for the French, there was sent in *Dragon de Merlou*, and one hundred men of Armes, and for the English, *Hugo de Gurnay* with the like number, who equally parted the City, goods, and people, betwene them.

(33) And euen now Philip King of France, as well because the Earle of Flanders died at the seige without issue, whose countries hee long had coveted, as for euill will to Richard, whose noble Acts so farre outwent his, and because, as some write, hee had taken bribes of Saladin, meditates nothing but return, asking licence of King Richard to depart, being then but the tenth day after the Cities surrender; so badly his enuious eyes could, as it seemed, endure the splendor of his companions glorie. The chiefe commanders of his Army hearing this, shewing themselves true French-men, and sensible of their obligation to God, and honour, with many teares besought him not to forsake that holy affaire, *ita impudenter*, so shamefully. In what Prince would not this haue kindled a desire of a better resolution? But impotent passions carrying him, and mis-carrying him, he persisted to get leave of Richard, who but two dayes before, would haue had him swear to a stay of three yeeres longer in that seruice; but hee who had other cogitations farre more vnworthy of a King, would needs depart, giuing his oath vpon the holy Gospels, without which oath King Richard would not grant his good will. That he would well and faithfully keepe the lands and subiects of the King of England, and neither doe damage nor grieuance to them by himself, nor suffer it to be done by others till his returne.

(34) The King of France thus leauing Acon, in the Castle whereof King Richard, his Queene and

Sister were lodged, and the Duke of Burgundie remaining behind with the French host, (to whom King Philip, not without sundry secret instructions, had with it committed a great part of his treasure) King Richard in the same day set forward vpon a new enterprise; but it is true which one writes, that by reason of the dissention betwene the Kings, which of them should seeme the greater, little or nothing prospered; & iust cause had King Richard to complain in his letters, that Philip to the eternal reproch of himselfe and Kingdome, had foully forsaken his purpose and vow vnto God.

(35) But when the Saladin could not by any means obtaine a longer day for performance of the said Articles of composition, hee cut off the heads of all his Christian Captives; in reuenge whereof King Richard brought out his Turkish Captives, (being about two thousand and five hundred) and in the sight of the Saladines host caused their heads to be chopt off; the Duke of Burgundie doing the same to the like number, nere vnto the walls of Acon, seuen onlie being kept alive by the Christian Generals, whereof Karakey Saladines foster Father was chiefe. But Richard proceeding in his vndertaken action, and in his march to Ioppa, being set vpon by Sultan Saladin (who had put the Duke of Burgundie to flight, and slaine the valiant *Iaques de Auenius*, who onely with a few in the Regard made resistance) so courageously encountered him, that the Saladin with the losse of three thousand his choicest Souldiers was glad to turn his back and flie: whilst therefore this Champion is thus imploied in the Holy-land, let vs looke backe a litle how the affaires of his Kingdome are managed at home.

(36) John the Kings brother, making vse in England of such discontentments, as the *incredible insolencies, and intolerable tyrannies* of the Chancellour (who carried himselfe both like a Pope and a King) had bred among the Nobility and people, to aduance thereby his owne designs, stirred against him (though strengthening himselfe like a General in the field,) so powerful opposition, that in the end, (vpon warrant of a new Commission sent from the King his Brother) hee with the rest of the Peeres suddenly thrust him out of all commaund, and shortly after most reprochfully (as it happened, for he fled, and was taken in a Curtesian attire, il becoming a Popes Legate) out of the Kingdome also, vpon occasion, as of other foule demerites, so particularly of a sacrilegious and barbarous outrage, committed by the Chancellours commaund, vpon the person of Geoffrey Eleet Archbishop of Yorke (natural brother to King Richard and the Earle) on pretence that he entred England contrarie to his oath giuen to his brother King Richard, whereas he then came to take possession of his See, to which hee was aduanced by the Kings owne procurement, and by Queene Eleanors owne traualle to Rome in his behalfe. And albeit this punishment & shame deferuently followed the Chancellours pride and oppression, yet in one maine point of opposing the Earles Ambition, (who sought to assure to himselfe the remainder of the Crowne, which in right of blood belonged to his Nephew Arthur) his seruice to the State had bene very commendable, if it had proceeded from loyalty of affection, and not from a swelling desire of greatness, which hee hoped still to enioy, if Arthur (a child) should succeed in the kingdome, whereas he knew Earle Johns aduancement could not be without his apparant ruine.

(37) But Philip King of France in all places labouring by wrongfull and vnprincipally aspersions to deface the renowne of King Richard, though finding small credite to his words (because the man had done nothing himselfe) deuiled after his return how to trouble and endamage his friends dominions; and had effected it, if the Lordes of France whom he solicited to that wicked worke, vpon pre-

tence of the composition made with King Richard at Acre, had not (to their immortal glory) refused to assent therein, till Richards returne, as well in regard of their owne oaths, as because the sentence of excommunication was denounced against all such as did attempt to endamage him in his absence.

(38) King Richard notwithstanding that the relation of these things greatly troubled him, gave not ouer as yet, but after sundry other matters of importance performed, did march vpon within the fight of Ierusalem, where he skirmished with the enemies, & ouerthrew the Conuoy or Carauan of the Saladines, which came laden from Babylon, guarded with ten thousand men; whom King Richard valiantly encountering with five thousand selected souldiers, put most of them to the sword, and took three thousand Camels, and four thousand Horses and Mules, besides those that were slaine, and so gained the rich spoile of all the Carriages.

(39) After this, and many other worthy things done, as the rescue of Ioppa, and repulse of Saladin from thence, &c. the King indefatigable in his braue attempts, desirous to regaine Ierusalem, and the City Barnek, was abandoned in that enterprise by the Duke of Burgundie (who is said to haue bene apparently corrupted with gifts from Saladin, and the regiments of French vnder his conduct) whereupon he was the rather perauised by the Knights Templars, and chiefe of the Christian host, not to refuse Saladines offers for a surcease from hostility, considering that hee had a purpose to returne with reinforced numbers and means; that his present powers by diuisions, by sickness, by battales were wasted, and that the dangerous estate of his owne Dominions did require his presence, (the greatest motive, for hee had supplies of money for his Souldiers wages from Pope Celestine) by reason of some vndue practises at home, and the rancour of King Philip his vnreconcilable aduersary abroad. Whereupon a truce was taken for three yeeres, and Saladin repaid such charges as Richard had been at in fortifying Askalon, which was brought to the same estate, as in which King Richard found it.

(40) But the King of England, though hee had very far excelled all the Christian Princes in great exploits at that iourney, because he had neither conquered Saladin, nor Ierusalem, did mourne, and parted pensive. In the holy-land hee left Henry Earle of Champagne, (who vpon taking the said Barnek was to haue bene crowned King of Ierusalem, which Guido had resigned) and hee left Guido de Lusignan (the late King of Ierusalem in Cyprus, to whom hee had passed it, in exchange for the other, to aduance his Kinsman the said Earle of Champagne, which, vpon that Title, the familie of Lusignan for many decades after did possesse and enioy. Thus Richard hauing ordered his affairs in the East parts, setts saile homeward. The Queene Berengaria his wife, and Ioan his sister, with the Captiue Lady, Daughter of the Cypriot Emperour, vnder the conduct of Stephen de Turnham (hearing of the Kings most heauie fortune) sojourned at Rome about fixe moneths, for feare of Richards enemies, & afterward came saile by *Marilia in Poitou*.

(41) God, whose cause was onely pretended in this voyage of the Christians, did not seeme to approve the said truce; for hee scattered the English with a terrible tempest, and the opportunity of Conquest was so lost, that hitherto it could neuer be regained, and the King of England letting it slippe when God had almost put the same into his hands, did miserably fall into his enemies hands. Certainelie, the name of Richard was at that time growne terrible to Saladin, who had received diuers losses, foiles and ouerthrowes at his handes: Moreover, the Saladines whole estate being endangered by such of his own sect as reputed him a meer vsurper, hee could not long withstand the double

impression of the Christian Chieftaine, and of his owne Allies and Countreymen, as indeed not long after he died, leaving his Empire fowly, but iustly, distracted by ciuill confusions: whereas by this Truce the crafty Turke made the world see, that the powers of two so potent Monarkes had in a manner effected nothing; & Richard could neuer haue time to return for accomplishment of his designs; for which all Christendome hath at this howre reason to bee sorrowfull, and hereof himselfe was very sensible, so that hee would oftentimes cry out, that hee was not alwayes wise, alluding to this occasion lost.

(42) But the noble King, hoping to pierce with speed through Germanie in disguise, tooke to him the name of Hugo a Merchant, the haire of his head and beard growne very long, being the fitter to conceale him; but in his iourney ouer land, was nere to Vienna vnexpectly discovered by the profuseness of his expenses, when hee saw hee could not escape them, in contempt of his fortunes, hee put on roiall garments, and refused to yeeld but onely to the Duke himselfe, who came with ioy as to a prey which hee sore longed for: but the rascal multitude cried things worthy of themselves, calling him (O barbarisme) Traitor, and some saying, stone him, some cut off his head, & others hang him: and because the inhumanity of this vage may be suited with rimes as rude and ragged, you shall in such heare the cause of this Arch-dukes malice, growing first at Acon, where the Author speaking of King Richard saith;

*He gate it soone with his great Ordinance,
And on the walles his Banners full high set,
The Kings Armes he set up also of France,
And King Guyes Armes of Ierusalem well bet,
The Duke of Ostrich Limpold without let,
Set up his Armes after about them all,
Which King Richard did cast downe from the wall.*

(43) And though it is certaine that this Author faimes not this fact, for that some such matter (and told by some with more disadvantage to Richards cause) is by others related, yet the grauest Authors agree (that next to the common enie at his vertues) the greatest pretence was the murder of the Marquisse Conrad committed at Tyre, by two cursed *Assasins*, a certaine sect in the East, living vnder a Senior or Ruler, whom they honor as a Prophet, by whom they are sent forth to murder such Princes as fauor them, not promising themselves the reward of immortality by obeying him in all things, though with the losse of their owne liues. Of which barbarous fact Henrie the Emperour, and Leopold the Arch-duke (whose neer kinsman Conrad was) would seeme to beleue that Richard was the Author, though therein they touch his princely reputation and integrity, most iniuriously, for that the chiefe of that sect by their owne publike letters (written with the blood of the shed-fish called *Murex*, wherewith Scarlet vied to be dyed) acknowledging the fact, declared the true cause thereof, which was a particular Act of iniustice in Conrad himselfe: There wanted not sundry other pretences, as in such cases is usual, as that Richard had entred league with Tancred King of Sicilia the Emperours enemy, and that hee had thrust the Cypriot (their kinsman) out of the Empire, and kept his onely daughter Captiue. But this booty, being too great for a Duke, the Emperour got into his custody, meaning to coine much gold and siluer out of his most vniust affliction, by sharpe imprisonment: which could not make him in any act or speech, or gesture of his, shew beneath the Maiestie of a victorious Prince and King of England.

(44) The difmal newes thereof flying through the world, presently disclosed who were found or vnforeseen sorrow and dismay was euery where among his owne. His carefull mother and other his fast friends

Reg. Hous. f. 414.

Polyd. Verg. lib. 14.

An. D. 1193

Mat. Paris.

Reg. Hous. f. 408.

Polyd. Verg. l. 14.

Mat. Paris.

Ger. Dor.

Hardings Chr. cap. 38.

Pretences for the detinue of King Richard.
Mat. Paris ad An. D. 1192.
Ger. Dor. who writes that the Archduke set vp his Standard in the chiefe place of the City of Acon to the iniurie of King Richard.
Guil. de Novoburg. lib. 4. cap. 24 & lib. 5. cap. 16
This description fitteth a like sect now in the west.

Typ. Neuf. p. 414. B. 16.
An. D. 1603
The copie of the said letter see Xlib. l. 5. cap. 16

Mat. Paris ad An. Dom. 1193.

The face of England in her Kings captiuitie.
Ger. Dor.
Reg. Hous. f. 408

Ger. Dor.

Al. and Mon. p. 318.

Reg. Hous.

The City of Acon rendred.

Mat. Paris Typ. Neuf.

Reg. Hous. fol. 395.

King Richard vpon certaine conditions permits the King of France to depart Roger Hous. fol. 394. p. 6.

Reg. Hous. in Polyd. lib. 7. cap. 37. Iuly ultimo.

The attempts
of John King
Richards brother

* Ger. Dorob.
Rog. Houed.
Maib. Paris.
* yed. Neuff.

* Rog. Houed.

Ger. Dar.

* Rog. Hou. f. 47.

* Ger. Dorob.

Marshall women
in Roan.

* Rog. Houed. f. 474

Lanquet A. D.
1191.

The Articles of
King Richards
liberty.

King Richard
crowned King of
Prouince, &c.

A new and soule
treason of Earle
John discovered.

friends swaere the realme to be true to King Richard, watch the coasts, and prouide for the security of the State with singular vigilance, assuring the Cities & good Townes with Bulwarkes, Walles, and Munition. On the contrary, Earle John being (by the cunning inueigling and suggestions of his brothers professed foes) not only put out of all hope of his releasement, but also incited against him for intending the Crowne to his Nephew Arthur, entered into an vnbrotherly attempt against his Soueraigne Lord, the summe whereof, take in the words of Thomas Walsingham, who faith, that John with promises allured many to him through the whole Kingdom, did carefully and speedily fortifie his holds in England, and passing the seas, entered into league with the King of the French, that he might vtterly put his Nephew Arthur, Duke of Britaine from that hope, which the Britaines had conceived of his promotion. The Normans giuing any way to his disloial practices, hee swears fealty to Philip King of France (his brothers most mortal enemy) and also that he would take to wife the Lady Alice King Philips sister, though polluted by his owne Father, and for that cause reiectd by King Richard. Out of Normandy he posts into England, sollicites Peeres and people, and was loyally refuted: but hee not quieted so, labors to fire the Scot and Welsh to ioine in an inuasion with him: the French and Flemings assuring them that his Brother King Richard would neuer be set at liberty: but William King of Scots would neither giue assent, nor countenance to such vndutiful practices, or rather madnesses.

(45) In this most perillous time the valour and loyalty of the City of Roan (the choicest of Normandy) did most clearly shew themselves to the euermlasting commendation thereof: for Philip comming before it with a puissant Army (solicited the reuolt, promising mountaines. In stead of answer* they fet open the gates, telling him that hee might enter if he would, for no man hindred him: but the* vaine-glorious King being better aduised, (for the inhabitants, yea & the damels of the City, whose heads were pold like as mens, powdered molten pitch, and such like matter vpon the besiegers) retreated from the walles, and marche away confounded: and being certainly aduertized that the Emperour and King Richard were agreed, hee sends ouer to Earle* John, bidding him looke to himselfe, for the Diuell was now let loose. Hee thereupon crost ouer the seas to Philip, who* excited him to vsurpe the Kingdome of England.

(46) Neuertheless by Queene Elianors negotiation (who in person trauelled to the Emperour) the King her sonne was come to be assured of his liberty vpon these conditions. 1. That hee should pay to the Emperour one hundred thousand Markes sterling. 2. That he should pay fifty thousand Markes of like money to the Emperour and Duke. 3. That he should marry his Nece, (sister to Arthur Duke of Britaine) to Duke Leopolds sonne. 4. That the Emperour should secure him, till he were vnder saile with a fore-wind. 5. That hee should set the Cyprians person at liberty, and deliuer his daughter to the Duke of Austria, who was her vncle, and should deliuer 67. hostages for assurance of all.

(47) But to colour this vnreasonable and vnprincipall extortion, the Emperour by his Imperiall Charter giues vnto King Richard, Prouince, and sundry other ample territories, containing 5. Arch-bishopricks, and thirty three Bishopricks (sometime parcell of the Empire, but both then and a long time before out of possession) & thereof crowns him King, writing magnificent letters into England, with such like offices.

(48) Now when King Richard (who had wonne to himselfe wonderful honour and respect, euen of the couetous Emperour, by the prooffe of his innocency, and by his most noble and constant carriage)

did expect his liberty at an assembly or diet, where the greatest Princes and States of the Empire were in person, to wit, The three Archbishops of Mentz, Colon, and Saltzburg. The three Bishops of Wormes, Spire, and Leige; The three Dukes of Swane, the Emperours brother, Austria, and Lorraine; The Count Palatine of Rhene, &c. which had vnderaken for the Emperour, whose officers had already receiued the greater part of the ranfome: behold eue then the Emperour shewes a willingness to breake off, producing the letters of Philip King of France, and of John Earle of Morton, in which they offer an huge summe &c. too impious and diuclish to speak of: but the Princes who had vnderaken to King Richard for good dealing, went to the Emperour reproving him for his auarice, who would so dishonourably trauesse and start backe from the agreement: * vpon the fourth of Februarie therefore being Friday, the Archbishops of Mentz and Colaine restore him * after fifteen moneths imprisonment, to Queene Alienor his mother, free from the Emperour, all that were present weeping thereat for ioy.

(49) This Archbishop of Colaine was hee, who entertaining the King in the Dominions of his Archbishopricke, with great ioy for his deliuerance did celebrate diuine seruice in this manner: Now know truly that the Lord hath sent his Angell and taken me out of the hand of Herode, and the expectation of the common people of the Tewes, &c.

(50) And indeed it was Gods Angell did it: for after all this, whiles the King staid for a wind, and other preparations at the Sea-shore, the Emperour repenting him of his releafe, sent speedy guards to apprehend him againe, vowing hee should neuer be freed from bonds while hee liued; but some secret message (as Princes Courts neuer want Spies) speedily premonished him, and so by a verie little time hee preuented his surprisers, landing happily at Sandwich, in April the Sunday after Saint Georges day: where in stead of all other triumphs, or particulars of ioy for his returne, wee will content our selues with onely one, as signe of the rest. When the King drew neere to Rochester, the venerable new Archbishop of Canterbury Hubert (who had bene with him at Accon in the Holy-land) went ioyously forth to meet him, whom when the King law, hee dismounted from his horse, and hauing bowed his knee, fell vpon the earth, in like sort the Archbishoppe lay right against him; at the last both of them rising from the ground, they ranne into each others arms, comforting themselves with mutual embraces & weeping with ioy.

(51) The iniustice of a true history will not suffer vs here to forget, in what sort the iniustice of this vnnoble captiuation of Richard King of England, was punished by God, and on Gods behalfe. The Duke of Austria Country, and people, being visited with these five plagues, Fire, Water, Barrennes, Worms, & Pestilence: the Fire, casually burning his Townes, the Riuer of Danubius drowning ten thousand of his Subiects, in an ouerflows, the earth waxing drie and fear; the Wormes destroying such fruit and graine as grew; and the stroke of Pestilence killing the principall Nobles and Gentlemen of his Dominions: The Duke for all this continued obstinate like another Pharoa, swearing to cut off the heads of K. Richards Hostages, vnlesse all Couenants (though extorted by cruell Duresse) were exactly and speedily performed. Baldwin de Betun (one of the Hostages) is sent to the King with this bloodie message, but before his returne, vpon S. Stephens day in Christmas, the Duke* spurring his horse in sport vpon a Cattle of shew among youthes, which were counterfeiting a fege, and an assault, with the slip of his horse, brake his foot in such sort, as it came to be cut off, and within a while feeling himselfe perishing vponward, so that his death was certaine, could not be absolved of his Bishops from the sentence of Ex-

commun.

communication which had by the Pope bin denounced, till hee and his Lords had sworne to releafe all the laid matters betweene the King of England and him; but his sonne after his death refusing the performance, his Fathers body lay stinking about ground eight daies, for that no clergy man durst burie it, being but conditionally absolved, till the son did yeeld to the performance; yet (if some may be credited vpon his bare word) the sonne did voluntarily condiscend, and not vpon this compulsion.

(53) But albeit the Emperour * to declare himselfe wounded with some remorse for his vngodlike violence, or to engage others in the impietie, gaue three thousand Markes of King Richards ranfome to make siliuer Censers through all the Cistercian order, who generally refused the gift, as parcell of an accursed spoile (for as for those* twenty thousand marks, which hee forgave to King Richard, with as bad a purpose (being to hinder peace betweene him, and the French) as hee had taken the other vnjustly, they are not to be accounted as restitution, but as the wages of sinne); reuenge forooke him not, being pursued by his owne wife (the Heire of the Crowne of Sicilia) in reuenge of some cruelties done to her Countreymen; and after reconciliation with her, falling dangerously sicke, hee died at Messina, excommunicated for King Richards cause. And albeit hee had in his life time sent his Chancellour out of Burgundie, of purpose to offer King Richard recompence for the injuries hee had sustained, and although Constantia the Emperesse had sent the Archbishoppe of Messina (while the Emperours body lay about ground without buriall) to Pope Celestin in humble manner, praying Christian buriall, yet * vnlesse the money which hee had extorted from the King of England were restored, hee could by no entreaties obtaine it: which accordingly was promised.

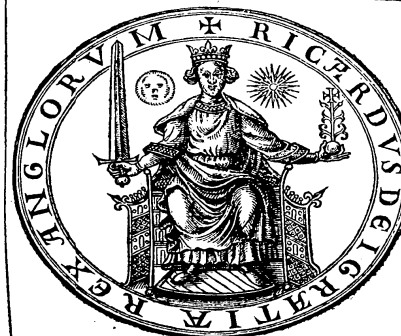
(54) Neither were the King of Englands afflictions vnprofitable vnto him, for they gaue him occasion to reforme his life, taking home to him his Queene Berengaria, whose society for a long time hee had neglected, though shee were a roiall, eloquent, & beauteous Lady, and for his loue had ventured with him through the world.

(55) King Richard after his ioyous returne into England, hauing at the Abbey of Saint Edmunds, in performance of his vow (as may seeme) offered vp the rich Imperiall Standard of Cursac, Emperour of Cyprus, which hee tooke among the spoiles of the Griffons Campe: thence hee marched, and tooke in by surrender such Castles as the seruants of his brother John (beleeuing that the King was not returne

ned) held against him; but Henry de Pomeray, who had fortified Saint Michaels Mount in Cornwall, hearing for certaine that King Richard was come, died for very feare. And now, forty daies of fummons being expired, which were allowed to Earle John, & Hugh Bishop of Cowntrey, for making their appearance, to answer to such heinous matter as was prepared, and they not appearing, John was adiudged by the Peeres and States of England, to haue forfeited all that hee might forfeit in the Realme, and the Bishop to be punishable by the Ecclesiasticall censures, as hee was a Bishop, and likewise as an Officer of the King, by the Laitic. Richard afterwarde bestirred himselfe to draw in money more greedilie, then did become so great a Maiesty, wherein yet (faith * one) hee was rather to be pardoned then accused, for that hee was presently to lead a mightie Armie against the French.

(56) But first of all, to wipe away both the fadnes and contumelie of his late restraint, for a better fortunes beginning, hee caused himselfe to be crowned againe at the City of Winchester, which celebratie was honoured with the presence of William King of Scotland, who bare sword before * King Richard: betweene which two Princes, there* followed great amity and tendernes of loue; then being granted to him, and his successors Kings of Scotland, a certaine pension, with sundry other allowances, and princelie attendances, from the first day of their friendlie entrances at any time into England, till their returne.

(57) The King likewise caused a new broad Seale to bee made, requiring that all Charters granted vnder his former, should be confirmed vnder this, whereby he drew a great masse of money to his Treasurie, subscribing such renewed Charters thus: This was the tenor of our Charter vnder our first Seale, which because it was lost, and in the time of our being captiue in Almaine was in the power of another, wee caused to be changed, &c. Some haue obserued, that as this Richard was the first of the English Kings who bare Armes on his Seales, as appeareth by the * former: so was hee the first who carried in his shield, three Lions passant, borne euer after for the Regal Arms of England. And whereas we see heere the Moone in her full, which in the other was but a Crescent, (which is the Turkish Ensigne,) it may seeme to be done Emblematically, in that sense, as wee read of another Prince (who going against the Turkes) gaue a Crescent with this word, *Plenior redibo*, I will returne more full. The true draught of this second Seale we haue here annexed.



(58) A good * Author reports, that after this, the King being at dinner at Westminster, and receiuing aduertisement of the fege laid to Vernon, by his restlesse enemy Philip of France, swaere that hee would neuer turne his face, till hee had gotten thi-

ther with his Armie to fight with the French; whereupon hee caused the wall to be cut through, (the signe of which breach appeared * about two hundred yeares after) neuer resting, till with his hundred great Shippes hee had crost the seas from G g g g 2

Houed. fol. 418.

Maib. Paris.

* Rog. Hou. f. 420
Heib. Boet. l. 13.
cap. 8.

Rog. Houed. f. 419.

Foster Chron. in
Capit. D. Rob.
Cotton Equit.

* Wherein are
2. Lions rampant
combatant; well
fitting that Cour-
de Lion.

* In Walsingham
daies who liued
vnder Henry 5.

* Ro. Hist. f. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.

King Richard for-
gives his brother
John.
* Nabrigon. l. 5. c. 5

* The walls in
Ypod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.
* Hoved. fol. 428.
* Nabrig. l. 5. c. 5
* Ro. Hist. in l. 6.
li. 7. c. 29.

* Ger. Dor.
Tpod. N. Engl.

* Ro. Hoved. f. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.
* Nabrigon. l. 5. c. 2.

* Ro. Hist. fol. 422

A.D. 1195.
Ro. Hoved. 438.

King Richard
amendment of
life and daily
exercise.

Portsmouth into Normandy, where the onely rumor of his approach made the French King raise his siege, and without stroke or sight of his magnanimous Enemy, (but not without loss and shame) to quite the field.

(59) Neither was his clemency less then his courage, whereof needs no greater testimony, then when upon Earle John's dutifull submission, & his mothers intercession, he so freely forgave him, as that he calmly said, * *Would that thy fault may so be forgotten of me, as that thy self mayst keepe in memorie what thou hast done*; and * afterward restored his possessions vnto him; the Earle from that time forward becoming his true Knight, & doing him very noble seruices, (especially against the French who had seduced him) as a loving brother, & faithfull Leegeman, whereby he made amends for his former excesses, and fully recovered the hearty affection of his Lord and brother.

(60) There were after this sundry skirmishes, takings of Prisoners and Townes, and conferences betweene the French and English, moued belike, by such as religiously rendered the effusion of Christi- an blood, so as no great matter was yet effected; that which was, being rather by * Stratagems and starts, then by battle; but within * thirty seuen daies after the French mens flight from Veruill, King Richard (in reuenge of that defolation which the French King had brought vpon the City of Euxenx, where he neither spared age, sexe, nor Church) comming to Vendome, with purpose to surpris the King of France, had the spoile of the French Campe, their King (at thing almost incredible) now the second time flying without battle. Many of the French were slaine, and taken, together with * much treasure, the Chappell roiall, the Indentures of such as had left Richard to serue King Philip, and all the * tents, cariages, and other furnitures for warre; and from hence marching in Poitou and Angoulême, hee had such successes (howsoever the silent partialities of forraign Writers smother them) that * himself wrote ouer to his deereft Hubert Archbishoppe of Canter- burie, *That by Gods fauour, who in all things considers the right, hee had taken Tailleburg, Marfiliac, and all the other Castles of Geofrey de Rancune, the City of Engoulême, and all the Castles and Territories of the Earle thereof, and almost three hundred Knights, or men of Armes, and about forty thousand armed Souldiers.*

(61) We will not here ouerpass, that which Houden reports, (being an example of Christian repentance in Princes) of a poore Hermits comming to this noble Monarch, and preaching to him the words of eternall life; and bad him bee mindfull of the subuersion of Sodom, and to abstaine from things vnlawfull, otherwise (saith he) the deferred vengeance of God will come upon thee. The Hermit being gone, the King neglected his words: but not long after falling sicke, hee more seriously berought himselfe, and afterward waxing found in soule, as well as body: his daily exercise was to rise early, & not to depart from the Church till diuine seruice were finished: whereupon (saith Houden) how * *glorious it is for a Prince to beginne and end his actions in him, who is beginning without beginning, and ind- geth the ends of the earth.* Moreover, hee bounti- fully releued every day much poore both in his Court and Townes about: and restored gold and silver vessels to such Churches, from which to pay his ransom they had beene taken away.

(62) After this passed sundry interchanges betwixt the French and English, sometimes of warres, with waits and spoiles, sometimes of truces with interuiewes and Parties; in one of which, the Lady Alice, (cause of much mischief) K. Philips sister, was restored (according to the contract of Messina) to her brother, who forthwith bestowed her in mar- riage, vpon John Earle of Pantif. In the mean while the Kings sought to make friends vpon all sides; but King Richard by his munificence, and other means,

drew from King Philip a mighty party of his secret neighbours: * Baldwin Earle of Flanders, Raimond Earle of Tolose (to whom also King Richard gaue in * marriage, his sister Joan Queen of Sicilia) the * Ché- panois and others: so that Philip was faine to trust wholly vpon himselfe: for whereas hee had larely married the sister of the King of Denmarke, of pur- pose to vse the Danish shipping against the English, that affinity proued enmity: for the * next day after his wedding, hee put her away, pretending (be- sides other things) that hee was of too neere a pro- pinquity of blood; albeit most vntrue, as her brother, the King of Denmarke proved before the Pope, though he could not be heard, the King of France more preuailing either by force or fauour.

(63) About this time, John the Kings brother & Markadey Captaine of the Brabanters, called the * Rowtes, had made an incursion vnto Beauu, where the Bishoppe, being also an Earle of the Roiall Blood, and the eleuenth Peere of France, valiantly fighting, was * taken in the skirmish, armed at all points, and brauely mounted on whose behalfe the Pope (vpon the Bishops humble suite, pleading the Clergies immunity) wrote somewhat earnestly to King Richard, to let his verie deare sonne, for so hee called the Bishop, at liberty: The King in a kind of pleasant earnestnesse, caused the Habergeon and Curaces of the Bishop to be presented to the Pope, with this question (alluding to that of * Jacobs chil- dren to their father, concerning Josephs garment,) * *Vide an tunica filii tui sit an non, sed whether it bee thy sonnes coat or no.* Whereupon the Pope replied, that * *he was neither his sonne, nor the sonne of the Church, and therefore should be ransomed at the Kings will, be- cause hee was rather indged to be a seruitour of Mars, then a Souldier of Christ.* Whom the King of Eng- land (in * reuenge of many euill offices, especiallie in the time of his captiuitie with the Emperour) handled sharply. The Bishop at length waxing impatient, writes a passionate letter to the Pope; whose answer in parts here set downe, for that it notably defends the King of England. If (saith the Pope) thou hast had ill success, it is no mar- uelle, for putting off the peaceable Prelate, thou didst put on the warlike Souldier, and rashly too- kest a shield in stead of a cope, a sword for a Stole, a Curace for an Albe, an Helmet for a Miter, a Lance for a Bishops staffe, peruerter the order, & * count of things: neither meant you (as you al- ledge) to repell violence but vertue, nor did you fight for your Country, but against it: for of your France we can now publicly pronounce; *wee to that land whose King is a Child.* For your King was strictly bound by corporall oath to the King of England, not to damne his territories, &c. at least wile till his returne from the iourney of his Pilgrimage: neuertheless, contrary to his faith and oath, hee without all shame seized by force the good townes of the said King, and cruellie wasted his Dominions with hostile hand: but that King returning at last out of captiuitie, man- fully encountered your King, notrepousing hishope in multitude, but in Almighty God, &c. Humili- ty therefore against pride, right and equity against wrong, measure and modesty against intempe- rance and arrogancy, haue certainly hitherto fought for the King of England, &c. Wee haue notwithstanding directed our supplicatorie let- ters to him on thy behalfe, &c. for in such a case we neither can nor ought command, &c. Meane while beare your bands and sorrowes patientlie, &c.

(64) While thus sundry warlike matters passed betweene the English and French, the King of Eng- land encreaseth his side with new associates, Arthur Duke of Britaine, the Duke of Luain, the Earles of Gynes, Boloin, Perche and Blois with others; and * Houden recites three seuerall times within a short space, in which the King of France was driuen with

* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

And D.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.
* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

Gen. 37. 33.
* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

The Pope
seuerely
rebuketh
H. II.

01103
* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

* Nabrigon.
l. 5. c. 5.
* Ro. Hist.
fol. 421.
* Tpod. N. Engl.
fol. 456.

loss and dishonour out of the field by King Richard, beside the loss of Saint Omers, of Air, and of other Townes wonne by Baldwin Earle of Flanders, and besides the waite of the French Dominions by many inuasions. But the greatest of the three victories was the second, which King Richard gained at the battaile betweene Curueles and Gysors, where the K. of France himselfe fell into the riuier of Elbe, the bridge breaking vnder him, with the throng of peo- ple which fled for their liues before the English Li- on: neither was hee easily saued (twenty of his men of Armes being drowned by that ruine) but before hee could be drawne out, water had gotten into his belly.

(65) This was a famous victory; for besides a long Catalogue of great names extant in Authors there were taken by the Kings Arme, 100. Knights and Seruitours on horse-backe, and footmen without number, besides thirty men of Armes, and other inferior Souldiers not countable, which Markadey (General of the Rowtes) had for prisoners. There were also taken 200. great horse, whereof fifteen score had barbs, and caparions armed with yron. King Richard in his owne person did most nobly, for with one speare hee threw to the earth Mathew de Mum- merance, Alan de Rufet, and Fulke de Giffrull, &c. took "them. So haue we vanquished the King of France "at Gysors (saith the King) howbeit wee haue not "done the fame, but * *God and our right by vs*: and "in this fact we did put our owne head and king- dome in hazard about the counsell of all that were "ours. Howsoever therefore the French or others may flubber ouer such a noble Iourney, wee haue not doubted vpon so good warrant to record the same.

(66) The warre continuing still, many vertuous men laboured to make a final accord; and the new Pope Innocentius the third, hauing proclaimed a new vndertaking of the Holy-warre, sends a Cardinall Deacon to atone the two mighty Kings of France and England. At length Arreicles of peace were drawne, but Richard (being farre before hand) was nothing halie to conclude, and therefore put it off, till his returne from Poitou, whether hee went to chastise his rebels, though * some say, hee did then conclude the peace.

(67) At this enterview or treatie, Philip King of France, * (the power of strife, though he fought peace) shewed to King Richard a deed, in which Earle John newly yeelds himselfe Liegeman to King Philip, a- gainst his brother. A wonderful thing (saith Houden) that Richard should beleene it (being perhaps but a Copie of that deuce or trickie, if it were a deuce which they once had iointly put vpon the same John, as in the end of King Henry the second you heard) who thereupon forthwith disfiled the Earle his brother euery where. But the Earle hauing scar- ched and learned the cause of the Kings sudden dis- pleasures, (whose loue hee had before redeemed with many loiall seruices) Hee sends two men of Arms to the French Court, who should on his behalf, in what for- soever defend his honour and innocency, against any his accusers: but there was no man found in that Court, nei- ther King nor any other, who would undertake the proo- or maintenance thereof; whereupon euer afterward Rich- ard held his brother more deare, and gaue lesse credite to King Philips words.

(68) But now ensued the fatal accident, which drew the blacke cloud of death ouer this trium- phall and bright shining starre of Cheualrie, the vnworthy occasion of which misadventure makes it the more lamentable; which notwithstanding, for a document to the Great ones, against the outrage of Auarice and Cruelty, God sufficed thus to fall on him. widomare, Vicount of Limoges hauing found a great * horde of gold and silver, sent no small por- tion thereof to King Richard, as chiefe Lord, with which being not contented (as pretending that trea- sure was wholly his by vertue of his preroga-

tiue royall, or else mistaking that the Vicount should make the partition) came with a power to a Cattle of the Vicounts called * Chaluz, where hee suppo- sed the Riches were; the Garrison of which place offered to yeeld the fame, and all therein, if onlie their liues and limbs might be saued: but hee would not accept of any conditions, bidding them defend themselves as they could, for hee would enter by the sword and hang them all. It grieues me to thinke that such a Prince should so forget himselfe: but be- hold the severity of Gods iudgement. An Arbale- ster (or Archiballista) standing vpon the wall, & seeing his time, charged his Steele bow with a square arrow or quarrell, * making first his prayer to God, *That hee would direct that shot, and deliuer the innocen- cy of the besieged from oppression.* Whereupon dischar- ging it, as the King was * taking a view of the Cattle within the danger and distance of such an Engin, & the King (vpon hearing the bow goe off) stooping with his head, was mortally wounded in the left shoulder; the anguish & perill wherof was extreme- ly augmented by the butcherly and vnskillfull hand of the Surgeon, who hauing drawne out the wood and not the * enuened yron, * mangled the arme with cruell incisions before hee could preuaile; the paine wherof hastned his end.

(69) Concerning the name of this tragick Ar- cher, there is so much variety, as that we could wil- lingly take that vncertainty for a warrant to silence it: being loth to ennoble him with our pen, it being a thing worthily punishable with vter obliuio, to haue shed (though defensibly or but casually) the blood of such a King. Mathew Paris * in calling him Peter Bassili, seems to allude to some ominous conceit in Bassili (which with the Greeks signifies a King;) him Thomas Walsingham follows therein, as Mathew Pa- ris followed * another: there want not * some who also giue him a third name; but Houden who deli- uers this accident, as all the rest of this Kings life, in the most probable and fullest manner, calls him Ber- tram de Gurdonn, applying vnto him certaine * verses of Lucan, in commendation of his vnappalled constan- cy, when hee came before King Richard: where thou maist perhaps (for satisfaction of thy mind, with be- holding some reuenge) desire to know what became of the Actor. After that the Cattle by continuall assaults was taken; and (by the Kings command) none left aliue but hee (as being refused) perhaps to some more shamefull death) the king (vpon a christi- an magnanimity) forgave him the fact, which the party (without shew of dismay) did neither deny nor excuse, but alleged the necessity of his case, and the iustice of Gods worke in it, for that the king had slaine his Father and two Brothers with his owne hand: being hereupon set at liberty, and one hun- dred shillings sterling giuen him by the king: Mar- kadey (Captaine of the Mercenary Rowtes) after the king was dead, tooke him, lead him quicke, & then by hanging ended his life.

(70) King Richard feeling the approach of certaine death, disposed his worldly estate, thus: to his brother John hee gaue the kingdom of England, and his other dominions, with three parts of his Treasure, commanding such as were present to sweare him fealty: to his Nephew Otho king of Armaine, he be- queathed (as it * seems) all his goods and chattels, money excepted, and the fourth part of his said trea- sure hee gaue to his seruante, and the poore. And hauing thus discharged his last cares toward the world concerning his transitory state, he prepared himselfe for the presence of God, strengthening his soule * with hartie contrition, confession, and par- ticipation of the holy Sacrament: commanding further, that when he was dead, * his bowels should be buried at Charrou, among the rebellious Poite- uins, as those who had only defured his worst parts: but his Heart to bee entered at Roan, as the City, which for her constant loyalty had merited the same; and his Corps in the Church of the Nunnerie at

This Chaluz the
English did cal
Caille Gallhard
saith Fabian.

* Ger. Dorob.

Roger Hoved.
Mat. Paris.
Tpod. N. Engl.

* Ger. Dorob.

Hoved. calls him
Carnifex.
* Ro. Houden.
* Ro. Hist. f. 449.

* Mat. Paris

Tpod. N. Engl.
Rog. Wendouer.
Ger. Dor.

* Confutis ante pe-
des Regis, uultus
minuit, &c.

* Reg. Houd. f. 449

Idem fol. 450.

King Richards
will.
Hoved. fol. 449

* Omnia Bonbella
saith Houden.

* Ro. Wendo.
Mat. Paris.

* Ro. Houd.

Font-Ebrard in Gascoigne, at the feet of his Father King Henry, to whom he had beene sometime disobedient: and God affording him gracious leasure till hee had thus disposed of all; the venomous vapour ascended to his heart, and draue the spirite forth, with whom (say * Authors) the glory and honor of Militarie skil expired.

(70) There hath been an opinion, or fancy, that this King was called *Cordelyon*, because hee encountered a *Lion* in prison at the Emperours Court: but (saith * one very truly) these are fables imagined by English tale-tellers to aduance their King Richard, as the Brittaines, by the like, aduanced their King Arthur. The like deuice (though more lofty and Mathematically may their seeme, who coniecture, hee was called so of the famous * Starre called *Cor Leonis*. But how the conceite of killing of a *Lion* should come vpon, as it is not worth the while to enquire, so certainly, *Hugo de Neuille* (one of King Richards speciall familiars) is recorded to haue slain a *Lion* in the holy-Land, driving first an arrow into his breast; and then running him through with his sword: whence perhaps that achievement is transferred from the man to the master; and the story applide to the by-name of King Richard, whereof the true reason is that which * Thomas Walsingham mentioneth, saying; That for the magnanimity of his heart (*grōstūdinem prestans*, saith an * other, meaning, as it seemes, that his materiall heart it self, was bigge and massiue, which * another also saith was *inexpugnable*) this King was both by the English & Normans stiled *Cœur de Lion*.

His Wines.

Alice the daughter of Lewis the seuenth, King of France, by Queene Alice daughter of Earle Thibald of Champagne, is by * some reputed the first wife of King Richard, though indeede she were * onely contracted to him (being both children) and committed to his Father, but when he demanded her, his father refused to deliuer her, or the to com to him, or both: Wherefore being King, conceiuing displeasure against King Philip her brother, and more then suspecting her continency with his owne father (by whom hee alledged she had a child) he refused to take her: yet * gaue a hundred thousand pounds to Philip, *pro queta clamantia*, to be quite freed from her. She became the wife of William Earle of Ponthieu, and had issue Queene Ioan of Castile, the mother of Queene Eleanor, wife to King Edward the first.

Berengaria the second wife of King Richard, was

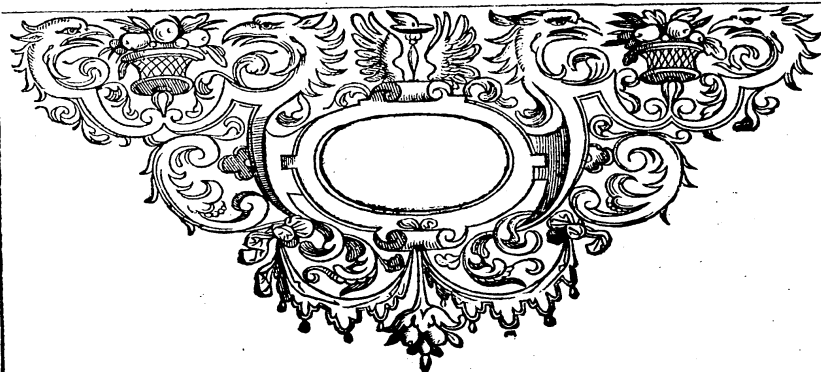
the daughter of Sanches the fourth of that name, King of Navarre, sonne of King Garcia the fourth: her mother was Beatrice daughter of Alfonso, the seuenth King of Castile, called the Emperour of Spaine. She was conueied by Eleanor the kings mother vnto the king in Sicily, and married to him in Cyprus, whence she accompanied him to the Holy land. The king (vpon what cause we find not) neglected her company for a while, but vpon more cooled thoughts, he resumed her againe to his loue and society, but had no issue by her.

His naturall issue.

Philip, the naturall son of king Richard, seemeth to haue been begotten, while he was Earle of Poytoun, of a Gentlewoman Poytoun, and to haue had of his fathers gift a towne in Poytoun named *Sumac*, to haue taken also his surname, and title of the same towne; and to haue beene the Progenitour of a familie of Gentlemen of the same surname & title, in the same Country.

Isabel (by * some who mention not Philip at all) is reputed the Naturall Daughter of king Richard, (whose mother the Author nameth not) and that she was married to Leoline Prince of Wales.

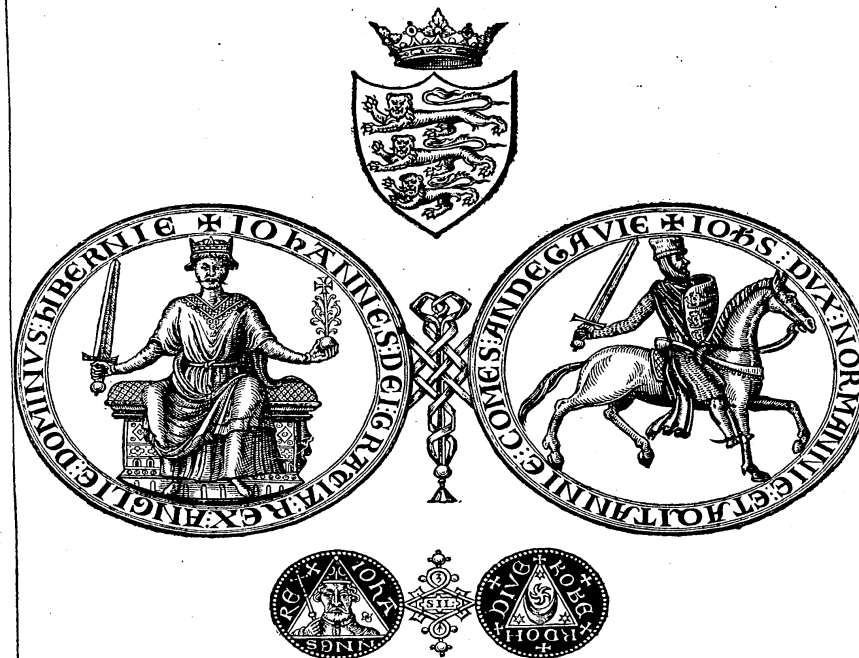
Three other Daughters, (Bastards no doubt) he is said to haue, of whose names and matches wee will report as we finde recorded. Whiles hee was in France employed in his warres against king Philip, Fulco a French Priest, came vnto him, telling him he had three very bad Daughters, which he wished him to bestow away from him in marriage, or else Gods wrath would attend him: when the king denied, he had any daughter, yes (quoth the Priest) thou chertest three daughters, *Pride, Couetousnesse, and Lecherie*. The king apprehensiu of his meaning, called his "Lords there attending, and saide: My Lords, this Hypocrite hath found that I haue three Daughters: "which I maintaine, viz. *Pride, Couetousnesse, and Lecherie*, which he would haue me bestow forth in marriages and therefore (if any such I haue) I haue found "our most fit husbands for them all. My *Pride* I bequeath to the haughty *Templars & Hospitallers*, "who are as proud as *Lucifer* himselfe: My *Couetousnesse* I giue to the white Monks of the *Cisteraux* "Order, for they couet the Diuall and all: But for "my *Lecherie* I can bestow it no where better then on "the Priests and Prelates of our times, for therein "haue they their most felicity. Doubtlesse these marriages proued so fruitfull, that their issue hath now ouerflowed all kingdomes of the earth.



JOHN



JOHN DUKE OF NORMANDIE
GVYEN AND AQTVAINE, &c. THE FIRST,
STILED LORD OF IRELAND, THE FORTIE-FIFTH
MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER VIII.



He lustre of Diadems, and Soueraignty, so dazeleth the eyes, and bewitcheth the hearts of ambitious beholders, that whiles they fondlie deeme the greatest content to bee in highest Titles, running after a *seeming* Happiness, they often cast themselves headlong, and whole Kingdoms, into irreparable ruines, as the calamities, which after the death of the noble *Cœur-de-Lyon*, lighted on the Pretenders to his Crowne, and on this miserably distracted State, will yeld vs too rufal a President. To the fullacting of which Tragedy (for such it was, and so we must now present it in this our Theatre) concurred as principall Actors, the two (though these Patients rather, as the issue proued) vnfortunate

Corrivals for the Crowne, John Earle of Moreton Brother to the late King, and his Nephew Arthur, the Posthumous sonne of Geoffry Duke of Britaine, the Earles eldest Brother: their two Female (and therefore more emulous and restlesse) Solicitors, Queen Eleanor and Lady Constance, each ambitious of their owne, in their Sonnes aduancements: their two reuengefull Abettors, Otho the Emperour for John, and Philip King of France for Arthur: thereupon, the two vniust Intruders on the Crowne; Lewis the French Kings Sonne, and Innocentius the Pope, the one by vnprinckly forces, the other by vnprinckly fraud: and lastly, their two sorts of treacherous Instruments, of the Laitie for the one, and Clergie for the other; all which, like so many Tragick fire-breathing Furies, set this State in so horrible combustion, as that the smoke is not as yet, so many ages after, quite allayed.

(2) Earle John (the very Centre in which those calamities

Monarch 45

a Borne after his Fathers death, who died at Paris 1185. Cal. Aug. 7. pod. Neustria, Girardus, filius, expug. c. 22.

Philip the 2. of France.
Innocentius the 3.

h In Belter, and other Iesuites.
Earle John, pre- paratius to the Kingdom.

King Philip and the Emperours had tredd, encreased the malice betwixt King Iohn and Philip.
 c Otho the fourth sonne of Henry Duke of Saxony, and his daughter of K. H. 11.
 d Rog. Hoved.
 f. 477.
 e. Mar. Paris.
 g. Mar. Paris.
 h. Reg. Hoved.
 i. J. 1200.
 An. 1200.
 The King's inter- view againe.
 k. Reg. de Wendo- mer, M. S. Paris.
 l. Hoved.
 m. Articles of at- tementment.

1 Nich. Trinit. MS
 in P. de charta- apud. Hoved. p. 463

a Hoved. f. 456.
 n. Paris. Col. Jul.

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(8) The breach betwixt these two great Kings, was the more irreconcilable, by reason of the hatred betwixt King Philip and the Emperour Otho, King Iohn's Nephew, whose advancement to the Empire (himself perhaps aiming to it) Philip still endeavoured to impeach, not regarding that the Pope (whose power Kings then regarded only, while it made for their purpose) had thundered his Anathema against all his opposers: and Otho in gratitude to King Richard, who procured him the Diadem Imperial, and in tender regard of his vnclen honour, sent him aduise, not to hasten any final atonement with the French King, for that himself would bring him his utmost Imperial assistance. Notwithstanding, by the Cardinal-Legates assiduous interceding, a Truce was concluded till the Feast of Saint Hilary: at which time, the Kings comming to a Treaty betwixt Wallin and Butantun Castles, it was agreed: that Lewis the Heire of France should marry King Iohn's Niece, Blanch, Daughter of Alfonso King of Castile, that King Iohn should give for Dowry the City and County of Euxes, with sundry Forts in Normandy, and thirty thousand Markes in siluer; vowing also not to aide his Nephew Otho with men or means to attain the Emorie: & further, promising to leave (if he died without issue) unto Lewis all the Territories he held in France, all which Articles were formerly engroled, but finally concluded betwixt Butantun, & Gulem (the one, K. Iohn, the other, King Philip's Cattle) the Oathes of Saint Iohn Baptist, when, these Counties were actually surrendered to Philip, the Lady Blanch espoused to Lewis his son, Duke Arthur (Philip once vowed, but now vnualued charge, yielded ouer, and made a servant and Homager to K. Iohn for his own Dukedom; whom yet his vnclen was content to leaue with King Philip, who had now so left him, and erst had upheld him, only as the baite of his owne aduantage. If Princes can be so vnprincipally degenerate, what trust can men repose in baser vassals? King Iohn hereupon proued much more fast to Philip, then either Philip was to him, or himselfe to Otho the Emperour, who sending his two Brethren Henry Duke of Saxony, and William (surnamed of Winton) to demand the Counties of York and Poitou, with the Treasure and Jewels which King Richard bequeathed him: King Iohn denied to yield thereunto, only in regard of his Oath which he had passed to Philip, to yeelde no kind of aide to the Emperour. And further to testifie, (yea further then he ought) his faithfull meaning to preferre intire this amity with Philip, by his aduise he diuorced Hawis his wife, as too neere of Blood, by sentence of the Archbishop, and Bishops of Burdeaux, Poitiers, and Xanton, and by the Archbishops hands espoused Isabel, Heiress of Ailmar Earle of Angouleme, a faire young Lady, but defined to another bed.

(9) This Final Concord (so called, but not prouing so) with Philip, who now acknowledged Iohn the rightfull Heire of King Richard's Crowne, gaue him more leaue, to receive peaceably all Submitties, and bring in forcibly all outlanders of those his transmarine Dominions, and after to look home to the affaires of his Kingdome, from which hee had bene (and wether following him) too long absent. Yet in the heate of those forraim im- ploiments, hee on occasions had his recourses hither to settle his State-affaires, and Crowne-Reuenues, to enact wholesome lawes for forraine and domestick Commerce, to collect an Ayde for his Nieces great Dowry, and Martiall vses, which later (being three shillings on euery k Carrucat,) though his first and onely Subsidie since his comming to the Crowne, caused much heart-burnings especially by means of his owne brother Geoffrey Archbishop of York (touching whom the King was forewarned, that hee would bring a Sword, & not Peace into England) who bearing himselfe too bold on his bloud and place, forbade the Collectours

of that Aide in his precincts (though it were granted to the King generally for all England) and also being required by the King to attend him into France, to conclude the Peace, and his Nieces Elspouall, he very vnclerfully denied his seruice. The King justly moued with those his disloyalties, caused all his Temporalities to be seized on by his Sheriffe, whom therefore Geoffrey (adding fuel to the fire) did solemnly excommunicate, caused the Kings Officers to beate blows, and interdicted the whole Province of York. So partial, and vnhistorical, is the report of one, a Stranger by birth, but more strange for bold vntruthes, who faines the onely continue of such indignation in the King, was that Prelates reprehension of his Rapines on the people. For (to give a further taste of that Authors vehement fond malice, iustly so taxed) what ancient Iudiciall Writers call an Aid necessarie for Warres, that hee enfileth Rapines and Spoiles, where they make Iohn his Brothers Heire by Will, hee makes Arthur they say hee was a valiant man, hee faith hee was a Coward, where they make him a pursuing, and Philip flying, hee chargeth him to haue made onely plaints, when he should haue drawne swords; where they charge the Peeres for drawing backe from his Warres, hee makes them the onely Hasteings, and Iohn the Hinderer; briefly, if at first shooting Meteors appeare about, it portends Heauens fury on Iohn; if the watry Element ouerflow, it bodes Iohns fury on his Land. But surely that part thereof, which fell on Geoffrey, it was (you see) not vndeferred: notwithstanding, vpon the Kings returne into England, and Geffreys to his more loyall carriage & submission, his Peace was made, at the very time, & for the more celebrity, of Queen Isabel's Coronation, with whom the King himselfe was againe crowned at Westminster by Archbishop Hubert.

(10) The Pompe of that solemnity ended, the King resolved of ending a long depending contro- uersie with King William of Scotland, who formerlie (before Iohn was proclaimed King) had challenged, as his patrimoniall Right, the Counties of Northumberland, and Cumberland, and afterward seeing hee got but words and delays, was ready, (King Iohn being then in France) with an hotter and more forceable argument, to winne, what hee could not craue: but being in dark deuotion all Night at Saint Margarets Earle, the still true English-hearted Queen perswaded him by a Dreame (for certainly it was no other) not to infect England her native soyle, who therupon sent backe his Army. But now hee commeth with a more friendly traine, vpon King Iohns sending to him, in Honourable Embassage, the Earles of Huntingdon and Hereford, King Williams Brother and Nephew, his three Sonnes in Law, Lacy, Percy, and Ros with others, to desire him to giue him meeting at Lincoln, where accordingly they both meet with kindly curtseys; and the next day, King Iohn to auspicate his Temporal Affairs with Spirituall deuotions, (and yet to shew what hee thought of some superstitious follies of those times) went vndoubtedly into the Cathedral Church, being much disswaded by many, (for Monkish Impostures perwaded many it was very ominous for a King to enter that, and certaine other places) and there offered a golden Chalice on Saint Iohns Altar, which no King before him durst doe. Where his Deuotions performed, the two Kings (in presence of three Archbishops, thirteene Bishops, the King of South-Wales, with a multitude of English, Scottish, French, and Irish Princes and Peeres, ascending the toppe of that conspicuous & high hill, on the North side of the Citie, did there in glorious solemnity, sweare a mitie and faithfull loue, vpon the Crozier of Archbishop Hubert.

(11) That Spectacle so roial to the beholders, was seconded with another no lesse Honourable to K. Iohn, (for Humility in such great ones is more glorious then their glory,) when the King hauing lately left

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left Hugh Bishoppe of Lincoln (called the Saint, for the opinion of vnfaigned integrity, though ble- mished with some obnoxious, and surcharged with Legends of fained Miracles) at London very sick, (where himselfe with gracious care went to visite him, and both confirmed his Testament and promised the like for other Bishops after,) now hearing hee was dead, and his Corps then bringing into the gates of Lincoln, hee, with all that princely Train, went forth to meete it; the three Kings (though the Scottis was to depart that very day) with their roiall Allies, carrying the Hearie on those shoulders, accustomed to vphold the weight of whole kingdomes: from whom the Great Peeres receiued the fame, and bare it to the Church Porch, whence the three Archbishops and Bishops con- uiait it to the Quire, and the next day (it there ly- ing the meane time open faced, mixed, and in all Pontifical Ornamentes, with Gloves on his hands, and a Ring on his finger) interred it with all solemnities as- surable. Yet here the King rested not to giue proofe, in so great a height, of his lowly mind, and then benigne (how euer afterward auctored) to the Clergy; when twelue Abbots of the Cisteriaux Habit (whose whole Order had displeased him, by refusing to giue Aid towards his great payment of thirte thousand pounds) came now to Lincoln, and all prostrate at his feet, craued his gracious fauour, for that his Forerunners had driuen out (for so the King had giuen command) of his Pastures and Forreys all their Cattle, wherewith themselves, and Christs Poore were sustained. The King touched with remorse on so venerable a troope of Suppliants, (though so great offenders) commaunded them to rise, who were no sooner vp, but the King inspired with diuine Grace, fell flat on the ground before them, desiring pardon, adding, that hee not only admitted them to his loue, & their beafts to his Pastures, (a special fauour which Kings had graunted that Order,) but would also build an Abbey for men of their sort, (if they would designe some choice seat) wherein himselfe meant to bee en- terred. Neither did hee promise then more then hee performed, nor were those wylie Humiliates regard- lesse of choosin a delicate plotte for the purpose, where hee built a goodlie Abbey of their Order, de- ferredly for the pleasure of the place, named Beau- lieu, and of which Reuenue, and excellent Priuilege; continuing long of great reuynne, as a Castle of refuge inuoluable, our Ancestors thinking it most hainous sacrilege, thence to draw any, though wilfull Mur- derers or Traitors: wherein the Founders of such vnchristianised Sanctuaries, & Temples of Mercy (so they called the) throughout this Kingdom, seemed rather to take Romulus for their President, the Moles, who granting fauour to casual Manslaughters, yet commanded wilfull Murderers to be drawn from the Altar to the slaughter.

(12) By what degrees, men not onely of such re- puted religious habit, but also of the Secular Clergy, fell afterward more and more from such fauours of the King, and hee from theirs, a man that will not purposely winke, may easily behold, both sorts stand- ing so stiff on their persons, and their possessions Exemption from Regall command, that whiles the Pope could haue all for any superfluous im- ploiment, the King could get nothing, though his Kingdome were in hazard, as you heard by the dis- loyall obnoxious both of the Archbishop of York, who denied the King his personall attendance, and those Cisteriaux Monks, whose Officers were thus lockt against him. The like pretended Exemptions of their Clergie-Precelies (as well as of their Persons and Purues) wrought also like offences, both with former Kings, and now with King Iohn, who on the death of Bishop Hugh, refusing to conferre by gift, (as his Ancestors did, and himselfe elsewhere lately had) that See, on some whom either merite or affection had endeared to him, (the rather, because men of those places in those dayes, were vually their Soueraignes bolom-

Counsellors) hee was with peremptory affronts withstood by the Cannons there, who very bolde on the Popes vpbearing, reckt very slenderly their Princes displeasing. It is not vnlike that Arch- bishop Hubert (left Canterbury might be thought in- ferior to Iohn in daring boldnes, as being Papal Le- gate, in secret bolstering them had a hand, though closely carried in a gloue: for that the man, who lately, gloried the King was wholly his, now finding hee had not the sway hee expected, and thought hee deferred (by obligation of his first Agency about the Crowne, not onely studied to make vpp that by his Legatine Glory which hee wanted by his Princes countenance, but further, (as one who thinks hee extolles his vertue, paints forth his disloyalty) hee repented now more then any thing in all his life, that hee had so aduanced King Iohn to the Crowne. Certes about this time, hee shewed slender respect to his Soueraigne, (for as God is in his, so are Kings dishonoured in their Ministers dis- graces) when being prohibited by Fitz-Peter, the Kings great Iustitiar and Minister (in the Kings ab- sence) of regall command, from holding a General Councell of his Province, (neuer vided to be held, but by Soueraigne permittance) his pleasure for to take any countenance, but from him especially, who, in calling his inferior, by ioynt defers to- wards the King, but his Equall, was now, in nece- nesse and fastnesse to the King, become farre his Superiour. But what I speake of confronting a subordinate power? did hee spare to out-beard his Soueraigne himselfe? It seemes no. For hauing notice, the Feast of the Nativity now approaching, that the King intended with his Queene, at Gifford to keepe that feastiuitie with great magnificence; hee whole Pallace ordinarily, for splendour, multitude of Attendants, and sumptuous intertainments did striue with the Kings (as one of his own Successors auows) thought this a fitting time, to shew, both his great state, and little regard of his Princes discountenance, by paralleling to the Kings, his owne sumptuous pre- parations, with rich attires, and costly gifts for his Attendants at Canterbury. The King as Kings brooke not to bee braued by Subjects, nor is it wisdome for disfauourites to doe it,) moued with great in- dignation, thought the man had too much riches, & too little Discretion (which seldom lodgeth in the braine, where Pride dwels in the Heart,) and there- fore to abate somewhat the one, and learne him more of the other, hauing first bene in the North parts to gather money for his better vses, hee meant not to lauish it in keeping his Easter, which hee chose rather to doe at the cost of Hubert the Riche, & not to spare him, who spared not himselfe, hee increas- t that great expence with a greater, of His, and his Queenes sollemne crowning againe on Easter day, in the Cathedral Church; where, in lieu of his expence, Hubert had the formall honour to sit on their Crownes, but yet not the grace to sit neere the Kings Throne.

(13) Such being the first ouertures of hart-bur- nings betwixt the King and his Clergy, which after by additament of dayly fueling, braist forth into a more fearefull flame; the Lay-Peeres were so farre from labouring to quench it, that they made it the fiercer: for these Bellows of Rebellion, which be- fore their Homages did condition for their Rights & Liberties, were not all this while sparing of their breath, to inflame other Nobles with the like heat of fury. Hell it selfe (whence all Rebellions spring, and thither fall againe) could not with a siter oc- casion to broach and actuate such a mischief. For the Poynoning with King Philips coniunction, (taking aduantage of King Iohns absence, and Springs ap- proach) were vp in Armes, dislodged his Garri- sons, beleagured his Castles; tidings whereof recal- led King Iohns thoughts from his Domestick Pompes, to his Transmarine Affaires; for the pre- sent, hee gaue command to his Seneschall of Nor- mandy,

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mandy to attempt on them some Counter-services, to withdraw the *Seigers*, (whom also King Philip, hearing King John was in person coming over with an Army, forthwith recalled, and published his general summons, that his Barons, Barons, and all that held by Knights-service, should be ready at Portsmouth with Horse and Armes, on Whitsonday then instant, to crosse the seas with him. The tumultuous Earles knowing, that the King then needed their present helps, and therefore might be forced to any Capitulations, in a conventicle held at *Leycester*, by a joint conspiring, sent an audacious messenger to the King, that they would not attend him, unless he would first restore their rights, with which disloyal refusal, the King justly incensed, by some means too precipitate advise, considering the hazardous time which needed a saluer rather than a corasive, seized into his hands some of their Castles, to prevent their further attempts, of some he took their children for pledges, and others, whose Purges were likely to doe him truer service then their owners, hee released upon payments. At which prefixed time, he dispatched before him William Earle of Pembroke, and Lord Roger Lacie with two regiments to ioine with Normandies Seneschall. What a graue Author iudged of those bold Barons here, and other turbulent Great-ones then abroad, may be gathered by this; that as soone as mention fell in of those refractory Lords, he freighted felloff, to shew how in that very yeare, Pope Innocent then reigning in Rome, *Saffadine the Turke in Jerusalem*, *Alexander the Patriarch in Constantinople*, (for so he yoked those three together, with some others following them) the great Doctors preached, that then was the time (propheied by Saint Iohn) when after a thousand years restraint, the Diuell was let loose, to seduce the Nations like a Serpent, and trouble the world like a Dragon: which how true it proved in this our Nation and little World, (in whose Tragedy the Diuell also, amongst the first named Actors, comes now to play his part,) the Diabolical enfeign practices, both of fraud and fury, will hereafter demonstrate.

(14) The King, though thus diffurnished of his principall home-helpers, yet entrusting the custody of the land, especially those Southern parts, with *Hubert de Burgo* Lord Chamberlaine, and receiving to full reconciliation (for more security of the Northerne, *Geoffrey Archbishop of Yorke*, whose Churches large Priviledges then he ratified, without delay at Portsmouth hee put forth to sea, with Isabel his Queene, though in sundry Bottomes, and with differing success, a sudden gust departing the Fleet, whereby the King was driven backe on the Isle of *Wight*, but the Queene with much ado, arrived safe in Normandy, whom soon after the King followed thither. Upon whose arrivall, the French King perceiving the power of his adversary, presently confided to another personall (but very private) Parley; wherein each gaue and received such reciprocal satisfaction in their desires, that thereupon, not only the former bonds of Amity seemed to continue strong, but were also more strengthened with a new knot of Association, wherein sundry great Lords of either side were by indentment of Writing, made parties to the counter-part, with condition, that whither of the two Kings did first violate the Covenants, all his cautionary Lords should be released of their allegiance to him, and become Leegemen and Assitants to the Prince offended. And that the world might take more notice of their combined loyes, they both agreed to contribute to the *Holy Warres*, (which now began to bee on foot) the fortieth part of the whole Revenues of their Crowns, sending their Letters abroad into their Dominions, to encourage all their Nobles & people, by their examples to doe the like. With which intercourses, & other complements, three daies being spent betwixt them, King Philip the deeper

to serve himselfe into King John's good opinion, (the surest way to overreach another in any commerce) by intreaty obtained his company, first to *S. Denies Palace*, where hee entred with a pompous Procession of the Clergy, and lodged with royall entertainment by the King, and the next day, to *Paris*, where hee was received with very rich Presents of the City, and great applause of all sorts, to see so noble arguments of affection betwixt two so great princes, lately so mortal enemies: where the French King betaking himselfe to a more private mansion, left his owne pallace to accommodate and honor Englands King. After some dayes there bestowed in princely delights, and entertainments, King John conducted forth of the City by King Philip, and parting with mutual attestations of love neuer to be parted, took his journey towards Normandy, in full hope to enjoy thence forward the contentment of quiet to himselfe, and peace to his Dominions: but those windy hopes soone changed with his change of the aire.

(15) For whilst at *Chinon* hee was roially entertaining Queene *Berengaria* his sister (whom hee there also bounteously satisfied in performing the Joynture promised her by King Richard, giving her the City and Signiory of *Baion*, two Castles, and their Demaines in *Anjou*, with a thousand Markes yeerelie for tearme of life,) and at *Argentan* in Normandy, where hee kept his Christmas, was joining himselfe with his faire Queen *Isabel*, the Earle of *March*, *Hugh*, surnamed *de Bruns*, a Peere of great power and alliance, to whom *Isabel* was first promised (though for her vnripe yeares he neuer bedded her) enflamed with love of her, who was now thought worthy to bee a Queene, drew on other *Fortune* Nobles, to thinke that hee was unworthy to bee a King, who wrongfully had taken her from him, and would, if not prevented, doe the like in time with them. So, once againe young *Arthur*, whose former hopes were all cold, is re-kindled by these fire-brands, and set up by their malice, to supplant his vncl, but by Heavens Decree, to overthrow himselfe; howsoever the *Brittaines*, then facinated with his ominous Name, dreamed that the ancient *Great Arthur* was risen againe in him, and that the Translation of the *English Kingdom* was now by him to be effected. Neither was the French King, for all his late painted pretensions of love, deafe to their suggestions, who laboured to incense his hatred against John; whereto hee had thence further inducements; that King John might quicklie waxe too potent a Neighbour in that Continent, if his quiet and power were not timely rebated; that now the means to worke it, were more then before, the *English Peeres* being alienated in affection from him, for denying their claimed Liberties; but chiefly, that hee profited (such base ends can some propose of to Noble a Band) which hee hoped for by his amity (being the enjoying of those Signiories in the Continent, if hee died sans issue) was now in a manner cut off. Queene *Isabel* beginning to give apparant hopes of some faire fruit from so faire a stemme. Thus whilst Earle *Hugh* out of his love, Duke *Arthur* out of Ambition, King Philip out of Avarice, (ah that the noblest person should have the basest end,) but all out of Hatred, were contriving King John's ruine: hee was farthest from suspicion, when nearest his danger, and yet they, who thus were forward to vndermine his Greatnes, were themselves formost to bee cruell with the weight thereof.

(16) But these lie Serpents throwed in secret their envenomed heades, till the warmth of the Spring (a time suiting for martiall mischiefs) called them forth; when King Philip (having newly cast his skinned, and as most able, so was most willing to break the way) desired another interview with King John: who coming thither (the place was twice *Vernon* and *Lisle Dandale*) with expectation

tion of some fruits of those lovely courties which their last meeting seemed to have engrafted, he there found that this last winter had nipt all those faire blossomes. For Philip, forgetfull of all former Compacts, and pretending some imaginary wrongs, in outrageous manner required him without delay to redeliuer into *Arthur's* hands, all his *Transmarine* dominions, *Normandy*, *Turayne*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, or otherwise as Lord Paramount of those Countries, which John held by Homage, he peremptorily cited him personally to appeare in *Baister Terme* at *Paris*, there to answer what should bee laide to his charge, and to abide the Arrest of his Court of Justice. The colour on which hee thus did cite him, was (say some) King John's sharpe repressing of some rebellious attempts of *Hugh le Brun* the former year, wherof the Earle complained to King Philip, as to the chief Lord. King John much amazed to see, not only *hony* so soone diltented into gall, but the French King also turned into an Apparour, so disdained both his Citation and Commands, as very vnnooble for Englands King to accept, or the French to offer; neither indeed did Philip thus put the matter to daying, as intending any such legitimate proceeding, but only to make his adversary secure of any other assaults, then by *Petty-foggers*. For whether it be true or no, that King John for his non-appearance, was by sentence of the French Peeres adjudged to loose all his Territories in the Continent: certaine it is, that no sooner was the Conference with indignation broken off, but Philip (hee had before prepared to effect what hee had prolected) with power and fury assailed *Burton* Castle, whose Turrets (high-reared by King Richard) hee beleuelled with the Foundations, and thence sodainly like a flash of lightning, beganne to invole the neighbouring partes with *rafsakings* and *ruines*, till giuing an assault, (which had held him eight dayes) to the Castle of *Radeport*, King John coming to the rescue, forced him with shame to speed away. To repaire which dishonour, and to empaire the English forces by distraction of imployments, returning to *Paris*, hee there appointed for *Arthur* (to whom hee had now affianced his younger daughter) both certaine selected Nobles to bee protectors to secure and guard his person, & also bands of Souldiers to attend his command, amongst which were 200 of the choicest Knights of France, all which in very pompous Troopes followed him, (with Philips directions, and also supply of great summes of money) into *Poitou*, to reduce those partes to his Allegiance; which was no hard matter to effect; the greater part of Commanders there (being fore-wrought) expecting nothing more, and the better part suspecting nothing lesse, then these perfidious assaults.

(17) Queene *Eleanor* Regent of those provinces, attended with a very slender guard, yet strong enough for daies of quiet, (which both her Age did now desire, and her Homage done to Philip, and Philips faire shewes to her did promise) having no speedier notice of those incursions, then the vnpleasing effects thereof, (for on *Arthurs* good success, King Philip proclaimed him Lord of those Dominions) be took her selfe into *Nirabeau*, one of the most notable townes in *Poitou*, sending to King John, (whose forces were then in Normandy and *Mayne*, repressing or preventing Philips attempts) for present aids. Which yet could not so speedily come, but *Arthur* (who knew that upon seizure of such a prize as *Eleanor*, hee might draw her sonne to any conditions) had prevented them, besieged her, and possessed himselfe of her towne, though not of her person, as some by mis-understanding have misrelated. For the retiring into the Castle, made it good against her Grandchildes incessant batterie, about which, whilst he, with his continuall supplier of *Poitou* and *Anjou* princes, was indefatigably busied, King Johns Army were at hand (for his expedition both by day and night to his mothers relief,

cue, is recorded as admirable) brought the neives of their owne approach; which caused the great Army of the *Leagers* to indultious before to impeach others, no lesse sollicitous now to defend themselves. Both Armies martially ranged, & *Arthurs* Battalions not only undauntedly, but also very pompously coming on to the shocke, the fight proved most fierce and terrible, each side resolving, by reason of both the Competitors presence in the field, that the End and vphor of all their designs, depended on that dayes success: which in the end by the fortunate prowess of King John and his English, fell disastrouslie on *Arthur*, his French, and other Assitants, who after a great slaughter made amongst them, turning their backs to him, from whom they had before turned their Faithes, took their flight towards the *Tourne*, to shelter their liues within those walles, which so late the Seat of their triumphs, became now the cage of their captivation, and the Tombes of all *Arthurs* ambitious hopes, though himselfe so vnhappy as to surue the victor: for together with the tumultuary flyers, the victorious King & his Armie entered, renewed a most bloody fight, repossessed the Town, freed his mother, enthralld his Enemies, and recovered all the provinces which had revolted.

(18) This victory was so glorious to King John, and so dreadful to his Enemies, (for King Philips two chiefe confederates, *Arthur* and *Hugh Brun*, Raymond, Father to *Guido* the husband of *Constance*, & all the Peeres of *Poitou* and *Anjou*, about 200. French Knights and others of command, besides the vulgar multitudes were taken prisoners) that both then King Philip, though very hote in the siege of *Argues* in Normandy, presently cooled and contented with newes thereof, brake vpp his fortnights siege, and returned home; and since, the French fawning fauourites, and King Johns maligners have sought to extenuate the matter, auerring against all truth of record, that it was exploited before the French were come to *Arthurs* aide, and when all his Souldiers were both unarmed and unarmed. But, as others highly extolling King Johns valour herein, interpret those fore-doomes of *Merlin* to have beene ment of him, that he should be crowned with the head of a Lion, should cut out the tongues of Bules, and lay on chains on the backs of roving Beasts (and indeed hee chained them hand and foot, and to conuay them away in Carts, a kind of riding till then vnusall with them,) so King John himselfe, duly acknowledging the greatness of Gods goodnesse therein, sent his Letters to all his Barons whersoever (thereby to encourage the loiall, and hold in awe the tumultuous) inciting them to render all prayse unto God for so admirable a worke, and so grations assistance: and soone after hee dispersed his noblest Captiues into sundrie Castles in Normandy and England; *Arthurs* sister *Eleanor*, called the *Damoiselle of Britaine*, being committed to *Bristow* Castle, where shee long liued with very honourable age. And though the Kings displeasure was iustly incensed against her brother *Arthur*, for so frequent wauering in his faith, yet meaning to trie all means of winning him who had thus lost himselfe, hee sent for him (being then at *Salaisie* in the custody of *S. Hubert* L. Chamberlain) and entreated him very gently, promising him all honourable respects, if as yet he would resolve to forsake the French kings amity, and frame both his mind for hearty love, and his Actions for peaceable observance towards him, his vncl and Lege Lord. Which exceeding clemency, the ill-advised young Gentleman (for what wildcome is it to shew pride where wee neede mercy, and to give threats beyond possibility of performance) required only with arrogant and undutifull language, furiously obraidng the king with violent and fraudulent detention of the English Crowne, which menacingly hee there required of him, and aliother King Richards Countries, as his lawfull inheritance.

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* Præfatio cautio-
ne iuratoria,
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g V. V. C. M. S.
h V. V. C. M. S.i Mr. Fox misla-
ketts saying it
was the next
day after Regi-
and went, also
Polydor, Holin-
and Milt saying
it was not till
they heard
from Rome.
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n Godwin, Holin-
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p Mat. V. V. C. M. S.

q V. V. C. M. S.

* Dated 6. J. J. J.
Decemb.
r Paris. Bist. de la

Kings assent, and leave to elect, and therefore to pre-
vent both his * interposing and displeasure, till it
were too late for him to redress the wrong; the
same night they caused their *Electio* to enter * caution by
oath, neuer to carry himselfe as *Archbishop*, nor to
make it knowne to any man living, till he had fur-
ther *speciall warrant from them, upon prooffe of the
successes it might find at Rome*, whether forthwith they
sent him for his dispatch.

(31) Reginald taking *Flaunders* in his way, was
both so * proud, * perurious, and * impudent, (the ver-
tues of their most choice man) that he could neuer
conceale the purpose of his journey, and boast of
his dignity from any mans *Eares*, nor from their *Eyes*
the Conventual letters ratifying the same. Whereof
when the Couent had notice, *vehemently incensed a-
gainst him who had thus divulged their secret*, and pro-
vidently calling how to evade the Kings offence,
out of hand they bespiced certaine of their *Cruce*,
to craue both * pardon of their fact, and licence for
choice of some worthier *Primate*. There was then
in high grace and imploiment about the King, *John
Gray Bishoppe of Norwich*, a man of great *wisdom*,
learning, and *integrity*, (qualities truly befitting
that high place) whom the King much desired to ad-
vance, commending him, as one * most deare unto
him, and of his *secrettest Counsels* of which, some say,
hee was *President* most behoofull for the *Common-
wealth*, for *Himselfe*, and them: which message from
the King faithfully deliuered, all of them glad thus
to redeme the favour, which they had hazarded, with
unanimous consent elected him; and sending for him
from *Torke* (where hee was in the Kings affairs) the
King himselfe graced his entrance into *Canterbury*
with his presence in *great pompe*; and the next day,
the King with a multitude of People assembling in the
Metropolitane Church, the Prior did there publish his
Electio solemnly, and in due forme performed; where
the Monkes carrying him with *Te Deum* to which the
Altar, did forthwith enthronize him in the *Chaire of his
Principales*. The King there in presence of them all, giue-
ing him *actual possession of his Temporalties*. This
louing correspondence betwixt the King and his
Clergy, gaue great hope of more blissfull fortunes
henceforward vnto them both; but the Infernall
Author of debate, and his *chiefest Agent*, took a hint
hereby to intrude a Tyranny both vpon Clergy,
King and all.

(32) Little thought false *Reynor* what was doing
at *Canterbury*, whiles hee was trotting to *Rome*; whi-
ther when hee came, and shewed his *letters of Rati-
fication* to his Holiness and his Cardinals, he recei-
ued this *short answer*, that it was a *business which as-
ked mature deliberation and better informations*; the
Pope soon finding, that the *Sub-prior* was too sleight
an instrument for him to worke with, and for King
John to be wrought with, and therefore bethought
him of some fitter hammer for so hard an Anvill.
But fundry stoppes were in the way, which wily
and by degrees were to be removed. The first was
(which *Reginald* in likelihood had imparted to hasten
his owne dispatch) that the *Bishopps* of the *Province*
claimed a ioint interest with the Monkes, in choice
of their *Primate*: a point which could no way suite
with the Popes aduantage, because *Bishopps* were
generally much obliged to their Soueraignes, and
so likely still to Elect a *Royalist*, whereas *Cloyster-
men*, professing ignorance of worldly affairs, and o-
bedience to one Superior, might more easily be
swayed to bend as the Pope would bow them, in
preferring his creatures. Which was the Motiue (we
may suppose) of the Popes * letters, soone after
sent to the Suffragane *Bishopps*, exhorting them by
* sacred example, and precept of *filiall obedience*, to
desist from vexing, like *vandusfull* *sonnes*, their *Mother
Church* with such vnde claims. The *Bishopps* notwith-
standing, who knew themselves in sacred writ to be
styled *Fathers*, would not thus acknowledge the
Monkes for their *Mothers*, till *Innocentius* to his

light *Reasons* added the weight of his *Keyes*, and by
his power swept both that and other, rubs out of his
intended way. For the King keeping his Christmas
at *Oxford*, (attended as it seemeth by his *Bishopps*)
meaning not to pretermitt any faire means to worke
the Popes inclination towards the new *Elect*, he sent
for * twelve of the Monkes, whom with some other
of his owne Clerks (which carried his letters to the
Pope) he put in trust for transacting this business
at *Rome*; allotting them *very bountifull expences* out
of his *Exchequer* for their whole journey. They to
leave with the King (who knew well the traines of
Rome, and the ouer-reaching fetches of *Innocentius*),
a pledge of their duty, and assurance of his hopes,
* entered with him * a *covenant by oath*, that no man,
nor meanes should remove them from him, whom
the King & themselves had already appointed. The
Bishopps sent * the same time their *Procurators* also,
to plead their right of *Co-election*; so as, foure ob-
stacles stood at once in the Popes way, (the two *elec-
tions* of the Monkes, and the two *claims* of the King
and *Prelates*, hee for his *Royal assent*, they for their
ioynt consent, in the choice) which all must be done
and voided before the Pope can haue his full forth.

But because these will aske long time for contri-
ving, (which moued his Holiness to adourn the
hearing to the very * end of the year) wee will see
the while how the King and State of England is im-
ploied.

(33) The dorre, which deceased *Hubert* did put
vpon *K. John* and his late design, gaue both *K. Philip*
aduantage, to take surer footing in his new posses-
sions, and *King John* greater stomack and edge to
recover his old. The last taske (almost) of the one,
and hold of the other, was *Chinon* a place of great
strength, but in nothing more, then in the cuer-tru-
sty valour of her Captain, *Roger Lacy*; who (if * some
mistake him not in steed of * *Hubert de Burgo*) being
redeemed from the *French*, resolved here to giue
Philip another taste of his prowess, and *King John*
of his fidelitie; had not others faithlesse feare de-
feated his braue resolution. For the besieged ha-
ving * no rest night or day, from a long and incef-
sant batterie, their *Commanders* inuincible con-
stancy against yielding, which enheartned the bet-
ter sort, disinayed the baser, as more prizing their
life, then their *faith or fame*; some of which by
night slipping ouer the walles, so instructed the e-
nemy of all secret aduantages to possess the towne,
that by a sodaine assault, both it and *Lacy* (more
worth then it,) was againe surprized. Here seem-
ed to haue bene the *Garland of Philips* conquest;
had not newes bene thither brought vnto him of
some new risings in *Brittaine*, where *Guido*, the hus-
band of *Constantia*, *Arthurs* Mother, (sensible be-
like of the false-grounded wronges offered to *King
John*, vnder pretence of *Arthur*), * returned gladly
both into *Amity* and a strong league with the *Engli-
sh*: and with him also *Samary Malleon*, and *Almerick Lu-
signian*, * two Peeres of heroicke valour and great
command, whom *King John* of his * prisoners, had
made by prudent and louely viage his trusty friends.
The *French King* fuming to see his vniust intrusions
thus preiudiced, (especially by *Arthurs* owne father
in law) was hastning from *Chinon* into *Brittaine*, to
worke reuenge on them, whose exemplar equic
should haue bene his mirrour of amendments;
Englands King on the other side, was no lesse heart-
ned with this new consideration, sleuying once again
a puissant Army, which he * landed at *Rochel*, being
the only noted place, which in all these turmoiles
and mutabilities of Fortunes, kept her selfe entire
from entrance either of enemy, or of disloyall
thought.

(34) The King hauing his Army much augmen-
ted * with great concourses of his best affected *Pro-
vincials*, marching confidently forward, subdued a
great portion of that Country; till comming to *Mon-
t-Alban*, a Castle of much renowne, (as being repu-
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puted * *inexpugnable*, and now the *Rende-uou* of his
most potent enemies, and all their flower of *Chivalry*, hee
gaue a terrible assault thereto for 15. dayes toge-
ther; where at last his * *Englismens* valour was so
adventurous in scaling the walles, and both giuing and
taking blowes vnpertable, that in those few dayes hee
entered *Conquerour* into that very place, * which
Charles the great, could not get with his *seuen years* siege.
The multitude of *Nobles* therein taken was so great;
that hee lent into England a bedroll of their names,
for a memoriall of so great a victory. Which auspici-
ous beginnings hee seconded with no lesse expedi-
tion, prouidence, and prowess, in the siege of *An-
giers*, where on his first approach, hee * gaue present
instructions to his maine Army, suddenly to enui-
ron the whole City, & by assault to seeke entrance
at the walles on euery side, whiles himselfe and his
selected band, with fire and Engines would assaile
the Gates; where with great celerity, and no lesse
hazard then hardinesse, breaking through, he be-
came Lord of his owne. But whatsoeuer were the
Citizens demerites, pititious it was, that their of-
fences, and the Conquerors wrath, lay so heauy on
those stately walles, as * to throw them flatte to the
ground; which hasty doome, (it being the * *cradle*
of his birth, and City of his chiefest delight) hee as ex-
cessively (and very deely too) repented, when with ex-
cessive expences hee encircled it againe with a beautie
farre beyond the former. These faire successes, hum-
bling all the Country before him, cleared his pas-
sage into *Picardy*, whither *King Philip* was now con-
uerting all his power to oppose himselfe against
the violence of this Torrent: which * now more fa-
cily hee might stoppe, hauing in his way by laying
secret ambushments, laid hands vpon Duke *Guido*,
Suary, and *Almerick*, *King Johns* principall hopes,
as they were busily aduancing his present affairs:
by which surprize, though the *Engliss* forces missing
their *Provinciall* aids, were greatly impaired, yet their
* great hearts were not much amated, as the *French-
men* found, when both the *Armies* neere appo-
aching our night, the next morning alacriously they
addressed to the fight, and with great spirits on each
side expected the Signall. Notwithstanding, the day
likely to proue dreadfull with expence of blood, vpon
carnell interceding of * forraigne Prelates and re-
ligious persons, who undertook equally to compose
all things; both Kinges condescended to a two-
yeeres * Truce, *King John* chiefly out of affection to
his Captiue friends, whose liberty was formost in
the conditions.

(35) Hauing thus settled those Countries in farre
better termes then last hee found them, hee embar-
ked for England; where hee laid not aside a careful
(though distastfull) prouidence, for still bettering
those his successes: for which ends, whiles from his
Subiects (both Lay and Clergy) hee * gathered money,
the *Sinewes of warre*, hee lost their affections, the *ioints
of Peace*; whereof *Geffrey Archbishoppe of Torke* (his
Natural and vnnatural brother) was a principall in-
centiue; who * solemnly cursing all the Kinges re-
ceiueurs within his Prouince, fled secretly out of the
land, which periculiue, * a bitter enemy of *K. John*,
yet bitterly taxeth, saying, * the *Engliss Bishopps* were
farre from that dutifull obseruance towards their Soue-
raigne, which the *French Bishopps* performed to theirs, at
whose command they maintained Souldiers in his warres
against *King John*, acknowledging they were so bound to
doe, as often as the King pursued the warres in person
though now also they did it, where hee was not in person.
And indeed how hollow-hearted to the State those
money-murmurers were, their * owne friend be-
betraied, shewing, how with curses they wished,
and prayed to God, that these exactions might neuer haue
any good success, though they knew it was purposefull
for preferring a maine part of the Kingdom. A di-
loyalty the more vnusufferable by the King, knowing
that but * a very little before, the Popes Legate, *Io.
* Fiorentinus*, nick-named * *Ferentinus*, for bearing a

way so much money, had * gathered of the Clergy
a huge masse of money which in full chests hee conuoyed
to *Rome*. Yet all these domesticke grudges abated not
the Kings due care, nor yet his good hopes, which
were soone after much augmented by the encou-
ragements of *Othoes Imperiall* presence, * who in
person arriving here in England, to proiect for his
owne and his vnles warres, was with great ioyes
met by the King, and conducted through *London*
by night, where all the City was scene in her glory,
all the streetes adorned with richest hangings, beautified
all along with the lustre of pendant Crownes, and burn-
ing lampes: who after some dayes of royall enter-
tainments; hence departed not vnfurnished with
helpes to defray his warres.

(36) Whiles *King John* thus busied about his
open hostilities, *Pope Innocentius* is plotting his se-
cret Stratagemes against him at *Rome*: where, like
vnto that * other old *Roman*, who being chosen *em-
perre* touching some march-lands betwixt two neigh-
bour Nations, vnpartiall to either, * adiudged it
from them both to the *Romane State*; so hee now,
being *Arbiter* betwixt the *King, Bishopps*, & *Monks*,
concerning their choice, hee means to defeat them
all, and * adudge the right of disposing thereof to
his *Romish* See. Therefore, at the * fore-limited day
of hearing, his first care was, that the * *Bishopps* lip-
pes for euer should be sealed vp, (notwithstanding their
* allegations of Law, Reason, Decrees, and Practice),
fro intermeddling in choice of their own *Primate*. Will
you heare the maine reason? because himselfe, and
some other Popes would haue it so. Which definitive
sentence being * sent to the Prelates into England, it was
thought a point of prudence also, to * prepare the
King and worke him pliable before hand, to entertaine
that which was to follow: which must be done by ami-
able lines, and gemmes, wherewith he knew the King
was much delighted. His *Present*, being 4. gold Rings,
with foure precious stones, an *Emrault*, *Saphire*, *Ruby*,
& *Topaze*, hee so vainely & childishly (though * igno-
rance entitle it eloquence) celebrateth in his * *Epistle*,
for their number, forme, and colour, that no man will
question whether it were dictated with an *Apostol-
licke* Spirit. The Rings Roundnesse must remem-
ber the King of Eternity; the *Quadrat* number of Con-
stancy, and of the foure Cardinall vertues, *Iustice*, *For-
titude*, *Prudence*, *Temperance*; the *Gold* price of
wisedom, the *Emraults* greenenesse, of *Faith*; the *Sa-
phires* brightnesse, of *Hope*; the *Rubies* readnesse, of *Cha-
rity*; the *Topazes* clearenesse, of operative *Sanctitie*
&c. Which, though toys, were yet accepted as
pledges of loue for a while, till at last, the King find-
ing by the sequale, they were but baits to beguile
him, esteemed the Popes *Gold as dross*, his *Jewels* as
* *Jewells* fraudes, and his *loue* as most vancoured hatred. For
shortly after came to his notice, the most indigni-
ous iniurie, which the Pope meant to obtrude vpon
him and his Kingdom, hauing not onely hunted
both *Reynard* and *Gray* out of their holdes, but also
imposed vpon him, for the chief place and mana-
ging of his State, one whose hee reputed a chief
and dangerous Enemy to himselfe and it: which
thus was fetched about.

(37) The Monkes freed from the *Bishopps* im-
pugning, were now in the strife amongst them-
selves; the * one side against *Reyners* election vrged,
it wanted *Royal assent*, the greater and sounder part
of Electors, due solemnities, due * time: the other,
against *Norwich*, that no second election could be vali-
dous, unless the former were first annulled. Both their
Reasons pleased well the Pope; who (as pre-po-
sessed Iudges often vfe) made shew of * great dili-
gence in pondering the Pleadings, whereas himselfe
long before had resolved on his Sentence; which
was, that by *Apostollicall* definitive doome, neyther of
the *Elects* should euer be capable of that See. So great
rubbes hath the Pope with so little breath blowen
out of his way. The man whose aduancement al this
while hee had aimed at, was now commended to them

a Mat. West.

Mat. Paris. MS.

b Idem.

The Emperours
entertainment.The Popes be-
ginning of
wrong towards
King John.
c Labou Inter
Nolan. & Neap-
lit. arbit. c
Cicer. offic. l. 1.* Hoc decipere est
non indicare. ibid.
* 12. Cal. lun.

d Paris.

e Vindouer. M. S.

f Dated 12. Cal.
Jan. Paris.

g Mat. Paris.

The Popes pre-
sent and letter to
King John.* John Stow in
Annal.
* Epist. Innocent.
apud Paris.* Gemmes gemi-
tus. ib.

g Paris.

* Being by night,

h Wend. MS.

1 apud Mat. Par.
biff. ma.
min. biff. MS.

1 Mat. West. Paris

* 20. 1. Wendover
MS. Westminster
faith was as of
the Monks.

midem.

* 10 Cal. Jul. Paris
15. Mat. West. Min.
n. Reg. West. MS.

o Blondus Decad.
3. 1. 6.
Pope Innocentius
his three strange
laws.

The wrongs of-
fered vnto King
Iohn.

* Publicum ini-
mum Regi
Franc. familia-
riss. Mat. Paris.
biff. min. MS.
* Inuicem fecer-
unt iudic.

p Mat. West. Min.
q apud Wendover
q Paris.

them, who must be there presently chosen for their *Primate, Stephen Langton*, a Cardinal, English by birth, French by education and affection, one of the transcendent power in the Roman Court, that the Pope was thought not for love, but for envy, (as being himself eclipsed by his nearness) to have wished his service in some remoter dignity. But the Monks ill apaid with what was done already, and very tremulous to enter matter of new intrications, all edged against all further courses, that no Canonically Election could be there made, they having consent neither of King nor Consent; at which word the Pope snapping them up, bad them know, that he had there plenitude of power over the Church of Canterbury; and besides, that no consent of Princes used to be expected in Elections celebrated where the Pope was: hee therefore charged them under paine of his high curse, (a terrible bug-bear in those daies) there presently to choose him for their *Primate*, whom himselfe thought good to nominate unto them. Thus trembling vnder the cracke of this thunderbolt, they all excepting one *Helias de Branfield* (whose constancy shall perpetuate his memory, durst not for feare but elect him, though very unwillingly, and with murmuration: whole Consecration followed by the Popes owne hands at Viterbium, and his earnest recommendation by the Popes flattering letters, to the Kings fauourable acceptance. And this was the vnblest beginning of those new miseries which brought the King to his ending, and his Kingdom to vn-reportable calamities, all which, little did his Holiness or his Charity reckon off, so his desperate *Politie* might take effect. Yet not vnderly felt those iudgements on manie Princes of those times, who neglecting the domesticke execution of *Supreme iustice*, suffered their Subjects, at so high a rate both of expence and trauels, to buy such arbitrary and dangerous formes of a foraine, and fallily named *Iustice*.

(38) Two very presumptuous *Lames* hath one observed to haue bene first hatched by this lawlesse Pope, the one occasioned by King Iohn and Philips former strife, that Princes delinquent must be liable to correction from the Pope; the other, vpon the choice of the Emperor, that where in elections voices are equal, or concord wanting, the Pope may gratifie whome hee please: vnto which we now may add a third no less carduous & insolent, that the Pope may strike up Elections, both where, and of whom, and with, and without what consent himselfe. Which lewd obtrusion, that it galled the King to the quick, we need not maruaile, if wee ballance in one scale, the Popes meere will and pleasure in the other, the dishonour to the King (thus to be triued out of that, which so vehemently, and with his owne preference hee took care to see effected) the prejudice to his Crowne, to be defeated of *Soueraigne assent*; the hazard to the State, to haue his Enemy (a *Philippine*, and French fauourite) the chiefest man ouer his English: besides wrongs more particular, as both the disgrace to his best-deserving Counsellor, the disloyalty of the Monks, first, to choose without his licence, then to mocke him with a second choice, next, to beguile him with oaths, after to trauaile vpon his excofline charge, and lastly to doe, and vndoe all, with their peruerse. With all which so farre the Kings patience suffereed, that hee beganne on them to digorge his wrath, who with him beganne these affronts; profcribing first all those Monkes as Traitors, and afterward writing his letters to the Pope, with relation of those great wrongs to himselfe, and exceptions to *Langton*; vowing immutably to stand for his own Elect, and to die in defence of the Liberties of his Crowne; putting the Pope in mind, that Rome reapt more gaine from England, then from all the Tran-Alpine Regions; threatening also, if hee were now crossed in this, hee would stoppe all from crossing the Seas to Rome, nor would any longer emendicate their foraine Iustice, sith his owne Kingdomes, so abounded with Bishoppes

and learned men of most accomplished perfection in all professions.

(39) If, when this Kings Father vttered some such threats to *Gratian* the Popes vassall, hee then replied: *Sir doe not threaten vs, for wee feare no menaces, because wee are of such a Court as is to be imperious ouer Emperours and Kings*, (which as a remarkable *Apotehe*, *Baronius* sets forth in greater letters;) we may then guess, how this great Lord of that Court did himselfe brooke such tart salutations. Nay the effects bewray it: when in his sublimed Reply, hee shewes the King for comminatory abraydings, and contumacious malepartnesse; and threatens him, that if hee do not, by referring himselfe wholly to his good pleasure, lecke to deserre his Grace, hee should plunge into those difficulties, whence hee should hardly euer get forth; intimating, that himselfe (being unworthy vicerger to him, vnto whom euery knee in Heauen, Earth, & Hell must bow), must in the end needs haue the vpper hand; and that to resist him is to oppugne God himselfe and his Church, for which glorious Becket split his blood. These were indeed bloody words; to affright the King with expectation of more such blowes, and bloody stripes from Rome, as had lighted on his Father. And hee threatned no more then hee acted; for thereupon, hee sent his doubled *Apollolick* command, the one general to all the Prelates, for submitting and adhering resolutely to *Langton*, the other, to some particular Bishops, for consenting the King, and interdicting his whole Kingdom, if him they found still contumaciously rebelling. Neither was hee more insolent in the command, then they in the execution, whereby (on 7 a day all iuring for *vnchristian* an Action) this flourishing Church (though the King had sworn their banishment and confiscation if they did it) was deprived of the very face of Christianity for many ensuing yeeres; as if, not *Innocentius* Christs Vicar, but *Italian* his professed Enemy, had mured up the doores of the Christians Temples for despite of their God.

(40) But this High-Priest had forgotten what another taught him, and he himselfe sometimes thought, about interdicting France for their Kings offence; that better it was one should suffer then a whole Nation perish: whereas now, for the Kings only crossing the Popes good pleasure, God is censured to loose his worships, and all the People to hazard their soules, lying almost like Infidels, without Gods service and blessed Sacrament, yea and dying like dogges tumbled into euery ditch. But what did such wofull effects fasten onely on the Layty? The Clergy bare their part too; whom the flames of the Kings iustly incensed wrath did so scorch, that his Dominions were too hote for their abode: for, their persons hee profcribed and sent packing to the Pope, their reuenues, hee confiscated, their Bishoppes, Abbeyes and Priorishes hee deputed to Laymens custody: their women (for such as had not wiuens, had Lemmans) were dearely ransomed; and euery where they suffered wrongs without ordinary protection of Iustice. Whereof, though our vulgar perfunctary Writers produce no other reason, but the onely overflowing of the Kings gall, as if first stirred by some few delinquent Bishops, through furious reuenge it ouerwhelmed the whole Clergy; yet indeed these were but the due chafticements of their generally disloyall hearts. As (to instance) when the King sent his mandate to *S. Albans*, that not regarding the Popes command in the Interdict, they should continue the celebration of Gods service; the Abbot calling his Monks into the Chapter-house, perswaded them to obey God rather then Man (meaning the Pope rather then the King) and to beare resolutely the Kings anger: whom God in due time would bring to an end. What maruaile then, if the Clergy carried so generally with this streame of a foraine vsurped power, against Gods service, and their Soueraignes god-

godly desire, and due authority, were likewise generally inuolued in that reward of their disloyalty. And yet, euen in the Clergy, many of eminencie detested these cruell and irreligious courses of the Pope; *Philip* the Bishoppe of *Durresme*, and his Successor, with the Bishops of *Norwich* and *Winchester*, heartned the King to contemne the *Papall curse*; the *Cistercian* Abbots (neglecting the Interdict) continued their diuine celebrations, till the Pope suspended them for their contempt; *Alexander* Abbot of the *Benedictines*, a Diuine of exquisite learning (published in his Sermons, that their present calamities were no reproch to their Soueraignes proceedings, but due rewards of the Subjects hainous trespasses, because Kings ought to governe, yea and strongly bridle all disobedient Subjects; whomsoever; but as for Popes they ought not to intermeddle in the ciuill affaires, and regiment of any Princes ouer their vassals, seeing Peter himselfe received no power, but onely in matters appertaining to the Church. And though the Pope were reuenged on him for his plaine truth, and some Monkish humors haue asperfed other such men with bitter reproches, yet what may bee thought both of these the Popes courses, & of such his opposers, a late Iesuite (no partiall man to Princes) theueth, saying, that many, and godly wisemen at that time did wish, that King *Innocentius* had not stood so hard with King Iohn in such a point as this was, for contenting him with a person grateful vnto him in that See. And no maruaile they so wished, seeing that was the ground cause of such infinite confusions, factions, and wrongs, hurrying so indignely the Prince, Peeres, Clergy & Commons; the very contemplation whereof to all godly wise men must needs bee gaffly and ruffill: yet we liue those Anathematizing Bishops, the Instruments of all these euils, who patiently endured vnder the name of Exile, to liue the while abroad in all varietie of delights.

(41) Such perplexities in the People could not but breed as great hatred and hazards to the King; who therefore to preuent the issue of such discontent, (which though causeless, yet kindling in the multitude proue often vnquenchable,) hee required of his Nobles new Oathes of allegiance, pledges of such as hee most suspected, and homage of all Freeholders, yea of twelue yeers old, whom hee dismissed with a kisse of peace. Mildoubting also the Popes further intent to abrogate his Subjects from their due allegiance, hee gathered about him (by example of his Father *Henry* on the like ground) a mighty Armie for all occurrents. The terror whereof hee first displayed in the North, offended (saith one) with *William* King of *Scotland*, for marrying his daughter to the Earle of *Bulloigne*; for receiuing (saith another) Fugitives, and enemies of his State: for throwing down (saith a third) a Castle built by King Iohn against *Barwicke*: but whatsoever were the breach, the cloze was amiable, each accompanying other to *Tork*, where King *Williams* two daughters were promised to King Iohns two sonnes, and deliuered as pledges of vnited loue, with a gift of nine thousand marks. The dread of this his power so glynded out of the North into the West, that vpon his returne, the Princes of *Wales*, and others rich & poor came to him at *Woodstocke* (he like thing neuer heard of before) to doe him homage. But all these links of allegiance were soone crackt by another thunder-clap (from Rome) of Anathemas on the King by Name, with strict iniunction for all men to abandon his presence: which sentence being sent to bee diuulged by the Bishoppes and Prelates in England, all of them for feare or fauour of the King, were content to neglect the Popes command, and let the *Apollolike* proffesse escape without execution. The fame yet thereof was in all mens mouths, but came first (as seemeth) to the Kings Ears; by a seruant of his owne *Exchequer*, *Geffry* Arch-Deacon of *Norwich*, who secretly perswading his fellow-officers, that they were bound in conscience to relinquish the Kings ser-

nice, gaue them example himselfe by leaving his duty and charge; for which hote-braine trickes, hee was put in a *Cole of lead*, the weight whereof (as a punishment of his leuitie) soone hasted his end in prison: but the greater and wiser sort, both of Nobles and others, continued their due attendance on their Soueraignes Court and person, without regard of the censure.

(42) Those Romish furies thus infesting all at home, gaue also courage & opportunity to ill-affected members further off, of which in *Ireland* hauing forfeited long of the Kings Indulgence or abstinence, beganne now to play the Kings themselves. The noble spirit of this Prince in his tender yeeres made choice (on bended knees to his Father, in presence of *Heracles Patriarke of Ierusalem*) rather in deuotion to conduct an Army against the Turks, then in Ambition to take possession of that goodly Kingdom. But being now possessed thereof, and intending (by a kind of compensation for his losses in France) to annexe and assure that Kingdom to the English Crowne, hee resolues with a powerfull Army to quell the disturbers, and reforme the disorders, of his first, and long vnvisited charge. Whole approach such fame and dread did forerunne, that more then twenty Petty Kings of that nation hastened to *Dublin*, there to honour his arrival with their submissive attendance, homage and oath of allegiance; others, eyther vpon confidence of their good holds, or diffidence for their ill desertes, flying his presence, and some of them, the Country. The two *Lacies* (whose onely praye was, that they were the sonnes of a nobly-deserving Father) hauing bene, through ambition of Soueraignty, the fountaine of dangerous garboyles, (tyrannizing ouer the Commons, and making away such of the Nobles, as stood eyther in their light, or in the Kings fauour) fled into France, where they liued in an Abbey as poore *Gardians*, vntill the Abbot desiring by their deportment some state about their habite, vpon penitent humility reconciled them to the King. The Lord *William de Breufe*, (a Baron lately of great command and wealth in the Marches of *Wales*) shewed not the like penitence, nor found the like grace; who, vpon refusal to deliuer his sonne as a pledge of his fidelitie, spedde into *Ireland* to flie the Kings wrath, and now, to auoid his pursuit, fledde also into France, then the common Sanctuary of all trayterous fugitives; but sharp reuenge ouertooke both his Sonne and his Lady (taken in a strong Castle of *Metz*) whose virulent and rayling tongue had more exasperated the fury of the King (whom shee immodestly reuiled as a Tyrant and Murtherer,) then could be pacified by her strange present, (four hundred Kine, and one Bull, all milke-white, except onlie the eares, which were redde,) sent vnto the Queene.

(43) But *Catalus*, the vnquiet King of *Connaught*, trusting to his owne Forces, King Iohn subdued by strong pursuit: and after all carried him captiue in triumph, imprisoned the English Fugitives, tooke pledges both of English and Irish Inhabitants, punished by death malefactors, turbulent persons by ransomes, established all their Lawes, Coines, and Officers, to the English forme, and deputed (which was worth all) a wife, stout and vpright Gouvernour ouer them, the Bishoppe of *Norwich*, *Langtons* competitor: thus setting on that barbarous land so noble and ordered a face of gouernement, as was the stay thereof in those tumultuous times, and a patterne euen to more peacefull ages to imitate. By which both glorious and speedy conquest and reformation, hee better merited that Style of *Irelands Lord*, then when it was confirmed to him by a Crowne of Peacockes feathers from the Pope, at what time (long before) hee inoyed it by his Fathers gift, as his Broad-Scale (here not vnfit to be annexed) will shew.

(44) The

* Capd. Plumbck.
Paris.

u 17. 1. 10.
Ann. 1210.
Non obstante
Sententia, ibidem.

The King seileth
the State of
Ireland.

x Gyralt in Pra.
cm. ad Reg. Ioh.
y Idem Hist. v.
cap. 4. 5. 6.

z Biff. biff. ma.
8. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Earl.

* Walter & Hugh
the sonnes of
Hugh,
Campian biff. of
Ireland,
z Amatus Hib.
Campian biff.
of Ireland.

* S. Taurin.

* Biff. Cambraia.

* v. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

* Famidit (some
say) in Windsor
Castle.

* Paris.

* Old Chron. of
Flouanders. Hollin.

b 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

c 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Amatus Hib.
Campian biff. of
Ireland.

* Iusticiarius
Paris.

* Redge 3. Cal.
Septemb.

* 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Tropid. So the
Pope sent France
a Phoenix feather
Camden. in
Hiber.

This Seale is as a
Chace granted to
Dulby, before
John was King.



An. 1211.
King John subdueth Wales.

*140000. l. where-
by they redeemed
their possessions
from Laymens
custody. Lib. S.
Alton. MS.
d. 11st. of Cam-
bria.

c. 1140.

f. 1140. MS.

g. 1140. MS.

h. 1140. MS.

i. 1140. MS.

k. Reg. de Wend.
MS.

l. English Chron.
MS. compared
with Paris MS.
1140. MS.

m. Reg. de Wend.
MS.

The Kings offers
rejected.

n. English Chron.
MS.

o. Paris MS.

(44) The Banckes of King Johns estate, were not unlike to those in Grounds ill-neighbourd with an encroaching Sea, where before one breach is well made up, another no lesse dangerous is laid open: which endles turmoils kept his Body still in Action, his Mide in passions, and his Prowesse in vce. The vast expences of his triph expedition were no sooner repayed (by a great tax charged on all the Conventual houses) but Lewylin Prince of North-Wales, with his great spoils on the English Marchers, made new matter of charge and exploit for the Kings; ha-ving, to prevent due reuenge, caused his Wallians to conuey all their cattell and better substance to the scarce-accessible refuges of Snowdowne Hill. These difficulties much more whetted and excited the Kings resolution; neither had the vertuall power of the Popes fulmination as yet so blasted his good fortunes, but that hence also hee returned in great Triumph, as Conquerour of all Wales, where, with wonderfull celerity and valour, hee subdued all their Princes and Chieftes, whom hee receiued upon Oath, homage, and hostages, with an absolute graunt of all their inland unto the King for euer. Notwithstanding, perceiving that a very many slypt away for dread (at least for colour) of the Popes curse, from thofe his martiall and other civil seruices (though hee punished by fine all such Reuolters) whereby his person could neuer bee free from danger, nor his State from trouble; hee resolues (seeing the Pope vnflexible, & vnconformable to many Christians calamities) at length to relent from his vowed stiffness against the Popes Elect, in hope so to settle his owne and his Subiects tranquility, though with vnutterable indignity to himselfe. In his returne from Wales, two Nunces from the Pope, Randolph a Subdeacon, and Durand a Knight Templar, met him at Northampton to make the attouement: whereto he was so propent, that hee accorded to assure vnder his Seale, that Archbishop Langton with the Bishops, Monkes, and others, should be restored both to his fauour, and to their possessions; that, holy Church should haue all the Franchises, as in Edward the Confessors time: that hee would neuer take any thing of holy Church against the owners will: but, because hee would not also make full satisfaction for all confiscations, and other emoluments receiued of the Clergie, (may, hee could not haue expended all his treasure in his continuall warres,) the Clergie and their Factors (the Legates) more prizing their priuate gaine, then the weale publike of their Native Country, contemned the sweet proffer of peace, & exposed all to the ban of a reuengeful contention. For hereupon they did not onely denounce the curse upon the King by name (which the Prelates before durst not doe) and upon all other who conuersed with him; but, as if hee had most contumaciously con-

temned quietnesse, by their relations they incensed the Pope (to procure of himselfe to set forth his owne greatness) to put on him a farre more indignant wrong and contumely then Interdiction, by absolute-lying all Kings and People, poore and rich, hauing dependance on him, from all Fealty and Subiection to him.

(45) This being the third steppe, whereby both the Pope ascended to the height of his vnrulped power, and mercilesse reuenge, and the Subiects daylie descended from their loyall obseruance, made King John more circumspect to strengthen himselfe, both with an Army no lesse faithfull then powerfull, & also with the loue of his Neighbour-Princes. King William of Scotland, at this time infested with a dangerous rebellion, (stirred up within his Kingdom by one Gothred, laying claime, vnder color of some antiquated title, to his Crowne) being himselfe infirme with age, sent his sonne Prince Alexander into England, to craue assistance of King John, who (by his owne princely loue and readinesse, to demerite theirs) resolving with his Army in person to chastise the disturbers of his trusty Confederate, before his setting forth, did on the Table in a solemne feast, (which hee kept in the Hospitall of Clerkenwell) ad-orn Prince Alexander with the belt & Order of Knight-hood; and afterward with his host vanquishing the Rebels, advanced their Chief-leader farre higher then his owne Ambition expected, and left that Kingdom in a settled peace. But while hee is thus kindly carefull in suppression of anothers Rebelles, his owne at home as vnkindly vigilant to undermine his State; the Popes Absolution, like magicke spells, hauing let loose many tumultuating spirits, which will not easily be laid againe. For the Chiefes among the Wallians, whom neither breach of their Oathes, nor losse of their noble hostages, (*which loone after perished for their parents finnes) could deterre, suddenly fell off from the King, and fell on his Subiectes with much slaughter of men, burning of Townes, and surprisall of Castles: whereof, while the King meaning to take sharpe reuenge, was on his way at Nottingham with an vnresistible Armie, letters of great speed and secrecie were deliuered to him (as hee late at meate) from his faithfull and grateful friend the Scottish King, & instantly others from his daughter Ioan, Prince Lewylin, Lady, both giuing him intelligence of imminent Treasons plotted by sundry of his Peeres, who meant eitherto to murder him, or betray him to the butchery of his foes. Which dreadfull notices from so true-hearted Informers, could not yet affright his manlie heart, till coming to Chester, hee there understood by sundry other Intelligencers, that his Nobles held themselves quite discharged from his allegiances and knowing that they wanting fidelity, hee him-

The Pope
solueth the
People from
legiance
to King John.

Ann. 1211.

* Paris MS.

q. 1140. MS.

r. 1140. MS.

s. 1140. MS.

t. 1140. MS.

u. 1140. MS.

v. 1140. MS.

w. 1140. MS.

x. 1140. MS.

y. 1140. MS.

z. 1140. MS.

aa. 1140. MS.

ab. 1140. MS.

ac. 1140. MS.

ad. 1140. MS.

ae. 1140. MS.

af. 1140. MS.

ag. 1140. MS.

ah. 1140. MS.

ai. 1140. MS.

aj. 1140. MS.

ak. 1140. MS.

al. 1140. MS.

am. 1140. MS.

an. 1140. MS.

ao. 1140. MS.

ap. 1140. MS.

aq. 1140. MS.

ar. 1140. MS.

himselfe could not but want security, hee dismissed his host, tooke hostages of his Barons, pursued the detected Conspirators, and the three principal of them flying the land, he prosecuted their persons, demolished their Castles, and confiscated their possessions. But many of as vile and virulent affections they left behind them, as that trayterous Act of those Nobles bewrayed, who sent to Philip of France their sealed Charter, promising to settle on his head the Crowne of England, if hee would come to receive it. And that the mindes of the vulgar should not be vnpossessed with like expectation of Johns vn-crowning, the prophesies of an Heremite called Iward (foretelling, that on the day of Ascension, King John should bee no King) were buzzed into their cares. Whether by Gods inspiring, or the Diuelles, these were reuealed, some doe doubt; but hee that considers the quotidian impotures of these times, and the secret machinations of the Pope, the French King, and the English Barons, all for diuers ends, consploting against King John, will easily perceiue both what vile there was of suborning such a Prophet, to deterre the popular mayne, from sticking to the King, and to beguile their credulity, as if the thing were to be done, by Gods fore-appointment, and ordinance, and also that his punishment by death as a Trayterous Impostor, was no other then hee deserued.

(46) Neither is the Popes reuenge thus appeased, some higher greeces yet remaine, on which his Greatnesse, and greatness of his holy rage must display it selfe: the underpross whereof (a thing almost incredible) were not onely Englishmen, but English Bishops also. For Stephen Langton with the Bishops of London and Ely (thirsting after reuenge though with the destruction of their Country, & blood-fild of innumerable their Compatriots) going to Rome with complaints on the King, y made humble supplications to the Lord Pope, that hee would vouchsafe a touch of pious compassion, to support the English Church, being at the point of ruine. At whose earnest solicitation, the tender-hearted Pope (griuously lamenting the defolation of the Kingdome of England,) decreed by solemne sentence: That King John should be depouled from his Kingdome, and that the Pope should prouide some other, who should be deemed worthy to succeede. To effectuate the former clause, Innocentius eagerly pursued the latter, sending speedy letters to (whom but King Johns most mortall enemy?) Philip King of France, requiring him to undertake the labour of the dethroning King John, with no lesse reward then pardon for all his sins, and enioying of the English Crowne to him, and his heires for euer. A goodly large patent both for a Spiritual and Temporal Kingdome, which (more like Mars his Priest, then Christs Vicar) hee meanes to seale, with a deluge of Christians blood. For not thus yet satiated, hee transmits his Letters generally: To all Potentates, Souldiers, men of warre of all Nations, to signe themselves with the Croffe, and to follow their Captaine Philip for the deiection of King John, assuring all that their assistance (whether in Person or Contribution) shall bee no lesse meritorious, then if they visited our Saviours Sepulchre. That this Pope vnder colour of such Crusadores, did formerly cloake his own Avarice, his owne Monkes auer; but here hee clothes therewith both his Pride, and a far more sauage vice, the thirst, not of mens gold, but of their blood. In which seruice with King Philip, hee vied the same English Prelates for his Negotiators, which were before his Solicitors thereunto, with whom also he sent his Factor Pandulph, c. giuing him in priuate, secret instructions how to manage every particular of the whole designe, to the most behoofe of the holy See.

(47) The French King likewise receiuing from the Archbishop and his Associates (in a council) the Apostolic sentence, was very apprehensive of that employment, whereto not so much the Papal command, as his owne ancient malignity, and the Eng-

lish Barons traitorous requests, had prepared him; both which he was now willing to make with the specious pretext of iustice and deuotion. Vnder which colors hee had speedily marshalled an immense Army at Rouen, & drew a mighty Navy richly furnished to the mouth of Seign, alhis Dukes, Earls, Barons, Knights, & souldiers being summoned to the exploit vnder paine of his Treason and dishonoring, who therfore both in feare & hope of spoile came flocking without number.

(48) A preparation of so great importance, that all Christendom tooke notice of, could not long be hidden from King John; whole care, by reason of his now doubled opposition (forraint & domestick) could be no lesse for his owne and his Kingdoms safety, then was his Enemies for impugning both. Wherfore his Summons being sent to all his officers both for sea and land, for speedily furnishing both of a Naue, & an Army, equiualent to encounter so powerfull an Inuasion, such innumerable multitudes swarmed to Dover, and other harbours for landing, that the Chief-leaders for want of prouision, dismissing the rest, encamped at Barham-Downes, onely with 60000. choice, valiant, and well appointed men, who, if they had carried all one mind, and true affe-ction towards their King, and safeguard of their Country, there breathed not any Prince vnder heaven, whose assault England had not bene able to repell. And being no worke appointed for a Sea-fight, his intent was to grapple first with the French Fleet, making no doubt of sinking them all: so secure and confident was he in expectation of all Inuaders. In which braue aduersitie, whiles both shores of the Sea are thus belaid with both those Kings puissant Armies, the one waiting for the Enemy, the other for faire windes, and more forces, behold Pandulphus (the Popes Pragmaticke) hauing first desired safe conduct of King John, arrives at Dover, to put in execution those secret Instructions which his Lord (who made his aduantage of the Foxe-skinne, as well as of the Lions) had expressly prescribed. Hee there vnfolde to the King, the innumerable multitude both of King Philips ships, and of his Souldiers Horse and Foote, (all in readinesse to passe, and yet more expected to follow) to be- reauce him of his Kingdome by Apostolicall authority, and to enioy it himselfe with his Heires for euer. That with him were also coming all the English Exiles, both Clergy and Lay, they, by his forces to repossesse their estates (maugre the king) and hee from them to receiue allegiance, as from his hisworne Subiects. That hee had the fealty of almost all the English Peeres obliged to him by their owne Charters; which made him distrustlesse of attayning easily his wished successe: which calamities (the more vnflusterable, because imposed by his insulting enemie, and his owne Subiects) he might yet euade and retaine his Crowne, which by Sentence hee had already lost, if penitently he would submit himselfe to the Churches iudgement. Doubtlesse the traitres whereinto the King saw himselfe plunged, were very dreadfull, so many deadly enemies abroad to assault him, so few trustie friends at home to guard him: which droue him into this sad cogitation, that those his perfidious Peeres would now with their followers abandon him in the field, or betray him ouer to the sword of his Enemies. Yet not vnkliely other motives also might forcibly perswade him to relent: the remembrance of the Emperour Otto whom this very Pope (not without foule blot of Injustice and Leuitie) had both eagerly aduanced, and furiously disempyred; the boundlesse furies of the Crusado promulged against him, wherewith this Pope vied to ouerflow, as with a mercilesse Ocean, all such Princes as withstood his will, which once broken in would neuer end, but with the end and ruine of all. Thus thinking it better to yeeld to the time, with assurance both of his Crowne, and of the Popes fauour, then desperatelly to hazard Life, Crowne and all, to his immortal focs; hee redeemes his safety on such conditions, as

Triest. MS.

* Ottava. MS.

* 17. MS.

King Johns pre-
paration for re-
sistance.

* 3. Marj. Paris.

g. 1140. MS.

h. Paris MS.

* 1140. MS.

l. Paris MS.

* 1140. MS.

* 1140. MS.

* 1140. MS.

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* 1140. MS.

* Iudicio Beccofia
priusquam periret.
* Dicitur ad Dami-
an. 12. May. an. 15.
* A. P. an. 15.
* Stat. Paris.
* Sec. W. an. 15.
* Sec. W. an. 15.
* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.

* Iudicio Beccofia
priusquam periret.
* Dicitur ad Dami-
an. 12. May. an. 15.
* A. P. an. 15.
* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.

y Paris. 15. 15.

z. Mat. Paris.

a. Nihil fuit in-
du. 15. 15.
b. Gravi uenire
conflictus. Paris.

c. Ex. Record. S.
Mat. Paris. 15. 15.
Paris. 15. 15.

* W. L. Packington
wrote that the good
were found dead
and half burnt,
besides those who
were quite con-
sumed.

The Romanists
confute touching
the Pope's
thus dealing.
d. Eng. 15. 15.
e. Stat. Paris.
f. Stat. Paris.
g. Stat. Paris.
h. Stat. Paris.
i. Stat. Paris.

Necessity and the Pope (both which have no law) lifted to impose; and so presently swore to submit in all things to the judgement of the Church. By virtue of which farre-stretching Oath, Pandulphus afterwards exacted his subscription to a * *Forme of Peace* prescribed by the Pope, wherein King Iohn, though with an unwilling, yea a bleeding heart, and weeping eyes, yet will he, will he, must acknowledge that touching all things for which hee was excommunicated, hee had absolutely sworn to stand to whatsoever the Pope should command. Secondly, that the Archbishop, Bishops and Monks, with all the rest of that sort, should with satisfaction also for all damages be restored both to their possessions and the Kings favour, so that they also would swear not to attempt any thing against the Kings Person and Crowne. Wherein we see that King Iohn in swearing to obey the judgement of the Church, was concluded to have sworn performance of whatsoever the Pope commanded; and how great matters the Pope can command, King Iohn, with much more * *bleeding* a multitude of spirit, shall quickly see and feel. For two dayes after (being the * period of the Hermits prophetic) the King at the house of the Knights Templars, in Dover, by the Popes command in his preordination at Rome, taking off his Crowne from his head, surrendered it into the Popes hands by his Attorney Pandulphus (at whose feet hee also laid his Scepter, Robe, Sword and Ring, the Royall Ensignes); subscribed also to another * *Charter*, whereby hee resigned his Kingdomes to the Pope, professing hee did it * *neither for feare, nor force, but of his owne free will, and in the common Council of his Barons, as having no other way to make satisfaction to God and the Church for his offence, and that thence-forward he would hold his Crowne as Feodary to the Pope, paying a pension annuall of 1000. Marks for both the Kingdomes of England & Ireland*: whereupon doing homage and swearing fealty to the Pope, hee did withall deliver some money (as the earnest of his subjection) unto Pandulph, who throwing it to the ground, did thereon trample with his feet, to manifest his Masters greatness. That these things were done in presence of some Peeres, who gave no consent thereto, appears by Henry Archbishoppe of Dublin (the very principall man in that Assembly) who both inwardly grieved thereat, and openly disclaimed and gaine-sayed it.

(49) The Pope formerly pretended he fought * *nothing more then Iohns repentance*, and * *grieved at nothing so much as Englands defolation*: but these his circumcutions bewray he fought somewhat else, which bred both *repentance and defolation* to King Iohn and his Successors long after. Which fact cannot be liuely parallelled, then by another dolefull accident of the former yeare, * *when a dreadfull fire in Southwarke, consuming the Church & buildings neere London Bridge*, suddenly (whiles numberless people flockt on the Bridge, either to bring succour or seeke safetie) the fire by a wind seized also on the hither end of the Bridge; wherewith * *multitudes thus encompassed on both sides, miserably perished*; where at length some bringing their Barges to save the rest, their crowde was so great, that the vessels sinking, more perished in the water, then by fire. King Iohn, like those, was in the midst of two inevitable flames, on this side his faithlesse Nobles, on that, his mercilesse foes; when the Pope thus proffering him S. Peters Boat, for a safe-gate from both, drencht him into as great misery, certainly greater Ingomy than both the other. Wherin yet the Pope doth not want his share and shame; amongst his owne favourites, some accusing that his preferred Charter, as * *lamentable and detestable*; some, denying it was of the Popes procuring, but that King Iohn had long before made a *vow of devotion*, that if God seled him in those Kingdomes he would dedicate them both, and make them tributary to the See Apostolicke. But some other (great pillars of the Papacy) stepping further, & avow it to be utterly untrue, that King Iohn did make his Realmes thus tribu-

tary to the Pope; or that ever such pensions were paid to Rome; or if hee so did, or any other English King should so doe, such an Act to be of no validity at all; or if it were of any force; it ought only to lie on King Iohn, who so offended, and not on any his Successors. Doubtlesse, if the Popes Sword had power to cut off King Iohns regality for any offence, his Crowne was to have descended to the next Heire (whether Henry his sonne, or Eleanor Arthurs sister, then alive) who, as they were not guilty of the fault, so neither consenting to the re-negement. Some therefore have imagined, that * *such Instruments might happily then be motioned and drawn, and yet die unratified, though the copies be recorded*; but whatsoever were then done, that the Pope himselfe (not onely those his friends) were thereof ashamed will hereafter appeare.

(50) Whiles Pandulphus is thus chaffering about the Crowne for his Master the Pope, Philip is firing his head to wear it, and was now setting forth his Navy to winne it, for himselfe; which made the Legate (having after five dayes seyn redelivered the Crowne, but * *not yet released the Censures*, till conditions were performed) to hasten into France, carrying with him eight thousand pound, as part of restitution to the exiled Bishops; where, coming to King Philip, hee advised him to dismise his host, & enterprize against King Iohn as being now an obedient, and reconciled Sonne to the Church. But Philip who was of the Popes mind, not caring for Iohns repentance, but for his Kingdomes, which now hee lost before he had gotten it, fretting exceedingly to see himselfe nor onely to see for a while, and made to the world an object of scoff, by the Danes guilefull collusions, but also by the * *Popes owne incitements*, plunged into so excessive a damage, (having spent, beside his great traualle in this preparation, 60000. Crowns, wherewith hee purchased neither but scoffes, refused, and professed, that sith the Pope himselfe, had so farre thrust him on, his Legates suggestions (no nor his threats of excommunication,) should not draw him backe from his intentment. In which resolution calling his Peeres and Nobles into a consultation at Suesjourns, all the rest approving the course, Ferdinand Earle of Flaunders (part of whose Country Philip by force detained) told him tartly, that as the attempt was both unwise, and impossible, so * *it was fitter, every mans right should at home be restored, and justice embraced, before they attempted to teach duties of piety to others abroad*. And, that he * *ought rather to thinke, of making restitution to King Iohn of those transmarine Countries, which hee withheld unrightly, then of invading his Realm, where to hee had no right at all*. With which unexpected reclamation, the chiefe Peeres beganne to waver, & Philip enraged, bidding him desist, forbade him his Court. The like rough visage (not * *long before*) found * *Reginald the most valourous Earle of Bulloigne* (though his daughter was married to Philips younger sonne,) whom the French King perceiving to will well to King Iohn, drove him unrightly out of his Earldome; but King Iohn, receiving him with honourable compensation of * *favre-renewes in England*, held both with him and Earle Ferdinand, a sure (though secret) confederacy: So that now Philips rage, and feare to hazard his owne Crowne, if seeking anothers, hee should leave so neere an Enemy at his backe, diuerts the course of his Ambition into the streame of his Reuenge, and resolving first to subdue the Earle, (after which successe hee might more safely passe into England,) hee commands his mighty prepared Navy to set forth from the mouth of Seyne towards Flaunders, where himselfe with his forces (meaning to subdue the country in their way) would meet them by land. Whereof King Iohn having speedy intelligence from the Earle (who, knowing his meanes too slender to beare off the Kings so long prepared power, desired his present aid) without delay dispatched his * *Fleet*, to pursue them who intended to pursue him, under the conduct of

* Iudicio Beccofia
priusquam periret.
* Dicitur ad Dami-
an. 12. May. an. 15.
* A. P. an. 15.
* Stat. Paris.
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* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.

* Iudicio Beccofia
priusquam periret.
* Dicitur ad Dami-
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* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.
* Stat. Paris.

* *three brave Generals*, his brother William Earle of Salisbury, William Duke of Holland, and Reginald Earle of Bulloigne; who with happy gales furrying the French Navy at the port of Damme, (whiles most of the French Souldiers were on land, dispoiling the Earles Country,) seized on them all, * *three hundred of which shippes, laden with provision, Armes, and other costly fraught (for whatsoever the King and all his Nobles held dearest was therein,) they sent for England (whither at first they were bound) and above one hundred other they burnt, or sunke for France*.

(51) This Nauall victory produced effectes in the two Kings so opposite as were their affections; the one, with anguish of his irreparable losse and ignominy, halting backe into France, to prevent further danger; and the other (joyfull of his own successe and his confederates) dismissing his power, as secure of any French attempts in halfe. Wherefore now, with full purpose to find him worke at home, who so busily sought it abroad, hee forthwith sent (with large rewards to his Flaunders Army) instructions also to the Earles, how to infect Philip on that side of France, whiles himselfe entering Poitou, would the like on the contrary side, and Otho the Emperour on a third part. A dangerous plot and league, if the issue had beene answerable to the designs. For prosecution whereof, King Iohn attending at Portsmouth with a noble Army, in hope now that all true English, would gladly embrace so fayre an opportunity, to recover their hereditary Provinces from the false French, his Barons restless themselves in procuring his vnrest, and enuying that his foraine vexations being thus passed, he should want domesticke, flatterly oppose themselves both to his command and their Countries good, * *denying him (until hee were absolved of his excommunication,) their attendance in so behouefull a seruice*. Those men in the heat of his former troubles with the Pope, thinking such troubled waters most advantageous for their fishing, recommenced their contention with the King for their long desired Liberties, where in because they found him still as immovable, as themselves were immoderate, it seemeth, though the cloake of their now-refusal were Religion, yet their spur was Reuenge; hauing withall an eye to the good of the King of France, whom so well they had before loved, as to with him King of England. But King Iohn, being no lesse earnest to further the present generall cause, then they their particular ends, delayed not their desires; and * *depeeding his Charters and safe-conducts to the Archbishop and his fellow-Exiles, hee as speedily arrived: at whose presence the earth is said to have trembled; but (doubtlesse) King Iohn did; who hearing of his coming towards him (then at Winchester) went to meete him and those other Bishops; at whose sight hee fell downe at their feet with floods of teares, intreating them to commiserate his, and his Kingdomes miseries. Upon which * *great humility in a King (moving them likewise to bedew their eyes,) they lifted him from the ground, and leading him by each Arme to the dore of the Cathedral Church (where, at rehearsal of the 50. psalme, all his Nobles and others wept for ioy, after in the Chapter-house they did abjure him; but with such guilefull Appendices of Oathes imposed on him, that this abjuration was not so much the Epilogue of his old, as the Prologue of his new Tragical vexations*.*

(52) For the Prelates, whose best abettors the disloyall Barons had formerly beene, meaning now to be like to them, amongst other Oathes then taken of the king (to defend holy Church & Churchmen; to make due restitution to the Clergy; to beare fealty to the See of Rome,) cunningly also inserted this, * *to establish the good Lawes of his Predecessors; to abolish all bad, proceeding with all his Subjects according to the iust judgments of his Courts: out of which generalities, what good stufte the Prelates &*

Barons can picke, sequels will shew. Now all exceptions seeming to be taken away, which might hinder the Kings designe for France, hee once againe at Portsmouth halts to imbarke his host; where, at the point of passage new impediments are pretended, * *that the people having spent their money with long attendance could not be fitted for the seruice except the King would doe it out of his Treasury*; which moued the King in anger, with a small traine of his owne attendants, to set forth, to sea, and his Barons (Philips true friends) to depart home, leaving the king (who as Gerfry expected their coming) destitute of their seruice. With these so often treacherous delusions, what maruaile, or blame, if a King, and in so important an Action, thus defeated, were enflamed to take due reuenge? On which purpose the King thus * *enforced to returne, resolving to chastise those rebellious Spirits (the causes thereof) and to reclaim them to due obedience by force of Armes, the Archbishop (resolved to be as tough a Bridle to the Regall power, as euer Hubert his predecessor was,) came vnto him, to diuert him with Argument, that it was a breach of his Oath, for him to take Armes against any man whomsoever, without the judgement of his Court. But the next day, seeing he could not thus preuaile with reasons (the King forbidding him to intermeddle in matters of lay-judgements, and swearing that hee would not forbear for one Clerkes pleasure to tame his owne vassals) hee followed the King (who was on his way earnestly following his intentment) deterring him with threats, and vowing, * *if out of hand he did not desist from his purpose, he would excommunicate all (except the King himselfe) who durst take Armes against any whomsoever, till the interdict were quite released*. So quickly did this Prelate on his coming into England, shew himselfe not onely a faithfull Philippine, (as the King forswore,) and a faithlesse Baronsist (as these his darings proue) but euen another Pope, to threaten and persecute the King, sith Innocentius had left to doe it.*

(53) But these threats of sacred Censure, though they dash the whole course of Regale government, may seeme the more excusable, hee hauing some colour (though but a colour) thereof by reason of his vocation and place: the courtes which soone after he pursued, will not admit the like plea or pardon with the King. This English Pope, hauing in a promissuons Synode of Clergy men and Barons, granted by Indulgence, that in this time of Interdict, both Conuenticuals and Seculars, might in their Churches celebrate diuine seruice, so it were with a very low voice; singled out the Barons into a very priuate conference, (more cordiall perhaps to them then seruing of God,) relating with much ostentation, what an Oath at his absolving the King, hee * *compelled him to take, for restoring good Lawes, and antiquating bad; to which end, a Charter of King Henry the first being lately found (which there hee shewed and caused to be read) by it, they might, if themselves would reduce, to the pristine estate, those Liberties which long they had lost. Both Charter and Counsell being received with great applause and ioy, a Confederacy was stricken betwixt them, they all swearing to him to strive for those liberties to the spending of their liues, and hee promising them his most faithfull and uttermost assistance. Amongst so many talke to the State, probable it is, that some were false among themselves, by whose these secreties might come to the Kings eares; who finding himselfe by both Clergy and Lay-Peeres combining against him, vnable to rebetge his foraine, or repress such domesticke indignities, knew no surer way to ouertop them all, then by that high Hand, by which himselfe was first subiected to them all. How this must be fetcht about, because it concerns his Holinesse, a learned Monke shall relate in his owne Language. The King knew and had learned by manifold experience, that as the Pope, both for Ambition, and Pride, went beyond all other mortall men; So likewise, he was in his greedy desire of riches so vnfa-*

The King againe
deluded by fresh
shifts.
* Mat. Paris.
b. 1. 1. 1.

The Barons leaue
the king.

The king returns
for want of
his Subjects aide,
* Paris.

Reg. de Mend.
MS.

* Paris. 15. 15.
MS.

* Propter unum
clericum sum. ib.
* Paris. 15. 15.

The Archbishops
conspiring
against the king.

* Apud Templum
S. Pauli. London.
Mat. Paris.

* Reg. de V. 15.

* Turva comput-
rum. ib.

* Gausif. 15. 15.
dia magna.
z. Paris.

The kings plot
to ouermaster
both Prelates
and Barons.

* Mathew Paris.
The virtues of
Pope Innocentius.

ey he gave a
Legacy, Decem
Libraries terra-
Park.

7 Idem.

u 7 Idem.

He died on S.
Lukes night, 14.
C. 1. 1. 1. 1.
Gardens Catalog
of D.D.
* In the Reign
of William Rufus.

The manner and
cause of King
Johns fall.

a Job, de Writings,
b Polydor.
c Tho. Otterborne
d Mat. 1. 1. 1.
e Chronicle of
S. Alban, MS.
f Sundry English
Chronicles, MS.
g Caxton Chron.

f English Chron.
MS.
* As deare as 12.
ob. Lecest. 1. 1.
as 12. d. Otterborn
as 12. d. Polydor.
as 12. d. Caxton.

g Chronicle of
S. Alban, MS.
Caxton & alij.

h Parton in his
Wart-word,
Euseb. cap. 15
* Yet Iacobus Cle-
mens a Monk
did kill Henry 3.
of France.
* M. Fax his Mar-
tyrology, Sir Fra-
ncis Hallings his
Ward-word
Parton's censur
of Exuperiures
in his Mart.
i Where the king
is humbled with
his crown and
rich robes, sit-
ting at a banquet
and four Monks
in their habits
coming to
him, whereof one
presents him
with the poison-
ed cuppe Vide
MS. of S. Alban.
In Bibliotheca
Archiep. Cant.
h Parton's ibidem.
i Caxton's Chron.
a Lecest. 1. 1.

o By Parton's loco
Citat.

p Borne in the
reign of Henr. 3.
q Clavus, A. 1336
r He ended his
story An. 1410.
* Panavulgate.

sitan both bodily & ghostly: and not onely forgave
gladly all his mortall perfections (holding that a mater,
though very difficult to flesh and blood, yet salutary to
the soule) but also sent command to Henry his sonne
to doe the same: to whom hee caused all present, to
swear fealty, as to the Heye of his Crowne, and sent
his letters to all his Officers abroad, exhorting them
to assist him. And thus hee commended his soule to
God, and his body to be buried in Worcester Church,
where the Bishop solemnly interred it, by the Kings
appointment, neere the Body of Wolstan, a sanctified
Bishoppe, renowned for constant fidelity to his
Prince against the rebellious Nobles of his time:
with which kind of men, King Johns government
had bene miserably embroiled.

(62) This, being the Catastrophe of his Tragical
Raigne, might also have bene the close of his
Story, had not the fuddery of his death, exacted some
search into the cause of his sickness. Such Authors
as touch the matter but in generall, content them-
selves with saying, he dyed of a grieve, or a feaver,
or a flux, or a surse; but those who have entered
into the particulars, insit on such a Surse, as wher-
of both grieve, feaver, and flux were most probable
effects and Symptomes. For comming (say they)
from the Washes to Swinfield Abbey, (being of the
Cisteraux Order, which of old he had much incen-
ded) hee added new matter of offence, as he late at meat,
when, in speech of his enemies too large provision, hee
swore, if hee lived but halfe a yeere longer, he would
make one halfe-penny loose as deare as twelve:
whichto prevent, a Monke of that holy habit, whi-
ther in loue to Lewis, or hate to the King, or pity on
the Land, presenting him with an enuened Cup,
(whereof the King commanded him to be his Tas-
ter) became the Diabolical Instrument of his own
and his Soueraignes destruction. This relation, de-
liuered by Monkes, and men of Monkish humour,
as a thing to vnderstand, that they saw (at what
time they wrote this) a few Monkes in that Abbey
did sing for this their Brothers soule specially, and so should
whiles the Abbey stood, which if it had bene forgerd
every Child might easily haue refused; and the re-
hearsall of all circumstances thereof, (of the Kings
speeches, of the Monkes conference with his Abbot,
of his preparing the drinke with a Toade in the gar-
den, of his dying in the Firmiry) might deserue cre-
dite with the greatest Patrones of Monckery; yet none
of them (as if by acquiting Simon of Swinfield, all o-
ther of such Orders were cleared from assassinating
of Princes) striueth eagerly, to asperse some late
Relaters herof, with the blots both of malice &
forgery. Wherein is the malice? in so to moue hatred
to Monkes and their Religion; whereas of truth, either
Monkes, or men of that Religion, were the very first,
who not onely so depicted, but also liuely and
richly depainted it in their goodliest Manuscripts.
Wherein then the Forgery? in adding to Caxton, that
his Abbot gave him absolution for the same before
hand, there being no such matter at all, nor any mention
thereof in the story? No? let the very story speake;
The Monke went to the Abbot, and was stricken of him,
and told the Abbot all the King had said; and prayd his
Abbot to assaile him, for hee would give the King such
a drinke that all England should be glad thereof and sayfull
the yode the Monke into the garden, &c. Yea farther,
one Monke alledgeth, an inducement for the
Abbots assent thereto, for that the King had sent for
the Abbots sister (a faire Prioresse) with purpose to
haue deflowered her. Yea, but the story itself is charged
with nonellie, the first author thereof being but An.
1483. and all other former Writers making no mention
of it. This if true, were somewhat, and doubtlesse, it
is as true as the former: for how could hee be the
first Author, when not onely Raulph the Monke
of Chester, a John of Tynmouth, and a Thomas Otter-
bourne the Franciscan Fryer recorded it as a fame ge-
nerally received; but sundry other ancient stories, as

John of Lichfield, the Monke of Leicester, & Seale Mun-
di (to omit other namelesse Authors before Anno
1483.) so confidently avouch his poisoning at Swin-
field, that vnpariall after-Writers, though friends
to Monckery, made no scruple to beleue it. And
why should they not, sith an Author, more an-
cient and vnexceptionable than all the rest, (even King
Johns Sonne and Successor in his Kingdome) attested
it, when, the Prior of Clerkenwell fauilly telling
him (being then in that house) that as soone as hee
ceast to doe Justice towards his Prelates, he should cease
to be a King: the King enraged with his trayterous
threat, replied, What? meane you to turne mee out
of my Kingdome, and afterward to murder me, as my fa-
ther was dealt with?

(63) But not to trouble our selues with refuting
a Gooses gaging against Foxes true relation; ea-
sily it is to obserue the hatred of Monks against that
King, both in thus procuring his death, and in his
dishonour (a second death) in their slanderous in-
uentions euer since. For, whereas he writ by some
of his Bishops to censure certaine Princes, for aides a-
gainst his faithlesse Rebels; the Monkes charge him,
that hee counterfeited his Bishops Seales, and writ a-
broad, that all Englishmen were become Infidels and
Apostates from Christs faith, and therefore such should
come to subdue them and take their possessions: when hee
said, a Stag which hee killd, had neuer the lesse fatte,
though hee neuer heard a Masse; they charged him
hee doubted of the Resurrection of the dead; and in
saying, hee neuer sped well after his yielding to the Pope,
that hee said hee was vnfortunate since hee was re-
conciled vnto God: that, when hee gaue leaue to a
seruant of his owne, to enter any religious Order, he
gaue him leaue to be of what Religion and Faith
hee list. That moreover, hee offered his King-
dome to a Sarazen, and would embrace the Tur-
kish faith, though this tale were told by one Robert
of London (a wicked Masse-Priest, or rather a Mon-
ster, having a face like a Tew, with one arme long,
and another short, his fingers deformedly growing to-
gether two and two,) with such senselesse improbabilities,
as, that hee found that Moorish King reading of Saint
Pauls Epistles, and that hee refused the Kingdom of
England being offered him, with the like. That last-
ly it was revealed to a Monke, King John was in
Hell; though a Poet for so saying, is by M. P. (who
made no doubt of King Johns saluation) censured for a
* Reprobate. These all are demonstrations off o-
credible harred, as should rather alleneate their Au-
thors credite, then the Kings; whose Raigne had it
not fallen in the time of so turbulent a Pope, so am-
bitious Neighbour-Princes, so disloyall Subiects,
nor his Story into the hands of exasperated
Writers, hee had appeared a King of as great re-
nowne, as misfortune. His works of deuotion in-
feriour to none; as his Foundations declare at Beau-
ley, Farrington, Malmsbury, and Dublin, and that
other for Nunnes at Godstow by Oxford, for which,
some haue interpreted that Prophecie of Merlin as
meant of him; Sith Virgin giftes to Maids he gaue,
Monks blessed Saints God will him saue. His Arts
and Orders for the Weale-publike were beyond
most: hee being eyther the first, or the chiefe, who
appointed those noble Formes of Ciuill government
in London, and in most Cities, and incorporate
Towns of England, endowing them all with their
greatest Riches; The first who caused Sterling
money to be here coyned; The first, who ordain-
ed the Honourable Ceremonies in Creation of
Earles; The first, who settled the Rates and Mea-
sures for Wine, Bread, Cloth, and such like Necessa-
ries of Commerce; The first, who planted English
Laws and officers in Ireland, and both annexed that
Kingdome, and fastned vnto the Crowne of Eng-
land, thereby making amends for his losses in France.
Whose whole course of life and actions, wee cannot
shut vp with any truer Enloge, then that which an
ancient Author hath conferred on him: Princeps qui-

English
Chron.
MS.
C. 1. 1. 1.
Gardens Catalog
of D.D.
* In the Reign
of William Rufus.

MS.
C. 1. 1. 1.
Gardens Catalog
of D.D.

MS.
C. 1. 1. 1.
Gardens Catalog
of D.D.

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Gardens Catalog
of D.D.

dem Magnus erat, sed minus felix: atque ut Mari-
us, ut amque fortunam experius: Doubtlesse, he was a
Prince more Great then happy, and one, who, like Ma-
rius, had tried both sides of Fortunes wheele.

His Wives.

(64) Alice, the first wife of King John, was the
eldest of the two daughters, and heires apparant at
that time of Humbert the second, Earle of Maurien;
now called Sawoy: her Mother was Clemence daugh-
ter of Berthold the fourth, Duke of Leringen, who
had been the diuorced wife of Henry the Lyon, Duke
of Saxonic. This marriage at their childhoode
cōcluded by their Parents at Mountferrant in Auene,
in February, Anno, 1173; he should haue had with
her, her Fathers Earledome, but all altered by her vn-
timely death; and after ensued the death of her
Mother, the new marriage of her Father, and issue
male of the same, whereof the Dukes of Saxonic are
descended.

(65) Isabel, his second wife (by * some called
Hawisa or Aua) though the * youngest of the three
Sisters, yet was in regard of this marriage, the sole
Heire of William Earle of Gloucester, sonne of Earle
Robert, the Naturall sonne of King Henry the first; her
Mother was Hawis the daughter of Robert Bosse Earle
of Leicester. Shee was married vnto him when hee
was Earle of Mortaine, in the first yeere of his bro-
ther Richards raigne: and after ten yeeres hauing
no issue by him, was (the first yeere of his Raigne)
diuorced from him, vnder pretence of Coniugini-
ty, and married to Geoffrey Mandeuill Earle of Essex,
and lastly, to Hubert de Burgo Earle of Kent; but died
without any Issue by them.

(66) Isabel also his last wife, was daughter and
heire of Aymer Earle of Angouleme; her Mother was
Alice daughter of Peter, Lord of Courteney, fifth son
of Lewis the Grasse, King of France. Shee was mar-
ried vnto him in the first yeere of his Raigne, & crow-
ned by Hubert Archbishoppe of Canterbury, 8. Id.
Octob. Anno 1200, and inuoluing him, was married
to Hugh Brun Earle of March, and Lord of Lusig-
nain and Valence in Poitou, to whom first she should
haue bene married, but yet (as seemeth) continu-
ed her affection to him till now. By him shee had di-
uers Children, (greatly advanced by the King, Hen-
ry 3. their halfe brother, and as greatly maligne
by his Subiects) Hugh Earle of March and Ango-
leme, Guy of Lusignain, slain in the battell at Lewise,
William of Valence Earle of Pembroke, Aymer of Va-
lence Bishoppe of Winchester, Geoffrey of Lusignain L.
of Hastings.

His Issue.

(67) Henry, the eldest Sonne of King John, and
Isabel his last wife, was borne at Winchester, 1. Octo-
ber, 1. 10. of his Fathers Raigne, Anno, 1208. K. John
dying at Newarke, * whether hee was brought in
Horrelliter from Swynhead, the Barons malice
was ended, their offence amended, Lewis of France
reioiced, and the yong Prince seated on his Fathers
throne.

(68) Richard, his second son by the same Queene,
was borne the next yeere after Henry; by whom af-
terward hee was made Knight, created Earle of
Cornwall, and appointed Earle of Poitou. After the
death of William Earle of Holland, Emperour of the
West, hee was by the Electours chosen to succeed
him in the Empire, and crowned King of Romanes, &
of Almayn at the City of Acon in Germany, by Conrade
Archbishoppe of Coleyne, Maij 27. being the Alcen-
tation day, Anno 1257. deceasing at the Castle of
Berkmasted, April 20. Anno. 1271. the 13. yeere of his
Empire, his body was buried in his Monastery of

Hayles in Gloucestershire, but * his Heart at Oxford in
Reuby Abbey (founded by him) vnder a Pyramid of
admirable worke. Hee had three wiues, the first was
Isabel daughter of William Marshall Earle of Pemb-
roke, widow of Gilbert Clare Earle of Gloucester;
by whom hee had issue, Henry slaine at Merton in U-
tah, and John, both dying without Issue. His second
wife was Senches, (daughter of Richmond Earle of
Prouince, & sister to Queene Eleanor his brothers
wife) who was crowned with him at Acon, and had
issue by him Edmund Earle of Cornwall, and o-
thers. His last wife was Beatrice, Nièce to the Arch-
bishoppe of Coleyne, who seemeth to haue suruiued
him; and to haue no Issue by him.

(69) Iane, the eldest Daughter and Child of K.
John and Queene Isabel his last wife, was the first wife
of Alexander the second, King of Scots, married vnto
him in Torke, Iunij 25. Anno 1221. who returning
into England to visite her Brother, deceasing at Lon-
don, and was buried in the Nunnery at Tarent in Dor-
setshire, 4. Martij in the 21. yeare of her Brother King
Henries raigne in England, and the 23. of King Alex-
ander her husbands in Scotland, Anno 1236.

(70) Eleanor their second daughter, was first mar-
ried to William Marshall the yonger, Earle of Pem-
broke; and after his decease without issue, and se-
uen yeeres Widow-hood remarried to Simon Mont-
fort Earle of Leicester, (sonne of Simon Earle Mont-
fort in France, by Amice Daughter of Robert Blanche-
man Earle of Leicester) who maintaining the Ba-
rons warres against King Henry her brother, was
slaine at the battaile of Euseham, in the 19. yeere of
her brothers raigne, 1265; after whose death, shee
and her Children were forced to forsake England; she
died in the Nunnery at Montargis in France. Henry
her eldest sonne, was slaine with his father at Euseham;
Simon, the second, was Earle of Bigorre, and ancestor
to a Family of Mountfords in those parts of France.
Almaricke, her third sonne, was first a Priest, and
Treasurer of the Cathedral Church in Torke, and
after a Knight, and a valiant scrutour in fundrie
warres beyond the Seas. Guy the fourth sonne was
Earle of Angleria in Italy, and Progenitor of the
Mountfords in Tuscaine, and of the Earles of Campo-
bach in the Kingdome of Naples. Richard the fifth
sonne, remained priuily in England, and changing
his name from Mountford to Wellesborne, was an-
cestor of the family of Wellesbornes in England. Shee
had also a daughter named Eleanor, borne in England,
brought vp in France, and married into Wales to
Prince Llewellyn ap Griffith.

(71) Isabel, their yongest daughter, was born, An.
1214; when shee was 21. yeeres of age, shee was
married (being the 6. and last wife) to the Emperour
Frederick the second, at the City of Wormes in Ger-
many, 20. of Iuly, 1235. Shee had issue by him,
Henry appointed to be King of Sicily, and Marga-
ret wife of Albert, Landgrau of Thuring: shee was
Empresse 6. yeeres, and died in Childbed, Decemb.
1. of her husbands Empire 31. of her brothers raign
38. Anno, 1241.

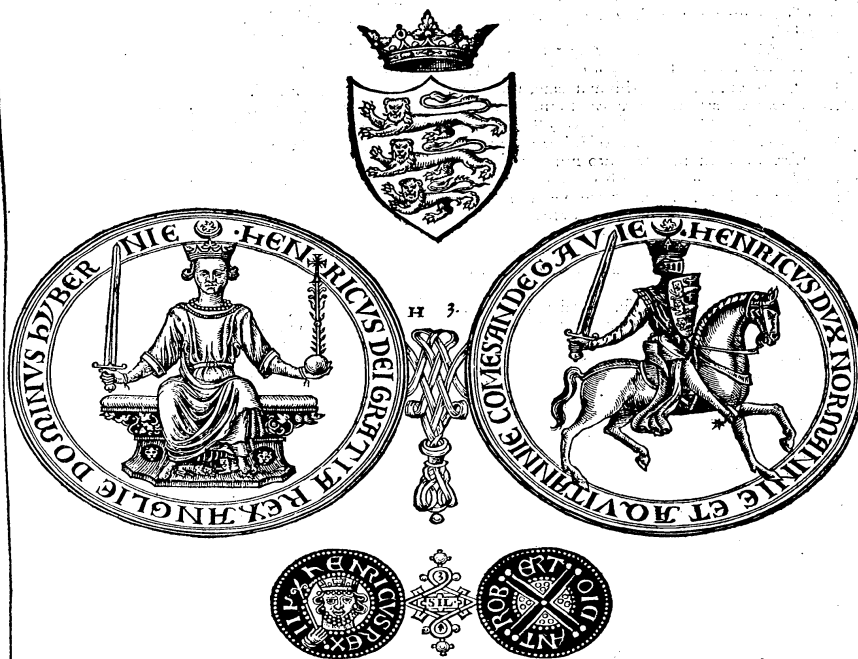
(72) Iane, or Ione the daughter naturall of King
John (by Agatha Daughter of Robert Ferrers, Earle
of Darby) married to Lewis Prince of Wales. Anno
1204. her Father gaue with her the Castle & Lord-
shippe of Elnifmore in the Marches of Southwales; she
(like a most louing Child) gaue her Father secret in-
telligence of the Treasons intended against him by
the Welsh and English.

(73) Geoffrey Fitz-Roy, a bafe son, who transpor-
ted some Souldiers into France, when Archbishoppe
Hubert forbad the King his father to goe thither.

(74) Richard, who married the daughter & heire
of Fulbert de Domes, who built Chilhams Castle in Kent,
which Castle hee had with her, and had issue by her,
of which som families of good esteem are descended.

Monarch 46

HENRIE THE THIRD, LORD OF IRELAND, DVKE OF NORMANDIE, GYEN, AND AQVITAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-SIXTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER IX.



HENRIE, the eldest Son of King John, was when his Father dyed about * ten yeeres of age: which state of Child-hood, being most vnfit to succede in so troublous a state, (the furious waues where-off seemed far from being appeased) God Almighty,

in fauour and pity of his Innocency, strengthened with the seruice of great and worthy men, whereby the free and noble Realme of England was graciously preserved from French seruitutie; from whose Continent as it was naturally disparted with a Sea, so could it as badly haue endured to be ioyned thereto by subiectiue gouernement. Howbeit the difficulties were not few nor slight, which did at first empeach this happy preferuation, though they did

not hinder it long; for, * hee disposing the matter, who ordaineth all things wisely, and moderates them sweetly, faire weather was restored after stormes, and quiet being established through the Kingdome, the peaceable seruants of God had place to breath in.

(2) To effect to great a benefite, Wallo the Popes Legate stood wholly for aduancement of Henry, and expulsion of the French; the authority of whose persuasions, ioyned with his other power and example, drew many of the Prelates so farre, that (although their lands and goods were therefore spoiled) they would not doe any homage to Lewis; as likewise the loyall care of William Marshall Earle of Pembroke, did gaine (in time) and settle the hearts of the secular Lords. Great was the wildom, courage and diligence of that Noble Gentleman in lo broken and ieopardous estate; for he, knowing that the maine hopes of his Country rested in the safety of their persons, in whom the right of Succession

was

was, he first of all secured them within the Citie of Gloucester, which was at Henries seruice: There were with the young King, his mother Queene Isabel, his brother Richard (afterward King of Romans,) his sisters, the said Earle, and many others in great numbers of the chiefe and principall men of all fortres; who vpon perfect notice of King Johns death, repaired thither to their young Prince, with a purpose to consult and concur in one, for the re-union of minds and bodies to the obedience of the true borne king. The Earle of Pembroke therefore bringing forth his precious charge, and placing him with all due honour and ceremony in view of the assembled States, is reported for the pleasing of all sides, to haue vied words to this effect. *Albeit the father of this Prince whom here you see before you, for his euill demeanours hath worthily undergone our perfection, yet this young Child as he is in yeeres tender, so is he pure and innocent from those his Fathers doings: Wherefore, sith euery man is to be charged with the burthen of his owne transgressions, neither shall the Child (as Scriptures teach us) beare the iniquitie of his Father: we ought of duty and conscience, beare our selues milder towards this tender Prince, and take compassion of his age. And forsomuch as he is the Kings * lawfull and eldest Sonne, and ought to be our Soueraine, and his Successor, let us with one ioint assistance appoint him our King and Gouernour; let us remoue from us this Lewis the French Kings sonne, and suppress his people, which are a confusion and shame to our Nation, and the yokes of their seruitude let us cast off from our shoulders.*

(3) The entertaining of persuasions among the wife, is an effect of Truth, not of painted Phrales; and these plaine wordes of the Earle, (the young Kings Brother in Law) were received with generall applause of all that were present, so that Henry was immediately proclaimed, and speedily crowned (vpon the day of SS. Simon & Iude) in the presence both of Wallo the Popes Legate, (who imposed on his vnexperienced yeeres some vndue Oathes of seruice to the Romane See,) and of Queene Isabel, with many of the Lords Spirituall and Secular, and store of all other sorts of People. The speeche of which roial Ceremony (for it was the ninth day after King Johns death) was not greater then the necessity of the State required: for his Enemy (not only his, but the enemy of the English name, Prince Lewis) had (as yet) London, the chiefe seat of the Empire, at his deuotion, many potent Earles, Barons, and martiall malecontents, subiect to his command, and an Armie in the field with which he fought to constrain that mirrour of constant loyalty, Hubert de Burgh, to render him the most important Castle in England, that of Douer, committed to his much-approued trust: The young King on the other side was enuironed with many difficulties, want of money not the least, the most part of his Fathers treasures being drowned. To encounter all which mischiefs, the said Earle of Pembroke was by common assent of Prelates and Peeres constituted Guardian of the young Kings person, and Vice-Gouernour of the Kingdome.

(4) Letters hereupon issuing in the new Kinges name, and for his affaires, to all such as had charge in the common-weale, (with many promises of reward and fauour,) were accordingly in most places obeyed: for the euill will borne to King John, seeming to die with him, and to be buried in the same graue, the loyall bloud waxt warme about the coldest hearts, rekindling in them the honest desire of shewing themselves true Englishmen. It was also a great helpe to the Kings party, that Prince Lewis his followers and abettours, were, on euery Sunday and Holiday, pronounced to stand accurt and excommunicated. Lewis perceiving (contrary to his expectation) that King Johns death was to him nothing auailable, but rather detrimentall, dwells no longer about Douer Castle, but raising his siege, enters London, and provides the best hee can for his tottering

estate, which hee sought to support, by putting French Garrison into Castles; The * Tower of London being rendered to him; hee besiegeth Hertford Castle; which after the laughter of many French, being deliuered vpon faire composition, the custody of that Peice was demanded by Richard Fitz-Walter, as by ancient right belonging to him; but Lewis put him off with this answer, *that he should haue patience, till hee had conquered the Realme, at which time hee would restore their rights to euery one.* The secret reason which moued Lewis to giue this answer, was: for that, consulting with his French vnder-Fitz-Walters demand, they gaue it for their common opinion: *That the English were not worthy to haue such places entrusted to their charge, who were betrayers of their naturall Lord.* A iust reason to moue Lewis so to answer, but a farre better to teach others to continue loyall. The Castle of Berkhamsted (whose Captaine was one Waleran a valiant Dutch Knight) hopelesse of succours was likewise rendered, which as the rest, hee stuffed with French Garrisons; wherein, howsoeuer hee provided for his owne Nation during that present, hee tooke no wise courie for the maine of his enterprife: for so apparant iealousies (seconding & confirming the Vicount Meluners predictions) could not but vterly visitte the affections of such great ones as had called him in. His next March being to Saint Albans, where he would haue constrained the Abbot to doe him homage, he was encountered with this honest answer: *That he would doe him no homage, vnlesse hee were absolved from the homage which hee had made to the King of England: yet to purchase repite of homage, or rather his, and the Towns peace till Candlemas, hee was forced to vfe the mediation both of his * purse, and of his noble friends.*

(5) But those intestine causes for which the Barons had called Lewis in, falling now to the ground by the death of King John, and the French by their naturall infolence, suspitions and vanity, ministring new reasons of auersion, were all of them strong motiues to dispose the mindes of the English Lewisians to returne to due obedience; yet finding themselves bound in honour, not so to leave him (so dainely destitute, (who vpon affiance of their oathes and hostages had put himselfe among them) that he should thereby fall into Henries hands; they desire therefore his absence, but not his destruction. The more handsomely to compass the rest, an abstinence from warre was (for a time) concluded betweene the King and Lewis; the rather for that Lewis had intelligence from Rome, that the curse which Wallo had denounced against him, should shortly be confirmed by the Pope, vnlesse hee left England. As this Truce gaue Lewis liberty to sayle backe to France for new supplies from his Father, (who greatly desired to conferre with him;) so his absence gaue opportunity to his English, to consult more freely of their best way; that from thence forth Lewis was neuer potent in their affections, but * presently lost many chiefe Lords and others, who againe became true English.

(6) Lewis vpon his speedie returne out of France, minding to make a speedy dispatch, sets out of London his Army of more then twenty thousand Souldiers, with a purpose not only to free Mont-Sorrel (then besieged by his enemies) but to subdue the whole country adjoining. Odious and grievous to the Countries was this passage of the French, which reach as farre as Lincoln, there were among them so many ragged rascals, the * verie scumme and filthy froth of that Nation, whose beggary was so base that they had not clothes to hang on their backs, to supply the which they made many goe naked in all the places where they marched. The Earle of Pembroke Gouernour of the King * by the Counsell of Wallo, and the Bishoppe of Winchester resolving to set the cause vpon God, and the fortune of a field, is now with the young King and his Assistant

* Tpd. Newst.

The iudgement of the French touching the English Barons.

* Lib. Mon. R. S. Albani. MS.

* Mat. Paris. * He paid 80. marks to Lewis.

Motiues and helpe for King Henries behooke.

Paul. Amil. in Phil. 1. August.

* Mat. Paris. Holinsh. p. 159.

Lewis goeth into France but loone returneth.

* Mat. Paris.

* In Leicestershire

The French Souldiers braue marching.

* Mat. Paris.

The King gathers an host to fight with the French

* Tpd. Newst.

The succours of King Henries Childhood.

* Lib. Mon. R. S. Albani. MS.

* Lib. Mon. R. S. Albani. MS.

The great danger of King John.

Mat. Paris.

Lewis and his fol-
lows accused.

Holinsb.

* Sav de Quincy
& Robert Fitz-
Walter.The policy of K.
Howies friends
in their march.The fearful end
of the Earle of
Perch.The Kings Ar-
my with a strange
victory, called
Lewis Fair.Reg. de Wend.
M.S.* Mat. Paris.
* Wallingham.
* Tordig. & C.The perillous e-
state of Lewis.* Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

stant Lords, at *Newarke*, where the Generall assembly for that service was appointed. The whole Army after the Musters, rested there some dayes, which they spent not in vanities, but in deuotions & recit of the Sacrament, humbling themselves before the offended Maieſtie of God; and so all of them (saith *Paris*) being prepared, resolute eyther to return victorious, or to die in defence of their country, their Soueraignes right, and their owne Liberties, and possessions, all which seemed now to lie at stake. To giue them the greater edge and spirite, *Wallo* with great solemnity accuseth *Lewis* and his Coadiutors, and thus the Army marcheth towards *Lincolne*, and the *Lewisians* there in siege of the Castle: the King himselfe being left with a strong guard at *Ston* (about eight miles short of *Lincolne*) accompanied with *Wallo* and others, there without perill of his person to attend Gods pleasure, in the euent of the enterprise.

(7) Vpon their approach, if the Counsell of some *English* Lords had bene followed, the *Lewisian* Army had issued forth of the City, & giuen them battle in the open field; but the Earle of *Perch* (the French Generall) thinking the Kings party to bee greater then it was, for that the Noblemen and Bannerets thereof had each of them two *Ensignes*, the one borne with themselves, the other advanced among the Carriages, which doubled the shew of their numbers; they did thereupon change that course, closed the Gates of the City, and plyed their endeauours against the Castle more fiercely then before. The Earle of *Pembroke* therefore lets *Falscius* slip in at the Castle-posterne with his *Arbalesters*, whiles others breake vp the South-gate of the City, at which the Kings Army most courageously entering, and they of the Castle falling out in *Flancke* of the Enemy, scattered and vterly defeated the *Lewisians*. The Earle of *Perch* their Generall, being euironed with the Royallists, and willing to render himselfe, sware that hee would neuer become Prisoner to any *English*: vpon which refusal he was run through the sight of his helmet into the braines, and so dyed without speaking any word. In this conflict (being on Saturday in Whitson-week) the force of naturall propension was apparent; for notwithstanding the fierie resolutions of the Kings People, yet when they saw the faces of their kinsmen, friends & countymen on the other side, that fury relented so strongly, that the most part of the reuenge fell vpon the Hories, and not vpon the Horsemen, whom onlie they laboured to maketh their Captiues. The whole riches of the *Lewisian* Campe, & of the City of *Lincolne*, became the boory and spoile of the Kings Army, whereupon this difcomfiture was called *Lewis Fair*; Neither did the *Clergy* of the place escape, for the Popes Legate had commaunded that they also should be rifled to a penny, as persons excommunicated in partaking with *Lewis*. The Chaffe was but coldly & faintly followed vpon the flying Barons, otherwise not a man could haue escaped; wherein yet the chiefest Barons were taken, with about 400. Knights, besides Esquiers, and of other sorts without note or number, though some say that this number of Knights were slain, & matrons and women of the towne flying by boate, which they had no skill to gouerne, were drowned. Such as escaped the fight were not therefore past the danger; for the Country people fell vpon them as they fledde, killing great numbers, so that almost all the footmen tooke vp their last lodgings before they could reach to *London*, where *Lewis* was. The *Marſhal* of *France*, the *Chaffellan* of *Aras*, and about two hundred Knights came safely thither, but were not otherwise then sowerly welcome of the Prince, who laid vpon their cowardise the losse of all the rest. His feare of being taken Prisoner iustly encreasing, hee fortifies *London* by the best meanes hee can, and dispatcheth Poſts into *France* for more reliefe. This great victory was much the stranger, if (as some write the same

went) that onely three were slain vpon both sides, the Earle of *Perch*, one of *Da-Brems* Knights, and an obscure fellow belonging to some, or other of the Barons.

(8) The Kings Gouvernour after the victory rode presently with the glad some tidings in the height of speed to the King and Legate, who with tears of ioy gaue God thanks. But the noble Earle not leaving his worke imperfect, seeks to embarras *Lewis* from foraging about *London*. Meane while by the diligence of *Lady Blanch* the wife of *Lewis*, *Euface* the ruffianly *Apollata*, (who of a Monk becoming a *Demoniack*) was now vpon the Sea with a fresh supply of men and munition bound for *London*; But God was no better pleased with these, then with the other scatterlings at *Lincolne*. For the *English* Nauie, hauing the wind of the French, sunke diuers of their shippes by tilting at them with the yron Prowes or Beakes of their Gallies; vntill almost vnblacked lime in dust or powder, which they threw into the faces of their enemies, and blinded their sight: so were the hopes of *Lewis* for any present succours absolutely frustrated. *Euface* himselfe, found after long search, and drawne out from the bottome of the Pumpe in a French shippe, at *Douer* had his head cut off, though some say hee was slain by *Richard*, a base-sonne of King *Iohn*. The newes of which successe being brought to the King, did not more reioice him, then they wounded *Lewis*, for the losse was not onely great in men, but in all sorts of riches and prouisions. To giue now no rest to *Lewis* his declining fortunes, the Earle of *Pembroke* with a mighty Army besieged *London*, and *Lewis* therein, allwile by *Water* as by *Land*, seeking to driue him by penurie to render the City. It came to capitulation, and in an Ilet in the River of *Thames*, not farre from *Stanes*, the King, *Wallo* the Legate, and *William Marshall* the Kings Gouvernour, met with *Lewis* & the Barons to finish the Peace: for *Lewis* had promised to doe as *Wallo* and the Earle would desire, so that it might not tend to his dishonour or scandall: Heades or Articles of the agreement which *Lewis* sware vpon the Gospell to performe, were, 1. That *Lewis*, the Barons, and other his partakers should stand to the iudgement of the Church (whose censures they had now some yeeres contemned) and from thenceforth bee and remaine true to the same. 2. That he and his should forthwith depart the Land; neuer to returne againe with a purpose to doe harme. 3. That he should doe his best to draw his Father to make restitution of all such things in *France* as belonged to the King of *England*, and that *Lewis* when himselfe was King should quietly part with them. 4. That *Lewis* should immediately render to King *Henry* all holdes and places taken in the warre. On the other part, the King, the Legate and the Earle swore; 1. That the King should restore to the Barons and others, all their rights and inheritances, with all the Liberties formerly demanded of his Father. 2. That none (of the Lay) should suffer damage or reproch for taking part on either side. 3. That Prisoners should be released, &c. Whereupon *Lewis* with his adherents was formally by *Wallo* absolved from the sentence of Excommunication, and so they ranne on all sides into embracements, and parted in the kilfe of Peace. The *Welsh*, who had held with the Barons, were left out of this Conclusion, being thereby laid open to spoile. Thus was *Lewis* driven out of *England*, whom the Earle of *Pembroke* brought to the Sea-side, and the Realme was cleared.

(9) There are* who write how that *Lewis* had a great summe of money paid him for restoring the Hostages; but *Mat. Paris* whom some cite to that purpose, affirms no such matter in any printed Copy. Reason surely is vtterly against it; for when euen the life of *Lewis* was after a sort in King *Henries* hand, with what sense can it stand that the King should set all the French free without ransom; and yet himselfe pay money for the Hostages; which also were not his, but the Hostages of his enemies

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

*Tordig. & C.

*Wund. MS.
Paris. lib.

mies the Barons; so that, if money were due, it must haue come from them, not from the King, who both in honour and profite was rather obliged to the contrary. Writers of that very time doe in plain words say. The Poverty of *Lewis* was such, that he was compelled to borrow five thousand pounds of the *Londoners*, to set him out of *England*: and therefore that other seems nothing else but a vaine gloze to false the honour of *Lewis*, who was plainly driuen out of *England*, after so high hopes with losse, sorrow, and eternal disgrace, which the French are so sensible of, that they scarce seeme to write of the whole action, otherwise then *laying the misfortune of *Lewis* vpon the Barons mutability.

(10) The Realme of *England* purged of those foraine drugges, was not therefore presently freed from other manifold encombrances, such as after so great a tossing of all lawes and things diuine, and humane, doe ordinarily flow vp and downe, like the froth & working of a troubled Sea. For diuers men presuming vpon their former seruices to the State, or thinking the old bad world would either continue still, or sooner returne, if iustice grew confident against Trespassors, or for what other corrupt practices fouler, did dare intollerable things. The principall Lords of this misrule, were *William Earle of Aumari*, *Falscius de Brent* with his Garrison Souldiers, *Robert de Vespont*, with others, who hauing had the Castles and possessions of certaine Bishops and Great men, either to keepe in trust, or otherwise by iniquity of the times conuerted violently to their vices; did still with-hold the same, both against the minds of their lawfull owners, and the Kings expresse Prohibition. Among others, *Robert de Gaug* defended the Castle of *Newarke* (being the Fee of the Bishoppe of *Lincolne*, as was also the town itself) against the Kings Army, conducted by the * Great *Marſhall* Earle of *Pembroke*, for eight dayes, and did not first yeeld the place, before (by mediation of friends) the Bishoppe paid to *Gaug* one hundred pounds. There was in that great Earle, a perpetual care to conclude things without bloud-shedde, wherein thined his Christian piety and morall wisdom, there being no other so safe way to settle disordered humors. The greater was his losse both to the King and State by his death * soone after enluing, whose * monument yet remaining, doth nor so much eternize his memory, as that well deferred * Epitaph, the Epitome of his noble vertues;

Sum quem Saturnum sibi sensit Hybernia, Solem
Anglia, Mercurium Normannia, Gallia Martem.

Ireland Saturn, England Summe am I,
The Mars of France, and Normans Mercurie.

He left behind him sixe Sonnes, all Earles of *Pembroke* successiue, and dying without issue; his sixe Daughters aduanced by great marriages, brought as great aduantage to their husbands issue, by the inheritances of their issuelesse brethren.

(11) The King (gouerned after *Marshalls* death, by Peter Bishoppe of *Winchester*, and such * other, whom the Bishoppe had procured to ioyne in administration of publik affairs) seeming now to haue a settled and calme estate, resolute (for good hopes sake) to bee crowned againe; which was performed by *Stephen* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* at Westminster with the attendance and confluence of all the Prelates, Peeres, and People. Vpon the * Saturday before his Coronation, the * new worke of the Abbey Church at Westminster, (*Paris* calles it the Chappell of our Lady,) was begonne, whereof the King himselfe in person laid the first stone, as if hee meant the world should know, his intention was to consecrate his future actions to raise the glory of God. This calme but new beginning, was almost as speedily distempered and disturbed by sodaine stormes; by reason that, while the King kept his

Christmas with great royalty at *Oxford*, in the company of the Prelates and Peeres of *England*, *William de Fortibus*, Earle of *Anmarh*, incited by *Falscius de Brent*, and the like riotous Gentlemen; sodainly departed from the Court without leaue, & (whether it were vpon discontentment, because the King had against the Earles will the last yeere taken some Castles into his hands, or out of an euill ignorance how to lye in quiet) he mannes the Castle of *Bilham*, vntill it with the Corne of the Chanons of *Bridlington*, spoiles the Towne of *Deeping*, and vnder shew of repaying to the Parliament, isleth on the Castle of *Fotheringhay*, committing many other furious riots in contempt of the King, and breach of his peace; many * others in other places following his lewd example. Yet at length the Earle coming in vnder the conduct of *Walter* Archbishop of *Torke*, was at the suite of *Pandulph* (who succeeded *Wallo* in the place of Legate) pardoned; and the like hurtfull clemency was extended toward his Complices and Retinue, whom the King (in regard belike of some former better deserts) let free without punishment or ransom. And to prevent any further disturbances of that nature, *Hubert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, for his rare integrity and fidelity approved in all King *Johns* troubles (was also made gouernour of the Kings Person, and Chief Insittur of *England*, with the generall allowance of all the States. What need the land then had of a seuerer proceeding, wee may iudge by this, that *Faulk de Brent* held the Earledomes of *Northampton*, *Oxford*, *Bedford*, and *Buckingham*, with the Castles and Holdes; *Philip de Mure*, the Castles of *Peke* and *Nottingham*, *Nottinghamshire*, and *Darbyshire*; and others detained other portions, without any other right, then that which the iniquity of the late tumults gaue.

(12) It was no small addition to the troublefomnesse of this time, that certaine * Lords of *Wales*, and (as some say) Prince *Lewelin* himselfe, desirous to ridde their Marches of the *English*, rose in Armes, & laide siege to the Castle of *Buelt*, which incited King *Henry* to draw thither with an Army; but the worke was made easie by the voluntary departure of the *Welsh*; vpon the fame of the Kings approach: which appearances of some ensuing stirres, moued the king to thinke of strengthening himselfe with faithfull alliances; and not long after, *Alexander* King of *Scots* came to *York*, (who in the yeere * before had met King *Henry* at the same place) and there tooke to wife the Lady *Joan* King *Henries* sister; and *Hubert de Burgh*, in presence of both the Kings married the Lady * *Margaret* sister to *Alexander* Boethius * saith, that two great Lords of *England* married two sisters of King *Alexander* at that place. About which time, * *Isabel* Queen Dowager of *England*, without the leaue of her sonne the King, or of his Counsell, crost the seas, and tooke to husband the Earle of *March* in *France*. The young King supposing his estate at home now somewhat settled, and his eyes beginning to grow cleare-sighted by the benefite of experience, forgets not to looke about his affaires abroad; and first sends * *Sauarie de Malleon* to bee his Lieutenant in *Aquitaine*, where yet the *English* held the greater part, and dispatcheth Ambassadors to *Philip* King of *France*, for restitution according to the Articles with *Lewis*: whereunto answer was made that nothing ought to bee restored which by right of warre had bene attieched; but (as it seemes) there was a Truce for * sower yeeres agreed vpon betweene the two Monarches, concerning the County of *Poitou*.

(13) The State both of Church and Commonwealth in those troubled daies, seeme to haue much resemblance; euerie man daring to attempt in either, what his own audaciousness would suggest, or others conuincency permit. But *Stephen* Archbishop of *Canterbury* (who himselfe was lately the ring-leader of disorders both in State and Church) is now become very diligent in his *Prorocinall synode* at *Oxford*.

An. 1222.
The 1st of
Tues. New.
Rural Cell.
Mon. 17. 6. 34.

* Mat. Paris.

A Pseudo-Christ
discoured and
immoored.

* Joh. Stowes
Annal.
T. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Death by immu-
ration.

Antiquit. Brit.
in vit. Steph.
* At. Paris. vit.
Archiep. Cant. in
Steph.

* Ruf. bin in vita
Kant. C. 1. 1.

* Mat. Paris. in
H. 1. 1. 1.

* An. 12. 7. apud
Mat. Paris.

The treasonable
vprone of C. Milan-
tine Fitz. Arnulf.

* Paris. hist.

* Robert Serle
then L. Maior.

* This was done
16. Aug.

* P. abian.
By one Walt.
Buketel.

* Reg. de V. Vend.
MS.

Constantine and
his Cryer changed

* Mat. Paris.

Hands and feet
offenders cut
off.

* P. V. d. 1. 1. 1.

ford, * about reformation of the Clergie; where also was conuenced before him an execrable *impostor*, who seeing how current all grosselt delusions passed in those dayes of blindness, was emboldned to suffer himselfe to be wounded in his hands, feet, and * side, (an horror to thinke) that by the resemblance of thole bloody impressions, he might perwade the people (apt to beleue any thing) that hee was their verie Saviour: whole deferred punishment was by immuring between two walles, as a monster too impious and vnworthy to die by anie humane hand. There was immured with him a curled old Beast, who pretended to be Mary the mother of this Christ, and well might bee, for their manners bee compared; * some adde a third also, who named herselfe *Mary Magdalen*. The punishment by Crucifixion which * some thinke was executed vpon the man at *Arbor-berry*, is neither so credible nor tollerable, as in which Christianity it selfe might seem to sustaine reproach; it being also against the * ancient law of *Constantine*, the first famous Christian Emperour, that any should from thence forth die by crucifixion; but it may be, that it was first so iudged (which might cause the relators error,) though afterward vpon fonder deliberation changed into a more fitting censure. But strange it is, that this man deferring (as hee did) so seuer a iudgement at *Oxford*, *Saint Francis*, whose fiction and imposture was the very fame (for the * wounds, though not for the name, of Christ) to soon after deferred for it to be canonized at *Rome*, for a *Chiefe of Saints*; and perhaps if this Monster had been at *Rome*, hee had bene likewise *Sainted*, or if *Saint Francis* had bene at *Oxford*, he had been likewise immured.

(14) In the State of the *Common-wealth* incredible darings (though of inferior quality to that former) were not wanting, against the maiesty of the Kings as appeared by *Constantine Fitz-Arnulf*, a Citizen of *London*: who vpon colour of a popular tumult, by him purposely cherished, (which rose at pastimes of wrestling, and like matters between the *Citizens of London*, and others of the *Suburbs*, attempted to set vp a *Lewis* againe, and in the heat of the sedition, hee traisterously cried, * *Mount-Ioy, Mount-Ioy, God for vs and our Lord Lewis*. Though the * *Lord Maior*, a discreet man, earnestly perwaded dutifull behauiours, yet *Constantine* had made the people incapable of good Counsell with his seditious *Proclamations*, which hee there caused to bee * published. The secret of this conspiracy was * reuealed by * another Citizen, and without question was further spred then the compass of one City, cūen as farre as into the hearts of all such turbulent people, to whom *warre* was beneficiall, and *Quiet* banefull. The chiefe *Iusticiar* hearing of these matters, with forces assembled, entred * the *Tower*, whither hee commaunded the principall men of the City to come, who easily put off the blame from themselves vpon *Fitz-Arnulf*. But hee as resolute in his answere, as desperate in the sedition, complained of himselfe in the hearing of all, that he had done lesse therein then hee ought; yet fiftene thousand Markes sterling hee offered for his life, when hee saw the halter about his necke, (for with his *Cryer*, and his *Nephew* the next day hee was hanged,) but no price could redeeme him out of the hand of *Iustice*. It is said, that hee so confidently answered, vpon trust of the Articles and Oath between the King and *Lewis*, that the partakers of *Lewis* should not be troubled; and that, vpon this occasion, *Lewis* denied restitution of such things, as the Articles did mention, pretending that *Henry* had herein broken first his faith, and thereby made the whole contract frustrate. Execution thus done without noife, or the *Londoners* priuity, the *Iusticiar* accompanied with *Falscius* and his armed troups, enters *London*, apprehends such others who were culpable, and for a terror to the rest, caufeth their * hands or feet to be cut off, and then set them at liberty. The King

deposed the Magistrates, though some write that the tumult was appeased by the *Maior*, but when the King found, that onely the * *bafer* fort were interested in the disorder, he was reconciled to the *Citie*, having first thus weeded this chiefe *Garden* of the *English Empire*, and plucked vp by the rootes the *maiser bramble*.

(15) This dangerous beginning might haue had farre worse proceedings, if the King, though in yeeres tender, yet had not bene so prouident, as to haue foreseen it, and so, with patient conuenance at some particular indignities, prevented a publike disquiet. For the Barons, still minding their long desired *Liberties*, and requiring a confirmation of them by the King, who, at the concluded peace with *Lewis* had sworn thereto; *William Briwere*, one of the Kings Councell answered; that the *Liberties* which they demanded ought not to be observed, because they were violently extorted. But wordes growing hereupon, and *Archbishop Stephen* (the Barons ancient abettour) kindling thereat, the young King prudently shut vp the whole strife with this speech; *All of vs haue sworn to these Liberties, and that which wee haue sworn, all of vs haue to obserue*. His Deed immediately sealed his Word, (for hee saw hee durst doe no other,) and *Writs* were sent forth, to enquire vpon Oathes, what *Liberties* or free customs were current, in, and from the time of King *Henry* his Grandfather: by which act, all mens hopes were raised to expect the full conclusion of all those grievous contentions, which had so long encombered the Kingdom. The like hope was conceiued of better successes then before, in forrain affaires, vpon newes of the death of King *Philip of France*, the euer-deadly (and now-dead) Enemy of *Englands* welfare; which moued the King to send the *Archbishop of Canterbury*, and three other Bishops to *Lewis*, now crowned King of *France*, there to demand the *Duchie of Normandy*, and such other Lands on that side of the sea, as before his departure out of *England* hee had sworn to restore: but his answere was; 1. That he held those possessions by a iust title, as hee was ready to shew King *Henry*, if he would come to his Court to make his demand; 2. That the King of *England* had violated his Oath, for that such as were taken at *Lincolne* were grievously fined; 3. That such *Liberties* of *England*, for which the *warre* was first moued, had bene granted at his departure, and since confirmed by oath, were not onely not observed, but the old wicked ones reduced, and generally farre worse ordained in their place. With which solutions to their demand, the *Ambassadors* were faine to returne, and *Henry* left to come by his owne as hee could.

(16) The king well perceiving, how vnable hee should be either to recover those his Transmarine Dominions, or almost to maintaine his owne royall estate at home, if such, as by the vnruines of former times hauing gotten possession of Crowne-lands might still with-hold them, resolved to reforme them; by aduise principally of *Stephen Archbishop of Canterbury* and *Hubert de Burgh* Earle of *Kent*, who thereby drew vpon themselves no small loads of enuie. Which recovery of such parcels of the royall Patrimony, though it were no lesse needfull then lawfull yet by reason the interested were so many (and such as wanted no will to cōse the whole Kingdom, rather then forgoe their Religion,) they wisely vsed all the strengthes which *Religion* or humane policy could giue. First therefore * there was procured a Briefe from the Pope, by which both the King was declared to bee at liberty to choose his owne Councell, and gouerne by himselfe, (which, who doubteth but hee might haue done without the Popes Bull?) and all men commanded vnder pain of *Censures* to restore such things as against law and the Kings will, they detained from him. This put the interested into a will to raise Armes; meeting for that purpose at *Leicester*, where the *Cestrian* Earle and his * *Confederates* consulted, how they (vnder

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der the specious pretext of removing the Earle of *Kent*, as one whose predominating greatness, and euill offices against them, were not to be by them endured) might detain the Castle and other possessions demanded. But vpon notice, that (if forthwith they did not render backe what they vniuilly held) they should by name bee presently excommunicated, and that the King (now at *Northampton*) had with him not onely an honest cause, * but a greater number of *Souldiers* (which they much more feared then all their shames of Excommunication) they following a * wiser course, repaired forthwith to the King, rendering vpp to his hands all that belonged to the Crowne; but did not lay downe their displeasure, for that, on their petition, the King would not put from him his chiefe *Iusticiar*, the object of their Enuie.

(17) Meane while *Lewis* King of *France* not contented to deny the demanded restitution vpon his allenged pretexts, inuades such other parts as * King *Henry* peaceably held in *Poitou* and *Normandy*, the best colour and reason giuen for it, * is, That whereas *Aquitaine* (whereof *Normandy* and *Poitou* were part) was holden of the Crown of *France* by homage, the King of *England*, being not hindered by sickness nor other necessity was not present at the Coronation of *Lewis*, nor executed his absence by *Ambassadors*. In prosecution of which pretence hee tooke * *Rochel* (the principall Port of *Normandy*) and other places, and ouerthrew in a Battle, *Sauarie de Malleon* also, Lieutenant for king *Henry* in *Aquitaine*: vpon which ouerthrow the losse of those foresaid Townes with the whole Countrey of *Poitou* (as * one faith) ensued. The which, the king lost the seruice of the said *Sauarie*, a valiant commander, who for some indignity offered vnto him by *William Longspe* Earle of *Salisbury*. (* sent out by King *Henry*, vpon some dislike of *Sauaries* doings, with commission to oueruiue his courtesies,) suddenly turned *French*, among whom hee had great credit and preferment. King *Henry* ill brooking so greata defalcation of his foraine estates, determined to haue recourse to the generall aide of his people, for meanes to recouer his losses, but while (for that purpose) hee held a * Parliament, the whole assembly was sodainly troubled with iust complaints of an vnufferable outrage.

(18) For *Henry* de *Braibroke*, a *Iustice Itinerant*, who with other held the *Assises* at *Dunstable*, was sodainly surprisid (and imprisoned vnder strong Garrison in *Bedford* Castle) by the commandement of *Falscius*, enraged, for that thirty verdicts had there passed against him, vpon trials of title for lands which hee had forcibly entred. The Judges wife with her teares moued the whole Parliament to indignation and pity, that all other business set a part, the Clergie aswell as the Laity forthwith attended the King to the siege. *Falscius* himselfe flying into *Wales*, there to continue a greater body of rebellion, did leaue his brother, Lieutenant in the Castle with a desperate crew, hauing victuals and munition for an whole yeeres resistance. Yet after two Moneths siege the Castle being taken, the Judge was enlarged, the Lieutenant and his wholeretinue hanged, the pile it selfe (as a dennee of thecces) demolished; and an example giuen what others should trust vnto, who did not in due time submit themselves to their Soueraigne. This * *Falscius* was a *Norman* by birth and a bastard, who comming ouer in poore fort vnder King *John*, so behauid himselfe in the Kings seruices, that in regard of his al-daring forwardnesse, *Bedford* was giuen him to defend against the Barons; where by rapine and violence hee had drawne together the shew of a great fortune, besides that which hee had in marriage with *Margaret de Riparia* a great inheritance, whom King *John*, to her no lesse discontentment, then disparagement had bestowed vpon him. But now when this Castle, beyond his imagination was thus beaten to the earth, and all other his

possessions seized by the King, hee procures *Alexander* Bishoppe of *Coventree* to safe conduct him to *Bedford*, where hee throws himselfe at the Kings feet, imploring mercy for his former good seruices. Hee was, after pardon of life hardly gotten, sent into perpetual banishment; at which time hee with teares desired the Earle of *Warren*, (who had in charge to see him ship away) That hee would commend him to the King, and let him know (a secret sice for theking to take notice of) that all the troubles which hee had raised in the Realme, were by the only instigation of the Barons. Notwithstanding the king was so incensed for the keeping this Castle against him, that hee commaunded all * Strangers to depart the Realme within a time there limited vnder great penalty.

(19) The interrupted Councell of Parliament, and purposes of the King for recouerie of his *Poitouine* inheritances, were now againe resumed; yet the King could not there (but vpon condition) that hee should graunt their *Liberties*, the string which was cuer harped on,) obtaine a fiftenth, nor the good will of the States to furnish him in his *French* hostilities: Thus the king, * drawne with desire of money (whereof his want was very vrgent) grants those his *Charters* vnder his Seale, and was so further wrought on, that oathes were (by royall commaundement) taken, to tie all men to the obseruation of the said Graunts, according to the very letter, if that bee the meaning of * *litterarum iuramentum*, and not something else. Vpon the strength of this money (whose dayly expence, like vidual nourishment, keeps all great actions alive,) *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* the Kings brother, *William Longspe* Earle of *Salisbury*, and aboute threecore Knights with competent forces were sent into *Galesse* in the Springs, where they safely arrived at *Burdeaux*, and were honourably entertained. This timely arrual had good effects, for it confirmed the well-disposed, sealed the irrefolute, and reduced much which had bene extorted by the *French*. *Hugh* Earle of the *Marches of Poitou*, comming by the *French* Kings direction to remoue Earle *Richard* and the *English* from the siege of the *Riol*, was with all his Forces intercepted * by an *Ambuscado*, and difcomfited with no small losse of men, munition and carriages. All sides were in the end * contented to pause without parliance, and the *English* held *Aquitaine* despite their force or practises. But *William Longspe* the Kings vncler suruiued not long his good seruices in those parts; who returning (vpon busines of State) into *England*, (soone ended his dayes at his Castle of *Salisbury*, with so great humility and pietie, that at point of death hee would not receiue the holy *Eucharist* in his Bed (which deuotion is also reported of King *Henry* the eight) but vpon his bare knees on the ground, which hee moistned with abundance of penitent teares. Vpon which great Earle this Epitaph was made:

*Flos Comitum vilielmus obit stirps regia; * Longus*
Enlis, vaginam capiti habere breuem.

Royal-born William, Flower of Earles lies heres
A sheath thus short, doth Long-Sword serue to bear.

(20) About these times the Pope (say * his Monks) sent abroad into the world his *Nunces*, requiring euery where vnde exactions, with purpose to settle a certainty of contribution to his See of *Rome*, out of all the Cathedral and conuentual Churches in *Christendome*; alleading, * that hee did it to wipe away from that See, that ancient scandall of *Anacore* and *Briberie*, which otherwise their penury must still enforce them to use. Neuertheless, alwell the *Messenger*, as the *Messager* found but slender welcome here. For (by procurement of the *Archbishop of Canterbury*) the Popes Agent *Otto*, receiued letters from *Rome*, commaunding him presently to returne: to

* He died afterward in Rome, in extreme penury and sorrow, Paris. Polydor.

* Lang. Chro.

An. 1225.

* Reg. V. 1. 1. 1.

* Mat. Paris.

* Mat. Paris. who

An. 1227. doth

the Litteratoris

nunciare, to sig-

nify by letter:

as a written oath

signed or sealed

by them.

Th. Walsingham.

Polid. V. 1. 1. 1.

calls him Earle of

Champaign, and

might be both.

* Reg. V. 1. 1. 1.

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Th. Walsingham.

Polid. V. 1. 1. 1.

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Polid. V. 1. 1. 1.

* Longspee or

Long-Sword.

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hist. m.

* Littera Papa,

that hee had of purpose bene flacke herein, as in other things, in regard of five thousand Marks, with which the Queene Dowager of France had (as he said) embred him, and withall ranne at him in great fury with his drawne sword, but Ranulph Earle of Chester and others stept betwene, and saved the King from so foule a blemish, who foone after received him into grace againe. But that assembly was dispersed by the arrival of a great man out of Britaine, a principal confederate with the English against Lewis, who shewed the unreasonable time of the year, and other reasons; and the enterprize thereupon adiourned to the Spring. So after Easter hee transports from Portsmouth with a full Armie into Britaine. The same day in which hee set saile from England, himselfe did in person, visite the poore and feeble, and dealt large Almes, not refusing to kisse the sicke and leprous. The successe of this voyage is so diversly reported, that without prejudice to an obseruant Reader, it might be all left out. Much certainly was not done. The King of England purpose was to haue marched through Britaine (where many received him) into Poitou; and as some write hee did so, and tooke homagie Gaigoigne. To embrace this passage, the King of France lay with a great Armie at Angiers, and the King of England at Nantz in Britaine, expecting the repaire of more force. Fulk Paganel a noble Norman, with about sixty valiant Knights perswaded the King of England, it was easie for him to reduce Normandie to his obedience; but Hubert de Burgh diuerted the King from acceptance of that enterprize. The Normans therefore made an ill iourney, and an unlucky, for they prevailed not with King Henry, and for their conspiracy were disseised at home by King Lewis. But whether it were by losse in battle (wherein, if any battle were at all, some say the French had the better, taking about foure thousand of the English), or otherwise, this is agreede on, that after the waite of infinite Treasures, and the great diminution of his numbers, the King of England returned without accomplishment of his purpose, leaving for the defence of Britaine, the three great Earles of Chester, Pembroke and Aumari, with forces answerable.

(28) It is not unlikely that the dangerous rebellion of the Irish, hastned his returne; for the King of Connaught and his Irish, seeing the King and the Earle of Pembroke (who as Heire to the great Strang-baw had good possessions in those parts) wholely embued in the enterprize of Britaine, had invaded the Kings people, with a purpose and hope, vnderlie to expell and amoue our Nation from among them; but their deuises proued mischieuous to themselves, that rebellious King himselfe being taken Prisoner, not without the losse of many thousands of the Irish. The Welsh also loone after brake out againe, whose Prince Lewelin, in reuenge of those Welshmens heads, which Hubert de Burgh had cruelly caused to bee stricken off in cold blood, and presented to the King, had burnt certaine Churches and Gentlewomen in them; for which, at Oxford in the presence of the King, all the Nobility, and Clergy, hee was solemnly excommunicated, and the King there gathering a great Army, in person went to repress the Welsh, though not without losse.

(29) Another Garboyle whether no lesse disturbed the whole land, the Infidelity of the Romans (who were charged to haue wrought innumerable confusions and infinite grieuances to the King, his Kingdome, Peeres and People) stirring vp multitudes through the Land, by a common consent, to seeke by force to shake off the importable yoke of their oppressions. It was alleaged by these reformers, that they had vnder hand the Kings Letters Patents, the Lord Chiefe Iustices assent, the Bishop of Londons countenance, and the shiriffes aide in sundry Shires, whereby the armed troups took heart euery where, violently to seize on the Romanes Corne, and their

other wealth; which booties they employed to good purposes, and for reliefe of the poore, the Romanes while hiding their heads, for feare of looting them. And though the King, on the Popes complaint thereof, seemed to dislike the outrage, yet had the King himselfe no lesse cause to be moued with the infidelity of the Pope, then were his subjects of those Popelings. For that very time the See of Canterbury being void, Ralph Newill Bishop of Norwich was elected by the Monkes, and gladly approved by the King, whose most faithfull Chancelour hee was, an unshaken pillar of truth, doing right to all without delayes, especially to the poore, without declining to the right hand or the left. But the Pope being told he was a Royalist, and one that would ioin with the King and whole Kingdome (who now all struggled to shake off the Popes seruitude), and would to the death stick to that law, and those Appelles, which Stephen Langton solemnly before the Altar in Saint Pauls Church urged against King Johns submission to the See of Rome; his Election (as being a person very dangerous) was presently pronounced void. Whereupon the Monkes chose a second, and him the Pope misliked, for being too old, and soft spirited, then a third was elected, a man of eminent learning, a Student in the Vniuersity of Oxford, and him also the Pope reiected; neuer resting till they had chosen Edmund of Abington, a man more pleasing to the Romanes palate. But the King seeing the Great Emperour Fredericke, euen this very time while hee was winning the Kingdom of Jerusalem from Infidels, so Turkishly in his absence depoued from his owne Empire by the Pope, vpon a priuate spleene, no maruaile, if in this his vnrripe age, and distracted government, hee feared to draw on himselfe by any opposition, too mercilesse an enemy. So that for the time these indignities were winked at in these parts: in France also by the wisdom of Queen Blanch, and mediation of the Archbishops of Reims, and Philip Earle of Boilein of one part, and the Earles of Britaine and Chester on the other, a three yeeres cessation from mutuall hostilities was ratified by oath, betweene the French and English.

(30) Hubert de Burgh Earle of Kent, Chiefe Iusticiar of England, hauing with few rubbes hitherto, enjoyed the most inward looe and fauour of all this King, as of King John, seemed now to haue run the Stage of his best fortunes. For the King (vpon occasion of such inrodes and spoiles, as the Prince Lewelin continually made in the Marches of Wales) being aduertised by Peter Bishop of Winchester, and certaine other of the Councell, once for all to giue an end to those braues and insolencies of the Welsh, complained; that hee was not able in regard of his wants; saying, that his Treasurers told him, all the rents of his Exchequer would do no more then scarce maintaine apparrell, household and ordinary Almes-deedes. This was not vnknewne to the Bishop, and the rest of that faction, who watched this opportunity of purpose to lift the Earle of Kent out of fauour: wherefore they boldly answered the King: that if he were poore hee might thanke himselfe, who gave away to others such Honours, Custodies, and Dignities, as were vacant, alienating them from his estate; that hee was only to be called a King in name, rather then for any riches which he had; that his Ancestors, magnificent Princes, abounding in all sorts of worldly glorie, and wealth, heaped to themselves inestimable treasures, out of no other meanes, but the Rents and Profites of the Kingdome.

(31) The King stung with this iust reprehension, beganne (by their instructions) to call the Sheriffes of Shires, Baylives, and other his Officers to a strait account, for all such recetes, as appertained to the Exchequer, thrusting some out of their places, and wringing out of all their full sponges, store of coine, till hee satisfied himselfe both for the arrears and interest. Out of Ralph Briton, Treasurer of his Chamber hee screwed a thousand pounds, and

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*Mat. Paris.

Antiph. de Hen. 3.

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*Paul. Aemil.

*Roger Wend.

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*Mat. Paris.

and also put him from his place, into which (by the Bishoppe of Winchester suggestion, who now predominated in Court) hee substituted Peter de Orinail a Poiteuine, the Bishoppes Nephew or Sonne, if Paris say true; and so forth hee, the Kings coffers otherwise empty and leane, were by these means stuffed againe, though not to their full surfeit. For these were but preparatives to a farther scrutine and rancke, intended against the Earle of Kent, whom (vpon the Bishoppes suggestion) the King remoued from the Proto-Iusticiari-bippe (or high office of his Chiefe Iustice) and put in his place Sir Stephen Seagrave a Knight onely in name. Then is a strict and captious account demanded of the Earle of Kent, for all such things as he was in any fort chargeable with; as, 1. For such receipts or debts, as were due to King John, or to this King Henry himselfe: 2. For the meane profits of such lands, as the King was seized of, from the day of the death of the first great William, Earle of Pembroke, his Iusticiar and Marshall, whither those lands were in England, Wales, Ireland, or Poiteu: 3. For such Liberties or waies Customes which the King had in Forests, Warrens, Counties and else where, and how they were kept or alienated. 4. For such things as the King lost by Huberts negligence: 5. For the wronges and damages offered to the Romanes, and Italian Clerks, and to the Popes Nuncios against the Kings will by authority of Hubert, who would take no order to correct the misdoers, as by vertue and nature of his place hee was obliged: 6. For the many elcuaues coming by Carruages, gifts and presents, or for the rents of Custodies belonging to the Crowne.

(32) To all which heades, the Earle answered, that hee had the Charter of the Kings Father, by which hee was freed from giuing any account eyther for things passed, or to come, and that hee had giuen such proofe of his fidelity vnto King John, as he would not endure to heare him make an account. Peter Bishoppe of Winchester replied hereunto, that such a Charter after the death of King John had no force, and therefore the Fathers Charter, and graunt of Priuilege, was no reason why he should not stand accountable to the Sonne. This defence for money dangers in this fort traiered or auoyded, they labored to draw him in for his heade, by charging him with sundry Articles founding treasonable; as, 1. That Hubert had disswaded the Duke of Austria from matching his Daughter with the King who sought it; 2. that hee had hindered the King from entering vpon forraign lands to him belonging, whereby the King, Peeres, and People consumed their Treasures vainly: 3. that hee had enticed the Daughter of the King of Scots (whom King John had entrusted to his custody, meaning himselfe to marry her) & traiterously defiled the noble yong Lady, whom he married in hope to be King of Scotland in her right, if shee furnished her Brother: 4. that hee had stolne out of his leuel-house a precious stone of wonderful value, whose vertue was to make him who had it, invincible in Battle, & that hee gaue that stone to Lewelin prince of Wales, the Kings enemy: 5. that hee by his letters had caused Lewelin to hang William de Breuse.

(33) The Earle much perplexed with these accusations (whether true or false) could hardly obtaine a short respite to make his answer: Thus, that Hubert (say the Monkes) who for loue of the King, and defence of the Kingdome, had prouoked the hatred of all the great Lords, now being for taken of the King, is left sole and solitary, without friends or comfort. Onely Luke Archbishops of Dublin neuer toooke him, but with prayers and teares besought the King on his behalfe, but could not be heard against so great opposites, on so great pretences. When the cry was thus vp, and that the world saw it was no superficiall displeasure, into which the Earle was fallen with the mutable King, thererise forth many accusations (auouring of much malignity) round about, vpon hope to oppress & bury Hubert vnder them for euer; as, 1. that hee had poisoned the two noble Earles of Salisbury and Pembroke: 2. that hee had also procured Falsus de Brent, and Richard Archbishop of Canterbury to be made away: 3. that by Sorceries and Enchantments, hee had drawne the King to fauour him above all others: 4. that in the victory gotten against the French by Sea, hee forcibly tooke many Prisoners from the Kings Sailer, and made his benefite of their ransoms, contrary to right, and that hee had spoiled and disinherited many: 5. that hee had without trial vniuilly put to death Constantine, for which excess the Citizens of London required iustice against the said Hubert. The King hereupon makes Proclamation through the City, that all such as could charge Hubert with any wrong, should repaire to Court, and thererecieve immediate redresse. This strange course of proceeding did so appale and terrifie the Earle, that hee forthwith fled to the Priorie Church of Merton in Surrey, where among the Chanons, hee sheltered his head for a time.

(34) The King with his Prelates and Peeres meeting at Lambeth, at the day appointed for Huberts answer, hee (being made to beleue that the King would put him to a most foule death) durst not appeare, or peepe forth of his sacred refuge. The Londoners were assembled in Armes (by the Kines command) to the number of about twenty thousand vnder banners displayed to dragge the Earle out of Sanctuary: but vpon the Earle of Cheshers wiser Counsell, the prey was taken out of the hands of a bloudy multitude (who mortally hated him for Constantines death) and they returned againe to their City. The Archbishops of Dublin still performing the office of a true friend, ouerslips not this occasion, and by his importunity obtayned day for Hubert, till about Twelfe-tide then next ensuing, and the King for his assurance, during the Interim, giues him letters Patents. Hubert thinking himselfe secure for the present, is now vpon his way toward his wife at the Abbey of Saint Edmund in Suffolke, but his enemies so prevailed by their suggestions, that Sir Godfrey de Cxancumb Knight, with three hundred armed men, was sent to apprehend the Earle in Essex. Hee hauing intelligence of their approach, fledde into a Chappell at Brentwood, which adioyned to his lodging; from whence those rough Souldiers haled him (hee holding in one hand a Crucifix, and in the other the Sacrament) and sent for a Smith to make for him shackles of yron. But when the Smith vnderstood, that it was for Hubert de Burgh Earle of Kent, he refused, vttering such words (if Mathew Paris doe not Poetize) as did well shew that honourable thoughts are sometimes found in the hearts of men, whose fortunes are farre from honour; for hauing first drawne a deepe sigh, hee said; * Doe with mee what see please, and God haue mercy on my soule; but as sure as the Lord liues, I will neuer make yron shackles for him, but will rather die the worst death that is. For is not this that most loyal and courageous Hubert, who so often hath preserved England from being destroyed by strangers, & restored England to England? Hee who faithfully and constantly serued his Soueraigne Lord King John in Gascoigne, Normandy, and else where, that he was compelled to eate the flesh of horses, whose blood courage euen Enemies admired? hee, that so long defended Dover Castle, the Key of England, against all the exquisite sieges of the French, and by vanquishing them at Sea, brought safety to the Kingdome? what need I rehearse his excellent doings at Lincoln and Bedford? Let God be iudge between him and you, for using him so vniuilly and inhumanely, repaying good with euill, may requiting his most excellent deserts with the worst recompence that can be. But Sir Godfrey, and his blacke band regarded not such speeches, but otherwise binding the Earle hard, they set him on horsebacke, and so conuayed him to the Tower of London.

(35) This

Other malicious Articles directed

The hanging of Constantine obstructed.

The Earle of Kent takes Sanctuary.

* On Holyrood day, 14. Sept.

The Earle again takes Sanctuary.

* Reg. de Hen. 3. Mat. Paris.

The honest and noble mind of a poore Artificer.

* Addit. M. Par. ad V. P. edon.

A pithy speech of that Artificer.

The Earle re-
stored to the
Sanctuary from
whence he was
taken.

* R. 12. 12. 33.
Mat. Paris.

The Archbishop
of Dublin a faith-
ful friend to
Hubert.

The Earle trea-
sure delivred
to the King.

The King relen-
teth towards the
Earle, and will
not take his life.

* In Willm.

An. 1233.
An. reg. 17.

* W. 12. 12. 33.

* Mat. Paris ex
Reg. V. 12. 33.
Inditio commi-
ssur in iudicio
legis ex legibus
pax diffidendi
bus iustitia ini-
victis.

(35) This breach of Sanctuary being made known to Roger Bishope of London (whose Diocese it was) he confidently tells the King, that if the Earle were not restored to the Chappell, hee would excommunicate all the Authors of that outrage. The Earle is accordingly restored; but the Sheriffs of Essex and Hertford, at the Kings commandment, with the powers of their counties besiege the Chappell so long, that at last (they having cast a Trench about it that none might goe in or out) the Earle was compelled to come forth and render himselfe, bearing all things with an equal mind, as one that had a cleare conscience before God, which hee professed to haue. While the Chiappell was thus beset round, the Kings indignation was so violent, that hee forbade all men once to make mention of Hubert in his hearing. No marvaile then if it be said, that the Princes indignation is death. The Archbishoppe of Dublin neuertheless was not daunted, but with prayers and teares besought the King, who remained as yet inexorable, Huberts enemies possessing his soule and senses. Hubert therefore is againe imprisoned in the Tower. There was no sacrifice as it seemed could appease the Kings ire, but that of the Earles Hoord of gold, and other riches, which the Knights Templars had in their custodie vpon trust, & without Huberts consent refused to deliuer. Hubert therefore willingly yeelds; which when the Depostaries did giue vp, the value seemed incredible. This hoording perhaps was Huberts crime, whereof being thus purged, he had hope to recover out of these deadly pangs and conuulsions of fortune, and himselfe to be made capable of curing. Well, the king obtains this precious booty, but his enemies would haue his blood also; saying, *that hee was convicted of theft and fraud, it was meet he should die a most shameful death.* It seemed, they thought, that the verie finding of so much treasure was a conuiction of fraud in the getting, and that the King must be interpreted to haue lost, whatsoever the Earle had gained. But the displeasure of the King was mollified with this golden balme, for hee answered them thus; *Hubert from his childhood hath (as I haue heard) faithfully enough serued my uncle King Richard, and my Father King John, and if hee haue done ill towards me, hee shall neuer therefore die an euill death. For I had rather be reputed a foolish or a negligent King, then a cruel Tyrant, or a bloody man towards him, who hath long serued mee and mine ancestors; nor will I weigh more his euill deedes, which are not as yet manifest, nor proued true, then all his good deedes, which are plainlie knowne to the Realme, and to vs all.* Hereupon Hubert had all such lands granted vnto him, as cyther King John had giuen, or himselfe had purchased. There vnderooke for him to the King (as sureties) the Earles of Cornwall, and Warren, Marshall & Ferrars, and himselfe was committed to the Castle of Denfise, there to abide in free Prison, vnder the Custodie of four Knights, belonging each of them to one of these four Earles. This Court storme thus in part ouerblowne, let vs take our standings, to view what other weather followed, and what countenance of things in this Kingdome did next present it selfe to the world.

(36) The King being naturally, as it seemes, addicted to repose himselfe vpon some one mans counsell, was now wholly swayde by Peter de Rupibus Bishope of Winchester, who had therefore wrought the Earle out of grace, that hee might slyly raigne, and predominate in the gentle King. Which the better to effect, the Bishope procures him to displace the English Officers, and in their roomes to surrogate Poitounes and Britons; who comming o-uer to the number of about two thousand, hee stuffs his Castles with them; and (in briefe) did as it were wholly entrust himselfe, his treasures, strengths, and the Realme to them. So that *Indgements were committed to the vniuersall Lawes to the Out-lawes, Peace to Wranglers, and Iustice to wrong-doers.* Suchas would

haue praied redresse for these abuses, were interrupted, and put off by the Bishope of Winchester. Among them who were removed from their places in Court, was one Sir William de Redene a Knight, and Deputy Marshall to Richard Earle of Pembroke. This was to the Earle very displeasing, which ioyned with a consideration of the publicke cause and danger, he associates vnto him certain of the great Lords (as was the fashion of those Lording times, vpon euery discontent,) and in the Company of them aduanceth confidently to the King, whom in the hearing of many heereproueth; for that hee had, through sinister aduise, called in the Poitounes, to the oppression of the Realme, of his natural subjects, of their Lawes and Liberties: *humble therefore hee beseecheth him that hee would speedily reforme such abuses, which threatened the imminent subuersion both of the Crowne and Kingdome: which if hee did not, himselfe and other Lordes, would so long withdraw their attendance, as hee entertained Strangers.* The Bishope hereunto makes answer; *That the King might well and lawfully call in what Strangers himselfe thought good, for the defence of the Crowne and Realme, and such, and so many of them, as might be able to compell his proud and rebellious people to due obedience.* When the Oracle would speake no otherwise, they departed from Court greatly discontented; firmly promising one to the other, that in such a cause which did touch them all, they would like men stand together while anie breath was in their bodies.

(37) Those who were now most potent about the King, nothing sorry for the discontentment of so great a Peere as the Earle Marshall, but counting it a part of their strengthes, to vie the regall power toward the weakning of the English, nourish in the King his auersion. The minds of men sufficientlie inclining of themselves, to doubt the worst vpon such diuisions, had their feare increased by sundrie prodigies of strange thunders and raines, and especially of foure redde Parabellons (or fireballances of the Sunne) besides the Sunne it selfe, (appearing about the parts of Hereford and Worcester) from morning till night in the Skies: and indeed much trouble immediately ensued aswell in England as Wales, & Ireland. The Poitounes, and other Strangers thus bearing the sway, so as the Kings person went guarded with troupes of such, the Earles and Barons being by the Kings commaund summoned to another Parliament at Oxford, refused to come. While the King was there, one Robert Bacon, who vied there to preach before the King and Prelates, freely told him, *that if hee did not remove from him Peter Bishope of Winchester, and Peter de Rinaldis, he could neuer be in quiet.* The King did hereupon a little come to himselfe, & Roger Bacon a Clergy-man also of a pleasant wit, did second Roberts aduise, telling the King that *Peter de Rupibus* were most dangerous things at sea, alluding to the Bishopes name, *Petrus de Rupibus.* The King therefore (as he had the happines in his mutability, to change for his more security) taking that good aduise of Schollers, which he would nor of his Peeres, summons a Parliament to be holden at Westminster, giuing the world to know withall, that his purpose was to amend by their aduise, what hee ought to be amended.

(38) But the Barons, considering that still there arrived sundry strangers, men of warre with Horie and Armour, and not trusting the Poitounes faith, came nor, but presumed to fend this traitorous messenger to the king, that if out of hand hee removed not Peter Bishope of Winchester, and the Poitounes out of his Court, they all of them, by the common assent of the kingdome, would drive him out, his wicked Counsellors together out of it, and consule about creating a new Soueraigne. The king (whom his fathers example made more timorous,) could easily haue bene drawne, to haue redeemed the loue of his naturall Liegemen, with the disgrace of a few strangers; but the Bishope of Winchester and his friends infused

more

The king
was
advised
by
his
nobles

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more spirit into him. Whereon; to all those whom hee suspected, the King sets downe a day, within which they should deliuer sufficient pledges to secure him of their loyalty. Against that day the Lords in great numbers make repaire to London, but the Earle Marshall (admonished of danger, by his sifter the Countesse of Cornwall) flies backe to Wales, and chiefly for want of his preference nothing was concluded. The King not long after is at Gloster with an Armie, whither the Earle and his adherents required to come, refused, the King therefore burns their Mannors, and giues away their inheritances to the Poitounes.

(39) This Rebellion had not many great names in it, but tooke strength rather by weight then number: the known Actors were the Earle Marshall, the Lord Gilbert Basset, and many other of the inferior Nobles. The Bishopes Arts had plucked from him, the Kings Brother, and the two Earles of Chester and Lincoln, (who dishonourably sold their loue for a thousand Markes,) and otherwise, as it seemed, secured theret: neuertheless, these may well be thought, not to haue borne any euill will to their now forsaken confederate, the Earle Marshall, who tooke himselfe to handle the common cause; certainly hee handled his owne safety but ill, as the euents shall demonstrate. The Earle hearing these things, contracts strict amity with Llewelyn Prince of Wales; whose powers thus knit together, by aduantages of the Mountains, were able to counterpoize any ordinary inuasion. To the Kings aide, Baldwin de Giffes with many Souldiers came out of Flanders. The King now at Hereford in the midst of his Forces, sends from thence (by Winchester counsell) the Bishope of Saint Davids, to desie the Earle Marshall; how farre sooner this word desie extends it selfe, sure it seems that the Earle hereupon vnderstoode himselfe discharged of that obligation, by which hee was tied vnto the King, and freed to make his defence. The King notwithstanding after some small attempts, and better considerations, did promise and assume, that by aduise of his Counsell all that was amisse (should at a day appointed) be rectified and amended. About which time, Hubert de Burgo, hauing intelligence that the Bishope of Winchester (who was a Poitouine) plotted his death, escaped out of the Castle of Denfise (where hee was prisoner) to a neighbour Church, but was haled from thence by the Castle-keepers. The Bishop of Sarisbury (in whose Diocese it happened) caused him to be safe-restored to the same place, from whence by the Earle Marshall, and a troupe of armed men his friends, hee was rescued and carried into Wales.

(40) The King, at the day and place appointed, holds his great Councell or conference with the Lords; but nothing followed for the peace of the Realme; it was not an ordinary passage of speech, which hapned there betweene the Lords, and the Bishope of Winchester. For, when the English Bishops and Barons humbly besought the King, for the honour of Almighty God to take into grace his natural Subjects, whom (without any trial by their Peeres) hee called Traitors: the Bishope (offended it seems, at Peeres) takes the words out of the Kings mouth, and answers; *That there are not Peeres in England, as in the Realme of France, and that therefore the King of England, by such Iusticiars as himselfe please to ordaine, may banish offenders out of the Realme, and by iudiciall processe condemne them.* The English Bishops relished his speech so harshly, that with one voice they threatened to excommunicate and curse by name the King; principall wicked Counsellors; but Winchester appealed, then they accursed all such as alienated the heart of the king from his natural subjects, and all others that perturbed the peace of the Realme.

(41) The Earle Marshall, this while had by force reclaimed a Castle, which hee had a little before sur-

rendred to the King, which stirred the King to gather his forces at Glocester, and thence to aduance towards Wales. But the Earle had politickly barred the Country of all Prouisions, for man and beast, that the King was faine to strike aside to Gromont Castle, where the Earle, with his Confederates and the power of Wales, to awaited their time, that assailing the Kings Campe vnawares, there were taken about five hundred horse, with the Sumpters, riches, and carriages of the Armie; vpon which losse (his men also greatly scattered) the King leauing two noble Gentlemen with the Poitounes, to make good the Marches against the Welsh, returned more empty and inglorious then before. The Earle found them worke, whom the King had left behind; and (as hee was a man of no lesse courage then deepe witte,) whereas Baldwin de Giffes (the valiant Flemish knight) with a thousand Horsemen; thought to haue surprized him, who hauing but a tenth part of that number, came to view the Castle of Monmouth; the Earle alone defended himselfe against twelue of his enemies; and when his horse was cowardly slaine by them, hee pitcht one of them by the legge out of the Saddle, and leapt into it himselfe, neuer giuing ground till his Armie came to the rescue, and obtained a faire victorie, with the slaughter and captiuation of many Poitounes and others. His other exploits in and about Wales, were not few nor vnfortunate; if it were not onely in this, (as what indeed could be more glorious or vngracious to a noble mind?) for that his Soueraigne was vpon the contrary side.

(42) The King about this time, to strengthen his life and State, with the prayers of Beneficiaries, and other deuoted affections, founded the house of Conuerts, where such as forsooke the Iudaicall Superstitions, had prouisions for maintenance vnder a sober rule and ruler; hee also erected and endowed a famous Hospital at Oxford, both for the entertainment of Forrainers and Pilgrimes, (who thither much frequented,) and for reliefe also of such as were diseased: So that Llewelyn Prince of Wales, (the Earles chiefe confederate) when hee was threatened sore, if hee would not lye in quiet, did not speake more magnificently of charity, then honourably of the Kings more feare (quoth hee) *the Almesdees which the King dooth, then all the men of warre which hee hath, and the whole Clergy, put together.*

(43) The Earle Marshall encreasing in strength and hatred against such as were the Kings reputed Seducers, makes spoile and booty on their possessions, and ioyning with the power of Llewelyn, puts all to fire and sword, as farre as Shrewsburie, part whereof they burnt to Ashes, and sackt the residue. The King then at Gloster for want of sufficient Forces, departed thence (greatly grieved) to Winchester, abandoning those other parts as it were to wast and ruine. It therefore seemes, that he was not growne stronger or richer, by the displacing of Hubert Earle of Kent, and the rest, and by taking new into their roomes, who commonly bite and sucke hard till they haue glutted themselves, (if at leastwise there be any satietie in auarice) whereas the old officers, hauing provided in asore for the maine chance, haue the lesse reason to be grieved.

(44) Therefore the Lions skin not being large enough for the Bishope of Winchester, and his factious purposes, they peece them out with the Foxes case; an inuitable stratageme is deuised. The Earle Marshall had in Ireland all the ample Patrimonies of his Grandfather, the famous Strangbow. To make that member of his strengthes improfitable, if not also pernicious, they deuise certain letters directed to Maurice Fitz-Gerald (Deputie Iustice of Ireland) and other principall men, who held of the Earle. In them they signifie, that Richard, once Marshall to the King of England, was for manifest treason by the iudgement of the Kings Court, banished the Realme.

* Deff. Pow. biff.
Camb. p. 239.

* Viz. Job. de
Monmouth.
Ralph de Thorney.

The Earles great
courage and agi-
lity.

* Now the Rolles
in Chancery
Lane, Stowes
Survey.

* Saint Johns
Hospital by Med-
dole Colledge, the first stone
whereof was
laid by the king
himselfe Rolles
Leolens opinion
of K. Henries
Almesdees.
Mat. Paris.
D. Powel biff.
Camb. pag. 292.

An. 1234.
An. reg. 18.

* Reg. V. 12. 33.

The King giues
way to the fury
of the rebellious.

A practise to re-
fine the Earle
Marshall.

The peffilent tenour of the letters.

* Re Wend. MS. Mat. Paris.

Alexander Bishop of Chichester cleared himself from disloyalty.

The English Bishops dealt with the King about redress of the common evils.

Objections against the Bishop of Winton and the Poitevins.

The outrages of the Marshalline faction.

* Qua exten. B. Mat. Paris.

Realme, his Lands, townes and Tenements consumed with fire; after his Hereditaments destroyed, and himselfe for ever disinherited, that if upon his coming thither, they did take him either alive or dead, the King did give them all the Earles lands there, which now were forfeited by virtue of his Attainure, and for assurance that the said gift should continue firme and good, they, by whose advice the King and Kingdome were governed, faithfully undertooke. To these letters (which the Monkes call bloody) they caused the King to set his Seale, as they themselves also (being eleven) did theirs; upon receipt of which lines, the parties signified backe under the seale of secrecy, that if the Contents of those letters were confirmed by the Kings Letters Patents, they would performe that which was desired. The Letters patents bee made accordingly, and having fraudulently gotten the Great Seale from Hugh Bishop of Chichester, Lord Chancellor, who knew not thereof, they make them authenticke with the impression.

(45) The Kings mind therefore being still exulted towards the Earle Marshall, hee grievously charged Alexander Bishop of Chichester, that he had too much familiarity with the Earle, affirming that they sought to thrust him from his throne; the Bishop to clear himselfe from so hainous a scandall, puts on his Episcopall habite, and solemnly pronounceth all those accurs, who did but imagine a wickednesse of so foule a nature, against the Maiesty or person of the King: and thereupon by the intercession of other Prelates, hee was received into grace. The King was then at Westminster, where Edmund the Archbishop of Canterbury elect, with other his Suffragan Bishops, bewailing the estate of the kingdome, present themselves before him, telling him, as his loyal Liegemen, "that the Counsell of Peter Bishop of Winchester, and his Complices, which now he had, and used, was not sound nor safe, but cruell and perillous to himselfe and his Realme. First, for that they hated and despised the English, calling them Traitors, turning the Kinges hearts from the love of his people, and the hearts of the people from him; as in the Earle Marshall, whom (being one of the worthiest men of the land) by sowing false tales they drave into discontentment; 2. that by the Counsell of the same Peter, his Father King John first lost the hearts of his people, then Normandie, then other lands; and finally, wasted all his treasure, and almost England it selfe, and neuer after had quiet; 3. that if the Subjects had now bene handled according to Justice and law, and not by their wogedly counsels, those present troubles had not hapned, but the Kinges lands had remained undestroyed, his treasures unexhausted; 4. that the Kings Council is not the Council of Peace, but of perturbation; because they who cannot rise by Peace, will raise themselves by the trouble; and disinherison of others; 5. that they had the treasure, Castles, Wardships, and strengthes of the Kingdome in their hands, which they insolently abused to the great hazard of the whole estate, for that they made no conscience of an Oth, Law, Justice, or the Churches censures. Therefore we, O King (said they) speake these things faithfully unto you; and in the presence both of God and man, doe counsell, beseech, and admonish you, to remove such a Council from about you, and (as it is the usage in other Realmes) governe yours by the faithfull and sworne Children thereof. The King in briefe answered hereunto, that hee could not suddenly put off his Council, and therefore prayed a short respite, till their accounts were audited. Meanwhile the behaviours of the Marshalline faction (having this backing at Court) grew more and more intolerable; for while the King was at Huntingdon, the Lord Gilbert Basset and others, set fire upon Alkmundbury, a Towne belonging to Stephen de Segrave, the flames whereof were scene of the owner, being then with the King at Huntingdon. They also tooke prisoners upon the Welsh Marches, and according to the Law of VVarr (which, faith one, is lawlesse) did put them to their ransomes.

(46) Nothing had hitherto preferred the King more, than that hee could, without great griefe forgive any fauourites, if hee were merely preiudiced, the contrary quality whereof hath bene the cause of final delolation to so many Princes. For albeit the choice of Counsellors ought to bee free, yet by common intendment, they should bee good; or howsoever they are, or are not, it is madnesse to hazard a Crowne, or leese the loue of an whole Nation, rather then to relinquish or diminish a particular dependant. The rights of amity ought neuertheless to remaine inuolable, but in such distance, that the publike be not peruered, nor interrupted for a private. The King therefore, in this point not vnfortunate, commaunded Bishop Peter to betake himselfe to his residence at Winton, without once meddling in affaires of State; but against Peter Riualis his Treasurer, hee was so vehement, that hee swore, hee would plucke out his eyes, were it not for reuerence of holy Orders; commaunding also their Poitevins to depole the Realme, neuer to see his face more.

(47) Then are the Archbishop of Canterbury with the Bishops of Chester and Rochester sent into Wales to pacifie things there. But the inuincible Earle Marshall had now crost the Seas into Ireland, to take reuenge for the spoiles and disfigurements, which his hired enemies had made in his lands thereby whose plots, according to that secret agreement, hee was finally taken, and died of a wound giuen him in the backe, as hee with admirable manhood defended himselfe. His Body was buried in Kilkenny, (which pleasantly situated Towne our Sovereigne, King James erected into a City,) where himselfe in his life had appointed, in the Oratorie of the Minors: in which Towne, as yet some small tokens of this great name are remaining; for in the East window of the Abbey Church of S. John Baptist, and in the Abbey of S. Dominick, the ancient Armouries of Marshall, Lord of Kilkenny, are yet extant. The Patrimony of this Earle was shared by the Contractors according to the purport of the Letters patents; but when the King heard of his death, hee (to the wonder of all that were by) brake forth into teares, bewailing the losse of ioye braue a Knight, affirming that hee had left no Peere behind him in the Kingdome. A blessed King, faith Paris, to loue euen those who had offended him.

(48) The Archbishop of Canterbury with the other Bishops, repaired to the King at Gloucester, upon their returne from Leoline Prince of Wales, who pretended hee could not conclude, till the King had received into grace such of the banished Nobility, with whom himselfe had bene confederated during the late displeasures. The King hereupon moved with Pitié, sends forth his Proclamations, that all such as were outlawed or proscribed, should bee at Gloucester vpon a certaine day, there to be received into the Kings fauour againe, and to haue restitution of their inheritances; but left they might suspect any euill measure, it was ordered that they should bee in the Churches protection, and come vnder the safe-conduct of the Archbishoppe and the other Prelates. Thither at the time and place limited doth Hubert de Burge Earle of Kent (and lately chiefe Iusticiar of England) repaire; vpon whom, by mediation of the Bishops, the compassionate King looks graciously, receiving him in his Armes with the kisse of peace; in like sort was the Lord Gilbert Basset, and all others of that fellowship, received into fauour, their severall liuings and rights fully restored; and both Hubert and Basset admitted to bee of his Council. And, that nothing might bee wanting to make the ioy vniuersall; Gilbert, Brother to the late Earle Marshall, had the whole Earldome conferred vpon him with all the lands and rights thereof whereof, notwithstanding the foresaid treacherous conuoyance, whom also the King made Knight at Worcester, and deliuered into his hands the

The King in taking vengeance using fauour.

Of Peter Riualis and his followers.

Of Peter Riualis and his followers.

The King's mourning for the death of the late Marshall.

The King's mourning for the death of the late Marshall.

The King's mourning for the death of the late Marshall.

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the Red of the Marshallship, according to the custom. Howbeit in all these points the King may seeme but to haue temporized (as thereto driven by ouerbearing inducements) or else greatly afterward to haue changed his iudgement, because hee openly at one time * called the said Richard a bloody Traitor, and caused this Gilbert to bee forcibly kept out of the Court vpon a Christmas day.

(49) Vpon this reconciliation the practise, by which the late great Marshall was destroyed, and his possessions dismembered, came to light; the copy of the letters, which had bene sent into Ireland, being by commandement of the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, openly read in the presence of the King, the Prelates, Earles and Barons. It moued teares in all of them; the King with an Oath affirming that hee knew not the contents of the said letters, though by the vrging of the Bishoppe of Winchester, Riualis, Segraue, Passlew, with other of his Council, hee had caused his Seale to bee put vnto them. At the sound of Summons to make their severall appearances, the Malefactors take Sanctuary, the Bishop and Peter de Riualis in Winchester Church, Segraue in Leicester Abbey, Passlew in the new Temple, and others elsewhere. In the end, vpon the intercession of Edmund Archbishop of Canterbury, who piously endeauoured to extinguish all occasions of further diffention in the Kingdome, and vnderooke they should haue a lawfull trial, the delinquents appeared at Westminster before the King, who * fate in person with his Iusticiars vpon the Bench. Peter de Riualis was first called (for the Bishop came not,) whom the King forth through with an angrie eye, saying; O thou Traitor, by thy wicked advice, I was dravne to set my Seale to these treacherous letters for the destruction of the Earle Marshall, the Contents whereof were to mee unknowne; and by thine and such like counsell, I banished my naturall Subjects, and turned their minds and hearts from me. By thy bad counsell, O thy Complices, I was moued to make warre vpon them to my irreparable losse, and the dishonour of my Realme, in which enterprise I wasted my treasure, and lost many wortheie persons, together with much of my royall respect. Therefore I exact of thee an account as well of my treasure, as of the custodies of wardes, together with many other profits and escheates belonging to my Crowne. Peter denying none of the accusations, but falling to the ground, thus besought him. My Sovereigne Lord and King, I haue bene nourished by you, and made rich in worldly substance, conformed not your own Creature, but as leastwise grant mee a time of deliberation, that I may render a competent reason for such points as I am charged with. Thou shalt (said the King) be carried to the Tower of London, there to deliberate till I am satisfied. He was so, Stephen de Segraue, the Lord Chiefe Iustice (whom the King also called most wicked Traitor) had time till Michaelmas to make his accounts, at the Archbishopps and other Bishops humble entreaty; and for other matters, hee shifted them off from himselfe, by laying the blame vpon such as were higher in place then hee: into whose office of Chiefe Iustice, Hugh de Pateshull is aduanced. The like euasion Robert Passlew had, by leaving the fault vpon Walter Bishoppe of Carlisle, who was about him in the Exchequer: and thus were these euill enormities reformed, not without reducing store of Coine to the King.

(50) As those continuall turmoiles, and plagues of the sword, much afflicted the land, so this was the third yere, wherein God inflicted also for sin, the plague of famine, whereby the poore did miserably perill, there being no Samaritan to pay for their harbouring, or to annoint their wounds with the oyle of consolation. Our Authors, to make manifest, how odious the mercilesse heart is in the sight of God, relate a storie of that time with protestation, that they doe it, left to memorabile an example should be in time forgotten. Certain poore, while as yet the Corne was greene, plucked the ears

in the common fields, to sustaine their liues; whereupon the Owners call on the Priest, to curse all such as had so done: but one in their company adured the Priest in the name of God to exempt his corne from the sentence, saying, it pleased him well, that the poore driven with famine, had taken his corne, and so commended that which they had left to God. The Priest, compelled by importunity of the rest, was entred into the sentence, when by a terrible interrupting tempest of thunder, lightning, wind, haile, and raine, all the corne-fields about were defoliated, as if they had bene troden downe with Horfe and Cartes; that no kind of beast or fowle would feed vpon the corne thus laid. But (as say our Authors out of the Scripture) seeing * they who are piteous find mercy, that honest and compassionate hearted man, found all his corne and grounds (though interlaced with theirs,) altogether vntoucht and vnharmed. Whereupon (say they) it is more cleare then any light, that as glory to God on high is sung of Angels, so there is peace on Earth to men who are of goodwill. This dearch was in * France and Gascoigne as well as in England. A Jewish impiety may well be annexed to want of Christian Charity. There were brought before the King at Westminster Iewes, who circumcised a Child, and purposed in contempt of Christ and Christianity) to haue crucified him in Easter at Norwich.

(51) These now calmer times, were made more happy, by the marriage of the Emperour Fredericke with the Lady Isabel, the King of Englands sister, a beauteous young Lady about twenty yeeres of age. The messengers arrived in March with the Emperours letters, closed vnder a Seale of gold; and there were sent to conduct her ouer, the Archbishoppe of Colein, and the Duke of Louain. The King brought her to Sandwich with about three thousand horse in his traine; and being impartially furnished with all worldly abundance, shee tooke shipping in May, and in one dayes and one nights space arrived at Antwerpe, a City of the Empire, & was euery where most magnificently entertained; her sweet humility, and excellent beauty, drawing all to loue and honour her. At the solemnity of her * marriage were present three * Kings, eleven Dukes, thirty Marquesses & Earles, besides the number of great Prelates. On whether superstition, or obseruation, of the Emperour is noted at this marriage, that hee forbore the Emperresses company, till a certaine howre, which his Physicians or Astrologers had assigned, and in the morning hee caused her to bee carefully tended as a woman with child, and sent word to his brother the King of England, that hee should haue a sonne, so skilfull or confident hee was; and God did fauour his iudgement, for it proved so. This Imperiall affinity gaue a * worthy Historian occasion here to display and emblazon the Maiesty and glory of the English Princes; but amongst them all, none were higher aduanced then the Children of King John, one of whose sons was now a * King, the other afterward chosen to be an * Emperour, and one of his daughters a * Queen, this other (here mentioned) an * Emperresse. And here doth VVendouer end his history, to whom we haue hitherto bene beholding for his labours, forry wee can enioy his good company no longer.

(52) There were spread through England about this time certaine Romane VVrurs called * Caurfins, who had entangled the King himselfe, most of the great men, and all others as had to deale with the Court of Rome, in their cunning snares. Their first entrance into England was some few yeeres past, when the Pope requiring the * tenth of all moueable goods in England, Ireland and Wales, towards his wars against the Emperour Fredericke, sent Stephen his Nuncie hither to collect it, * who brought with him that race of deuouring Monsters vnder humane shape, called the * Popes Marchants, vnder colour of

A miraculous confusion of hart heartednesse toward poore Christians.

* Mat. 5.7. * God had a care of the liberal.

* An. 1235. An. 1239.

The Iewes conspire to crucifie a child.

The Emperour marrieth the kings sister.

The magnificence of the Nuptials.

* At Wormes in August. * Reg. de Wend. MS. Mat. Paris.

Marriage confirmed by calculation of the Stars.

* Reg. Wendouer in hist. MS. in Biblioth. D. R. Berol. Cotton. Barons.

* K. Henry 3 of * Richard king of the Romans. * Queen of Scots. * Isabel.

* Quasi capientes vrr, deuouring Beeres, quoth Paris.

* Mat. Paris.

* Idem ad An. 1237

* Ibidem.

* *Parish an*,
1234.

* *Mat. Paris*.

Azealous court
to repress cruel
Vice.

A time when
Londoners were
not Vile, &c.
Mat. Paris.

Paris.

An. 1236.
An. reg. 20.

The King marri-
eth.

Ypod. Neuf.
Mat. Paris.

* *Paul. Aemil.*
in *Lutetia*.

The Queene &
other three Si-
sters had Kings
to their first
bonds.
* *Jo. Til. Cron.*

* *Ypod. Neuf.*
Westminster in
London.
Mat. Paris.

* *Prolegia*
ingeni & per-
tinitia.

of supplying with money such as wanted present pay. The * *Popes* continually angariations and extortions, under colour also of the Turkish warres, kept these men (if men) still in vfe here in England, to the * *extreme* begging of infinite numbers, who were in-veigled (either by persuasion, or craving, or commanding, or committing, or excommunicating) to give way to the *Popes* insufferable extortions, all men wondering into what bottomlesse gulfe that huge Masse was put, which the *Popes* Factors had gathered. Wherewith all mens hearts were deeply wounded, for that all this unvaluable treasure never was imployed to any publike use, or honour of the Church. Roger Bishop of London (a learned and religious Prelate) burning with zeale of Christian charity, seeing the numbers and mischiefs of these execrable *furers*, thus still to encrease, first admonished them (whom he reputed no better then Schismatickes) to repent, and leave that wicked trade of life. But when he found them deafe to all aduise, armed with the weapons of spirituall iustice, he openly pronounceth them accursed, precislie commanding them to packe out of LONDON, WHICH TIL THAT TIME KNEW NOT WHAT SUCH A PLAGVE MEANT, lest his stocks should be infected therewith. But so Apostolicall and holie a remedie tooke not such effect as it deserved; for they swelling with pride and presumption on the *Popes* patronage, easily procured from the Court of Rome, that the oldfild Bishoppe should be peremptorily cited to appeare in the remote parts beyond the Sea, there to answer for that iniury which he had offered the *Popes* Merchants.

(53) The King being now in the best strength of his yeeres,ooke to wife the Ladie *Elenor*, second daughter of *Raimund* Earle of *Prouince*, which hee had by the daughter of *Thomas* Earle of *Sanoy*. A Ladie about twelue or thirteene yeeres of age, and altogether as beautifull and princely, as shee was young. Her father, by * *reason* of warres which hee had with the *Citizens* of *Masilis* his subiects (who vpon pretence they were oppressed, sought to driue him out of all his territories) was but a poore Prince. Neuerthelesse it was the happinesse of his foure daughters (whose Parentage adorned with rare beautie, and fashioned with excellently-vertuous education, made them fit Brides for any Princes in the world) that each of them had * *a King* to her Husband. The Eldest was married to *Lewis* the ninth King of *France*; *Elenor* to the King of *England*; *Santia* (or *Cynthia*) to *Richard* his brother King of *Romans*; *Beatrice* to *Charles* the French Kings brother, King of *Sicilia*. The Nuptials were accomplished at * *Wesminster*; where also shee was crowned Queene with incredible state and splendor, the King himselfe wearing his Crowne also. The *Citizens* of *London* are noted of much seruicable forwardnes and magnificence at this royall feast. The Citie was adorned with filkes, banners, Crownes, Pals, Tapers, Lamps, and with * *certaine wonders* of witt and strange shewes; the *Citizens* richly attired and well mounted, met the King on horsebacke. At the Nuptiall dinner, the Trumpets sounding before them, they came in, carrying three hundredth and threescore Cups of gold and siluer, to serue the King and that noble Company with wine, according to their duties at Coronations. The King had twice or thrice before attempted to marrie, but God ordained otherwise till now; and it was a match made principally after the manner of honest priuate persons, for loue; and not as heads of publike Bodies vfe to do, for seeming worldly strengths and profits. It was also begun and concluded without the priuie of the States. The Emperour soone after requested the King to send him his brother *Richard*, Earle of *Cornwall*, to make him *Generall* against the *French*, whereby the *English* also might recouer their right; but the Emperour was desired to choose any other; for him the *States* of his Realme, (which were assembled to consult thereupon)

would not forgoe, because he was but young, and next heire to the Crowne, if the King should die without children. This answer was given to the Emperours Ambassadors at *Merton* neere *London*; where also the Statutes, called of *Merton*, were at the same time enacted.

(54) The humorous Lords began now againe to relapse into their wonted gyddinnesse, taking it in great indignity, that the King was so much ruled by his wises vncle, *William* de *Waleria* so much that the King withdrawing himselfe into the Tower of *London*, thither none of the Lords would come. Vpon better aduice therefore hee returns to his Palace; where some great Officers and others were put from the *Prime* Council and their places, not without the admiration of many. But the Bishop of *Chichester*, chosen Lord Chancellor in the Kings minority, being required by the King to deliuer vpon the *scale*, refused; alleging more stoutly then loyally, that as he had received it with the publike allowance of the Parliament, so without the same assent he would not resigne it. Which thwartings of his Peeres and Prelates, incited the King (it seemeth) to resume againe into his fauour some of those his Counsellors which he had formerly dis-couraged, as *Peter* de *Rimalis*, and *Stephen* de *Segraue*. But (whether on discontent hereof or no) *Richard* the Kings brother (whose seruice was formerly denied to the Emperour,) the Earles *Marshall*, *Chester*, * *Lincolne*, and *Sarisbury* with many other honourable Souldiers assumed the vow to fight in *Palestine* against Gods enemies, for accomplishment whereof they departed thither * *the second* yeere after. Meane-while the King to secure himselfe from dangers neerer home, trauals toward *Torke* to settle a peace betwene himselfe and *Alexander* King of *Scots*; who, the rather vpon Confidence of *Leolin* amitie, (which toward the *English* was but * *shadowie* and alwaies suspected) demanded *Northumberland*. Neuertheles by the wil-dome of friends, & moderation of both the Princes, they parted in peace, the King of *England* being else-where to lay out lands to a certaine * *value*, least he should dismember his kingdom by forgoing to great and necessary a frontier. The *Scottish* King claimed that County from King *John*, who by his deed enfeofed him thereof, as in portion with his daughter which King *Alexander* had married.

(55) *Peter* Bishop of *Winchester* (remoued formerly from Court by the working of the *English* Bishops and Lords) being crased and sicke in bodie returned about *Michaelmas* from forreine parts; soone after which (as if that Bishoppe had brought them with him) *Paris* notes, there ensued great raines, and extraordinary land-floods: Though * *indeed* he was a man of great wisdom, and dexterity in handling weightiest affaires: he also built sundrie Monasteries, and besides other his worthy deedes, he left his Bishopricke so furnished at his * *death* (a president which few of his successours haue followed) that there was not so much diminished of that which he found at his entrance, as the verie * *Cattle* which serued to draw the plough.

(56) The King whose treasures were exhausted with payment of his sisters portion (* *thirtiethousand* Markes) to the Emperour, and otherwise, called a Parliament at *London*, where he could not obtaine any * *supplies* from the States, but vpon * *confirmation* of the *National* Priuileges of *England* formerly granted, and vpon acceptance of the Earles of *Warren* and *Ferrars*, and *John* Fitz-*Geoffrey* into his most inward Councils; whom the King (merely enforced to satisfie his People) caused to sweare to giue faithfulfull Council, and to forswear all corruption or sale of *Iustice*; and finally hee conditioneth, to relie wholely vpon his naturall Subiects for aduise, leaving all oth vs. The money gathered (the leuerest and most mistrustfull point of all,) was not to be paid into the *Eschequer*, but to be deposited in some religious house, or fortress of euery Countie, to

to bee expended in the genrell seruices of the Kingdom, as occasion required; so that if the king failed to performe his part, euery man should haue backe what hee had disbursed. One great and ordinary cause of waste, seemed now taken away, for that *Leolin* (who had * *first* taken homage of all his owne Barons) did * *voluntarily* yeeld to hold his whole Principality of the Kings of *England*, moued thereunto (though with much milke of the *Wells*) to strengthen himselfe against his son *Griffin*, who greatly infected him, being also assailed with a pallie.

(57) There is in *Mathew Paris* much complaint of the State of *England* at this time, which by the Kings flexibility (aith he) was becom the ordinarie prey, sometime of one sort of strangers, and sometime of another, *Poitouins*, *Italians*, *Alemaings*, and *Provincos*. Indeed the *Genius*, and common humour of a Nation, is not easily alterable: and our *Misfortune* (or hatred to Strangers) was no new quality, for * *Horace* noted it before or about Christs birth: and *Englishmen* can hardly see when they are well to keepe them so. But no kind of Strangers at that time more infected *England* (aith our * *Monk*) then the *Romans*, of which here swarmed three sorts, *furers*, which were the *Popes* Merchants, *Italian* Clerks, most vile and illiterate persons, which armed with the *Popes* Bulles possessed themselves (against all right of Priuileges) of spirituall reuenues, and if any withstood them, they were by the *Popes* owne warrant excommunicated; lastly, the * *Farmers* and *Proctors* for the *Romans*, who cunningly scraping together whatsoever was of price in the Land, sent it over Sea to the *Italians*, who there liued in deliciousnes on the Patrimony of him that was crucified, and in pride on other mens goods. Infomuch, that holy men with heart-breaking teares, and * *deadly* groines, professed it was better for them to die, then to see those miseries on their Nation and holy men. So that the daughter of *Stien* was become like an impudent Harlot. And as these Papall Engines dealt here in *England*, so did they with others * *at Rome*, the *Gouernours* of that Church not seeking to winne mens soules, but their money, oppressing the religious by punishments, vsuries, & *Simonie*, without any care of iustice and honesty, which made the *Greece* Church at this time to fall quite away, and oppose itselfe against the *Romane*. Doubtlesse *England* had no lesse cause so to doe, then had the *Greekes*; but as *Pope Gregory* knew that his onely way to keepe *England* fast, was to hold close with the King; so the King also saw no way to strengthen himselfe against his Barons, but by holding in with the Pope, though with so many insufferable mischiefs. And for some such purpose of the Kings, newly now arrived Cardinal *Otto*, the *Popes* Legate, greatly against the liking both of the Peeres, and of the *Archbishoppe* of *Canterbury*, who not onely reprobated the King thereof, as of a thing dangerous to the Kingdom, but soone after also tooke his journey to *Rome*, to make some complaints, neither would he stay, though the Legate recalled him by his authority, which ener after caused much hatred betwixt them. Yet sundry good offices were at first performed by the Legate. The treatie of peace begun betwene the two Kings of *England* and *Scotland* at *Torke*, was again resumed in the same City, where *Otto* interposed himselfe toward making a finall agreement, which ensued. There were also assembled the Earles and Barons, who by the princely offices * *of Alexander* King of *Scots*, were reconciled to the King their *Soueraigne*, if this be the time which *Boetius* means, and not the next yeere. *Otto* had formerly accomplished many of them among themselves, whose diligences had emperiled the State of the Realme, so that for a time nothing but calme and amity appeared. Yet soone after they stormed to see the King so * *addicted* to the will of the *Romans*, especially the Legate, for which, *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall* reprobated him, as carrying himselfe more like the

Popes Pensioner then a King. Notwithstanding the King was so proud of his State, that the Legate calling his * *National* Council, thither came from the King, *John* Earle of *Lincolne*, *John* Fitz-*Geoffrey*, & *William* de *Kele* a Canon of *Pauls*, to forbid the Legate on the behalfe of the King and Kingdom, not to attempt any thing against the Crowne or royall dignitie.

(58) *Simon* de *Montfort* (afterward created Earle of *Leicester*) had now wrought himselfe into such fauour, that the King with his owne hand secretlie gaue *Elenor*, (widow of the late *William* Marshall Earle of *Pembroke*) to him in marriage, notwithstanding that she had vowed herselfe a Nunne. When this was once knowne to *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*; and the angry Lords, they all took such snuffe thereat; because they were not first consulted with, in regard the King had promised to doe no weighty matter without their, that none but *Hubert* de *Burgh* Earle of *Kent* adhered to the forsaken King. The head of this defection was the Earle of *Cornwall*, of whom men generally had hope, that he would now free the Land from the miserable oppressions both of *Romans* and other Strangers. Him therefore the Legate vndertakes, but found him stiffe and vntractable at first. For when hee truly and fatherly told him: That if all the people of the land rose against the King, yet he being his own brother ought always to stand fast with him against the whole world, and not make himselfe Captain of the enemies, &c. The Earle roundly replied; * *That none ought to marraile, if hee being the onely Heire apparent, had a care of the Kingdomes state, when there was no treasure in the public coffers for defence thereof, thought hee were enuironed with enemies: That it was moreover wondered at, for so much as the King his brother did most stand in need of helpe; and good discretion, that he would not take example by such as were wise, as neither of the Emperour, who having married their sister, retained her with him, but sent backe all that attended her, not giuing to any of them either lands or money, although himselfe did abound in both; nor the example of the King of *France*, who tooke the same course though he married the eldest sister of the *English* Queene, &c. The Legate vpon these and many other shrewde sharpe speeches, take with him *Peter* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, and deales with the King, who required time to answer; which the Lords granted, and met at *London* stronglie appointed vpon the day. There, while the quarrell hung in suspence, *Simon* de *Montfort* had with money, faire wordes, and much entreaty of Mediators, reconciled himselfe to the fierce young *Eapley*, and so also had *John* Earle of *Lincolne*, another marke of the publike enuie. This practice (which Earle *Richard* entertained without his Confederates priuity) had profitable effects; for the controlling Lords lost thereby their Generall, and hee greatly weakened himselfe in the opinion of the Lords and People; both which were points of aduantage and safety for the King. But *Simon* feeling himselfe as yet vpon no sure ground, left his wife with child at *Kenilworth*, not ceasing, till by the fauour of the Emperours letters and * *excessive* bribes, (by which iustice was overcome, and made captiue to the Roman avarice) hee had obtained at *Rome* a dispensation for that marriage, which yet was * *doubted*, whether it could bee lawfull, because shee had taken the * *ring*, though neither the habit of a Nunne, nor the uiale. Howsoeuer, the King did afterward sodainly breake with him, obiecting that *Montfort* had * *first* corrupted her, and hee to couer his Sisters shame, was content to giue her in Marriage.*

(59) While the King and his Queene abode at *Woodstocke*, a Traitor was apprehended, who vpon examination, confest that others had vowed the same, and that hee was sent out of *Ireland* from *William* the sonne of *Geoffrey* de *Marisco* (one of those Patentees, which hoped to share in the lands

* *At Pauls in crup*
O.S.S. Martini.

The King forbids
him to touch the
rights of the
Crowne.

An. 1238.

Ypod. Neuf.
ad An. d. 1239.

The Earle of
Kent only stands
for the King.

* *Mat. Paris*.
p. 411. & 412.

The combinati-
on of the Lords
broken.

* So said the
king himselfe of
that dispensation
Paris.

* *William* de
Abendun, &
Peter Lombard,
apud *Mat. Paris*.
* *Ypod. Neuf.* p. 222.
calum. 6.

* *Mat. Paris*.
p. 480.

The King in dan-
ger to haue bin
murdered.

* *Mat. Paris* seth this word.

* *Polyd. Virg. lib. 16.* Armiger quidam literatus, fath Paris, burgis 566 (the same *Mat. Paris* with his name as a Clerke.

* *Margaret Bisset.*

The Traitor drawne in funder with horses.

* *Holinsh. p. 123.*

* Because Kings are appointed.
* Because in holy Scriptures they are called Gods.

* *Mat. Paris.* ad A.D. 1245.

Paris.

idem.

* In wallingford Cattle.

* 16 Junij, Lonsini. Paris.

Ann. 1239.

* *Mat. Paris.*

Great fault in the Lords towards the King.

of Richard late Earle Marshall) to commit that * assistance upon him. This execrable wretch having become a Courtier, and one of the Kings * Knights, supposing to have found the King in his own retiring Bed, had about midnight gotten in at the Chamber window; but God (in whose special protection, the lives of Princes are) disappointed him, for the King was elsewhere in bed with his Queen. Nevertheless he gave not over, but with naked knife in hand, fought up and down in some other Chambers. One of the Queens * gentlewomen (sitting late and very devoutly at her booke by candle-light,) at sight of the furious villaine, with her shrieking noise wakened the Kings servants, who starting out of their Bed, laid hands upon him; & afterward he was drawne in peeces with horres at Courtence. And worthily: for as * a vulgar Chronicler hereupon saith truly, *in wounding and killing a Prince, the Traitor is guilty of homicide, of parricide, of * Christicide, nay of * Deicide.* William de Mareschall, who was said to be the instigator of this Treason, knowing his danger, became a Pyrate & fortified the Isle of Lundey in Severn, where he did much mischief, the situation of that little Island being * inexpugnable. At length he was surprised therein, and fixtence of his Complices, who all of them after conviction were put to death at London. William to the last gasped denying his privacy to the former treasonous attempt of killing the King. About the time of the Kings danger at Woodstocke, the Legate was in very little better case at Oxford, where being at first honourably by the University entertained in Ousney Abbey, the pride of his Romans there proved so intolerable, that a troupe of the younger Students, provoked therewith to arme themselves, not only flew the Legates owne brother, but would have done the like with the Legate himselfe, whom they termed an *Vsurer, Symonist, Rent-raker, Money-thirster, perverter of the King, subverter of the Kingdom, enriching strangers with spoiles of the Englishs* but hee lurking in the Belfrey, at midnight escaped over the river (not without danger of drowning) and fled to the King for his protection. For which outrage, the King lending the Earle of Warren with an armed band, * imprisoned about 30. of the offenders, and the Legate interdicted the University, till all the Bishops of England (purposely * meeting in a Synode) pleaded for the University, as being the second of Christendome: to whose importunity the proud Legate would not condescend, vntill all the Bishops would yield to goe on foot with the Students from Pauls Church to the Legates house, (which was about a mile,) who there unowned and unhad, should humbly crave absolution; which accordingly they performed.

(60) The Legate was (not long after) called home by the Pope, * upon notice of the scandall daylie given in England, by the unsatiable avarice of the Romanes; but by the earnest workings of the King, who feared lest his great ones would rise against him, hee was detained as a necessary cuill to establish the good of Peace. For it was in a manner taken up for a fashion among the Lords, to glorifie themselves with the senselesse multitude, by seditionously disparaging and taxing the Kings discretion and government, being farre too gentle and amiable for spirits so perverse and insolent; which might well force his louing nature, to seeke kindness and aduile among strangers, seeing he could not have it for any his deserts among the home-borne. A great reason why (perhaps) he did some few things rashly and passionately enough: it being a thing forceable to distemper a very wise man, to have so many imperious censors to obſcure his actions, and few to humble their abilities to obsequious services, all bearing themselves rather like Tutors or Controllers, than like Subjects or Counsellors. About which time, one William an ordinary Calumniator, and accuser of great men

to the King, was for that impious practise condemned to die; though hee fought to peerce out his dayes by the helpe of new appeachments and false criminations; but that being discovered, he was hanged vpon a Gibbet in London. Now also the King beganne to smell out the vnderreife and false dealing of his beloued Legate, whose familiar friend (Peter Saracen) being taken Captiue by the Emperour, and to pay 10000 l. Sterling for his ransom; the shamelesse Legate counsell'd the king to bind himselfe and his Crown for that payment. Whereby the King perceiving what toiles were laid to entrap him, (the Romanes not caring what losse happened to the Kingdom, so they might be gainers) (wherein great rage, that it repented him he had euer admitted the Legate into the land, to dissipate the wealth thereof. But the Bishops of the land meeting in Council at London, to redresse the oppressions of the English Church, tolde the Legate flatly, that the Romanes importunity had so long exhausted their Church-goods, that they would no longer endure it. These English repentances seemed somewhat too late; but that prouidence which the King of Scotland (sooner after vied, was, as more tempestiue, so more commendable, when meeting the same Legate (for now into Scotland he is going to gather coine) he denied him entrance into his Kingdom, telling him, he was the first Legate which euer entred that Kingdom; yet by intreatie to saue the Legates credits, hee was permitted; first making a declaration, that his entrance should neuer goe for a President of any after; whereto the Legate should put his Seale at his departure; but hauing gotten what hee came for, hee disdainly stole away without leave of the King, and carried his writing with him. By all which vile and indigne vlagages, a man might thinke the Church of Rome did purposely strue to draw the hatred of all nations against her; especially, fith (as we shewed) the Greekes were fallen from the Roman union, so now the Church of Antioch had both excommunicated the Pope, the Church and Court of Rome, and challenged the Primacie above the Pope and the Roman Church, as being an ancienter See, wherein S. Peter first sate Bishop for seven yeeres, and more excellent and deare, fith there Peter lived with loue and reverence, whereas both he and Saint Paul were continually persecuted in Rome; which Church was now also defiled with Simonie, Vsurie, Auarice, and other heinous offences.

(61) But (doubtlesse) it was worthy of reproofe in the King; that after so manifold trials of faith and constancy in Hubert Earle of Kent, hee should now againe afflict his honourable old-age with reuival of accusations, when hee rather ought to haue tendered him as a Father. Among other the Articles (engines of vexation) which the King bent against him, these were 3. new ones, by which any reasonable man may takea scanning of the rest. 1. That Hubert had taken the money out of the barrels which were sent for the reliefe of Rachel and Poitou, and stuffed them with sand. 2. That to dissuade a great Lady from marriage with the King, he had said the King was a Quaint-eyed foole, a lewd man, and a kind of leper, deceitful, periuious, more faim-beated then a woman, only seruible to his owne friends; and utterly unfit for any faire or noble Ladies company. 3. That at Wadstocke, when the King was alone, hee rust in with a naked knife to murder him: Which and many other accusations the Earle did modestly and cleerely refute. But with the last (being most wicked of all) he was so greued, that making low obſequence to the King, he could not forbear to say, that hee was neuer importor to his father, nor to him, which by Gods grace hee would appear in the King: as if he should haue said, (quoth Paris) That if the Earle would haue become a Traitor, the King had neuer obtained the Crowne. This seemed to haue beene a publicke trial, vpon a Suit or Action of trespassse, brought against the Earle by the King in the Kings Bench, at which trial the King him-

Worthily done by Count Saracen.

Mat. Paris.

and a most

in Coun.

Paris.

Paris.

1241.

Allegations sent him by the Rom.

and a highly

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himselfe was also present. But howsoever the Earle answered, hee was condemned to glue to the King * foure his * dearest Castles, *Blanch Castle, Grey mount in Wales, Skeneſfrith and Hasefeld*; and then also (as it seemes) hee was * depriv'd of his Title of Earle.

(62) After so many mischiefs patiently brooked, at last the King vpon receipt of letters from the Emperour (whom as his brother in law, hee was loth to offend,) commanded Otho the Popes Legate, in regard of the great enmities betweene the Pope and Emperour, to depart out of England. There was also strait commandement given to the Italian Vsurers, to leaue the most * pure earth of his Realme (meaning that his owne people was most innocent and free from such a sinne,) but (saith * one, who durst write any thing he thought) by giuing the King money, which is too much used to iustifie the wicked, they for a great part remained still, as loth to forsake such fat pastures. And the Legat himselfe also staid so long, till the Pope by wily inducements and * forged calumnies had drawne the King, both to relinquish the Emperour his brother in law, and to suffer the Papal Excommunication to passe here against him, and money also to be gathered to his impeachment. A briefe taste of all the Popes proceedings against this glorious Emperour, we may take from the Nobilitie of France, who (when the Pope offered the Empire vnto Robert the French Kings brother) in their grand Council refused to accept it, charging the Pope with the spirit of audacious rafhnesse for deposing the Emperour, not convicted of any fault, and whom a General Councell only ought to censure, not the Pope, to whom no credit ought to be given, being his Capital Enemy. For that themselves knew he was a vicious and vitious Emperour, and one who had in him more religion then the Pope had. Our Legat Otho (who now at length is gone) was no sooner departed, but Peter of Savoy the Queens Vncle arrived, to who the King gave the Earldome of Richmond, and entertained other wise most magnificently. This and the like largesse to strangers, drew on the King much euill will, who also in fauour of his Queene, procured her Vncle Bonifacius to be chosen Archbishop of Canterbury in place of * Edmund, who weary of his life in England, by reason that he could not redresse the Popes detestable exactions and oppressions, made choise of a voluntarie Exile at Prouincey in France, where he died with the honour and opinion of a Saint.

(63) The Kings imploiments hitherto haue (almost wholly) been taken vp either in the impatientie of ciuill disturbances, or in the too-patient sufferance of some forraigne greouances, nourished within his Kingdom; which gaue him perhaps little leasure, minde, or meanes, to pursue any transmarine designe. But now better provided with money, then with men, (and yet not sufficiently with money) he takes shipp immediately after Easter towards Poitou, where the Earle of March (now husband to Queene Isabell his mother) expected his arriual. Hee committed the Government of the Realme in his absence to the Archbishop of York. Thirtie Hogheads or Barrels fraught with sterling money were shipt for that seruice. There also went with him Richard Earle of Cornwall, (who was returned with much honour out of the Holy-land not long before) and seauen other Earles with about three hundred Knights, besides other souldiers. Toresist the English, the King of France (who had giuen Poitou to his brother Alfonso) assembled an Armie royall of foure thousand men of Armes, excellently well appointed, and about twenty thousand choise Souldiers; with a thousand Carts to carrie their other necessities. King Henrie vnderstanding that the King of France lay before Frontenay, (a Castle belonging to the Earle of March,) seeking to force it by assaults, sent a messenger of defiance to him as a breaker of Truce. Lewis

a most iust and valiant Prince, denied that euer hee brake the truce, but that the King of England by maintenance of his Rebels, did rather seeme to infringe the Peace. Neuertheless hee offered (so as the English would not protect his enemies the Earle of March and others) to giue him Poitou, and a great part of Normandy, in satisfaction of his * Fathers Oath; and moreover, to enlarge the last truce with a longer terme of yeeres. These so honourable, safe, and profitable conditions, by the practise of the Poiteuines (who feared the French Kings indignation would proue too heauie for them to beare, if the English abandoned their cause) were unfortunately refused.

(64) When the French King heard hereof, it repented him that he had humbled himselfe to farre; telling his Lords, that he neither feared his Cosen of England, nor all his forces, but only that Oath, (for restoring of the lands in France) which his father made when hee was in England. This scruple did trouble the Kings mind, on the behalfe of his dead Father, that hee would admit no comfort till one of his Lords told him, that the King of England, by putting Constantine Fitz-Arnold to death, for hauing spoken some words in honour of King Lewis (his Father) had first broken the truce. This satisfied the French. That whole businesse is thus concluded by * Tilius; Hugh Earle of March overcame with the pride and persuasions of his wife Isabel, would not doe homage to Alfonso the French Kings brother: for shee was a cause to draw the English thither, where things shruing on his part but meanly, Hugh is constrained in the end to doe both homage and fealty vnto Alfonso. This only must be added, that he did vnfaithfully provide for his priuate safety without the knowledge of the King of England, at such time as he * pretended otherwise.

(65) This treacherie lost the King all Poitou, for whereas he principally tooke care for money, presuming vpon the Earle for men, when it came to the point, the Earle was not only not provided, but swore by the throat of God, he neuer promised any such matter, and denied he had set his Seale to any writing concerning such promises, and that if any such sealed writing were (as the King and his brother the Earle of Cornwall affirmed) their mother his wife had forged it. They were now in sight of the French Host before Taillebourg in Xaintoing when this imprudent expostulation was made. The King of England manifestly seeing his perill, and hauing by his brother Earle Richards mediation (whom many of the French did greatly honour because he had by composition beene a meane at his arriual to free them from the Saracens in the holy-land,) raised his camp by night, and retreated with much more haile then good speed. Not long after this, the faire Citie of Xaintes in Xaintoing, vpon displeasure conceiued by the Cittizens against the King, because he had giuen the same to the Lord Hugh his halfe-brother (sonne to the Earle of March) first contriued a perfidious reuolt so close, that if first the said Lord Hugh, and then Guy de Lusignan his elder brother, had not in good time signified the danger, the King and all the English had been surprized by the French. There was none (among all the mutable Poiteuines) found respectiue of honor and loyalty, but only one called Hertold, Captaine of the famous Castle of Mirabell, who in great sorrow repaired to the King of England, praying counsell and assistance, where the King with a downcast looke gaue him this answer: *Thou dost see (O Hertold) that my forces are scarce sufficient to defend my selfe. Our Lord and Saviour was betrayed by his Disciple Iudas, and therefore who shall be safe? Behold the Earle of March, whom I tooke and reuerenced as my Father, hath giuen a pernicious president. I haue trusted in a staffe of reed, and the splinters thereof haue wounded my hand. I am the only man who hath behaued thy selfe honestly: what soeuer therefore thou dost possesse of mine by any iust title, take it to thee as thine owne, I giue it thee: Provide otherwise*

* *Vide supra* de his departing from England.

A most Christian fear of the Christian King.

* *Jo. Tili. Chron.*

* *Mat. Paris.*

Isabel Queene Dmager forgoth writings to draw her sonne the King into France. *Mat. Paris. p. 370*

Poitou lost by the English.

Xaintes and Xaintoing

The French Earle of March compared by the King to Iudas Hertold an example of loyalty.

wife for thy selfe, as thou dost thinke it most expedient. The King of France, in whom all magnanimities, bountie, and Christian vertues did shine, hearing what Herold had said and done, commended the man, and manner to highly, that, saying, *He loved and allowed such as hee.* The Castle was entrusted backe to the same Captaine, when with many teares and other signes of sorrowe, he had surrendered himselfe and it to Lewis. The farther prosecution of that warre was empeached by sicknesse and penurie which fore afflicted the French armie. An ouerture therefore for sue yeres truce being made, Lewis returned into France, and Henrie to his City of Burdeaux in Gascoigne, where his Queene Eleanor (who bare him Prince Edward about two yeres before) bare to him a daughter called Beatrix.

The great Lords return and leave the King.
* Prince Edward borne at VVestminster, An. 1239. in July.
An. 1243.
An-reg. 17. 4

* 9000 l sterling besides the Earle of Marches huge summes.
The Poitouins policy in this last warre to decieve the king of his money.

* The King lands at Forlaymouth in October.

The prodigality of kings ends in the rapine and spoile of the Subject.

* Stow in his Surveys, p. 367. saith she was mother to 5. Queenes, adding to the 4. forementioned, Ives married to Philip king of Navarre.
Richard the kings brother married the Queenes sister.

(66) Meane while the King looking carefulle into the double dealings of the Poitouins, who were the limitarie or border-subjects of the English dominions in Aquitaine, and by a nature proper to free March-men which lie between the hammer and the Anvill, are enured to all sorts of devices how to save themselves and delude others, wisely withdraws his large Pensions, which they by deep dissimulations and unprofitable shewes of assistance had shared among them, for which they repayed nothing but secret coffers of their Patron and Pay-master. The Earle of March whatsoeuer his Fees were from the King his Sonne in Law, made but an euill bargain in the end: for, besides that the French King tooke from him no small portion of his Estate, hee was openlie appeached of Treason in the French Court, by a valiant Knight, who offered to proue the truth of his accusation by Battell. Isabell, whom the French in passion called *Isabell*, because her pride and turbulent practises had procured all those evils, fled vpon the newes to a Nunnerie. In the end yet her husband being aged, by the diligence & care of friends auoided the Combat, and was suffered to returne home. The king (whose comming had bene long expected in England) hauing ordained one Sir Nicholas de Molis his Leifetenant in Aquitaine, is now vnder Saile, although the Gascoigne, because his presence was greatly beneficiall, had fought all the waies they could to detain him longer. Being returned, by reason of that vnadvised and losseful voyage into France, hee was compelled to be burthenous to his Subjects, aswell by the leuie of Escuage, as of loanes and otherwise. The Lewes also felt the gripe of his wants so farre, that euen Christians commiserated: whose gold hee receiued with his owne hands, but their siluer by others. These and other importunate corractions, were not made onely to fill vp such breaches as the French affaires had produced, but also to spend in entertainments and shewes.

(67) Neither will the Maiesty and honour of the Kingdome permit, that such kindes of expence should bee wanting, when publike occasions do require; in which respects they are not onely vifeful, but absolutely necessary, because Common-weales are partly founded vpon the opinion which Subjects and neighbours haue of their power and riches, and their estimate is commonly made by that which is outwardly seene at such times. This care, besides the great loue hee bare to his wiues kindred and Countreimen, made him puruey for money in this manner; for in December the Lady Beatrix Countesse of Prouince* mother to the Queenes of England and France, hauing with her the Lady Cincia, Cynthia, or Scientia (for by all those names shee is called in Authors) and a princely traine in all points excellently well furnished, landed at Dover, where innumerable of the best sorts gaue her welcome and attendance. London was hung with rich Ornaments, from the Bridge thereof to Westminster. This noble young Lady Cincia, was brought hitherto to be married to Richard the Kings brother

Earle of Cornwall: At whose Nuptiall feast, there were thirty thousand* Messes provided in the Cookery onely, and of all other things there was incredible plenty. All which notwithstanding did manifestly proue (as Paris saith most truly) *that the world is but a very Iugler, and the pompe thereof but an idle shadow, seeing the next morning blew away the whole varietie of so great preparations like as if it had bene a Clowde.* Nor much vnlike is the life euen of greatest Princes, which hangeth on very vntrusty termes, as Griffin, eldest brother of David Prince of Wales did find, when hoping by a chaine of Blankets, and such like stufte to escape out of the Tower of London, where the King had emprisoned him, the line breaking, hee pitcht vpon his head, which the weight of his great body draue (as it were) into his shoulders, and miserably slew him. The King therefore punishing the Keepers for their sloth, commanded that the Sonne of Griffin (prisoner with his father) should from thenceforth bee more narrowly watched. Not long after the which, David Prince of Wales prouoked by wronges, (chiefly done by the Earle of Hereford) invaded the English Marches, whom the Earles of Gloucester and Hereford, and other mighty men in those parts, hauing the Kings consent and assistance, did withstand, yet fighting but with variable fortune: It was Prince Davids purpose to haue freed himselfe from the obedience or tenure which hee had acknowledged to the Kings for which purpose hee exhibited his complaint to the Pope, pretending that the King of England compelled him vnjustly to hold his Principality and Lands of him. But the Kings credite, cause, and workings, easily overweighed the Prince of Wales, and preuailed.

(68) The States of the Realme were in those dayes nothing supple, when the King sought to handle them for money: for hee about this time labouring to draw some from them, vpon faithfull promise to keepe and obserue the liberties, vnto which hee had sworn at his Coronation, and whereof hee had granted his Charter, they beought him to remember, how often hee had wrong from his faithfull liege people (whom hee ought to cherish, not utterly empouerish) without performing his promise. That forthwith after the taking of Bedford, hee had Carrowage, that is, two shillings vpon euery Ploughland; the next yeere after, a fifteenth of all their Moucables: vpon his passage into Brittain, no small summes of money from the Prelates, Religious orders, Burgesses and Iewes: after his returne, hee had Escuage, that is, vpon euery Shield (or knights Fee) three markes: then a fortieth part of all their Moucables: within a while after a thirtieth part; By and by, for the marriage of the Lady Isabell to the Emperour, two Marks vpon euery Ploughland; at his Sonnes birth, hee by Prefents heaped vpon no small store of money. Again, when hee went into Gascoigne, hee raised almost infinite heapes of money from all sorts of Subjects: vpon his returne, where hee had bene deluded and dishonoured, hee heeded almost manner of Subjects. They now also (vnder the name of aide for the marriage of his eldest daughter) granted him vpon euery Knights Fee, which held of the King in chiefe, twenty shillings, the one halfe to bee paid at Easter, the other at Michaelmasse. But (say they) how well the King will keepe and fulfill his undertakings and promises, in requital of the past and present contributions, hee onely knowes to whom nothing is vnknowne. But such as trauelled to strengthen the Popes designs, with collections of money among the English Clergy, found a stern and constant opposition, not onely for that they were unwilling, but also for that the Emperour had written to the King in plaine phrase, that if hee suffered any such matter, hee would not faile in grievous sort to punish all the English hee could get, in reuenge of that partiality.

(69) About

(69) About which time many feditious persons were in the Court of England, which * hoped that warre with Scotland would bring them this commodity, that the oppressions they did to the people should rest unpunished; for Lawes and Justice haue no place in time of battell. Their hope thus tooke beginning, Alexander King of Scots had married the Lady Mary, a goodly Gentlewoman daughter to the Lord Ingeirum de Cowie, who (as all Frenchmen) being a deadly enemy to the King of England, had laboured to weaken that strength of amity, which was between the two Kings of England and of Scots, as a point necessarie or profitable for the tranquillitie of France. Their hope thus had ending; the said Ingeirum by the stumbling of his horse in a Foord, being cast out of his Saddle, and pitcht into the depth of the riuer, while his foot hung fast in the stirrop, his sword at the same time falling out of his sheath, and running him through, did most strangely end his life by a triple death, with whom it seemed the humour of battell between the two sister-Nations likewise died: for not long after, (notwithstanding the great preparations on both sides) all quarrels were absolutely * concluded, with relation to such Articles as had been formerly made between them at Yorke. The King of England had with him five thousand horsemen most fairely armed and appointed; besides a most puissant number of seruicable men on foot. The Welshmen feared and expected that vpon this agreement, the King would turne all his forces against them; but hee knowing it needlesse to vie such numbers for that seruice, sent onely three hundred men of Armes, vnder the conduct of Sir Hubert Fitz-Matthew, to repress their attempts, but through their own rashnes, & the Welshmens valiance, hee and his people were with losse at that time scattered. The newes of this bad successe troubled the King needrely, for final remedy whereof, hee resolved to lead a full Arme thither. But when, to furnish this designe hee prayed more Subsidie of the States of his Realme, they with one voice and with one mind contradicted; though also his debts to Merchant-strangers for wines, and other necessities, were so many and so continually called for, as hee could scarce passe abroad without their clamors. Neuertheless, the newes which hee receyued out of Aquitaine, where his Senechal Nicholas de Molis had wonne the day in a battell against the King of Navarre, did somewhat mitigate the sorenesse of these ouerthwarts; and for replenishment of coffers, Robert Passellon so ordered the matter, by fining such as had encroched vpon the Kings Forests, that hee vnexpectedly beganne again to make them overflow.

(70) The great helps which the King found by the new supply of his Treasure, made him dayly consider, how to augment the same, and how to stoppe all vndue Outlets, by which it was ordinarily impaired. Vpon the departure of Outho the Popes Legate, who had well stuffed his owne and his Masters coffers, (and had no lesse filled the Peoples heartes with repinings, and their mouths with curses of him) there was some hope the Romish Horse-leaches would for a while haue left sucking the best iuyce of the land; but it proued otherwise, new Agents, Legats, & Factors, still comming ouer, as if England had bin a wel which could neuer be drawne drie, and Rome a bottomlesse gulfe which could neuer bee filled full. Whereupon, before this, the King writ his letters both to this Pope, and to his Predecessor Gregory 9. desiring them to successe from this afflicting England with their exactions; but neither one nor other of them would vouchsafe to bridle their owne wilfull motions, as if God and Saint Peter (whose steps they follow) had euen bent their bowes against that Church of Rome. With which contempt the King had the more reason to bee incensed, because the Pope had endea-

uoured to free David Prince of Wales from his homage made to King Henry, pretending that if it were done by force or force, it was of no force but utterlie void. Notwithstanding the Pope seeing the King and State resolved to the contrary, was delicious not onely to hold fast the Kings good-will, but also to come into England, to which purpose hee caused his Cardinals to write their perswasory letters to the King, as a thing tending much to his safety, and to his Kingdomes immortal glory, to enjoy the Lords Popes presence, who did long to see the delicacies of Westminster, and the riches of London: but the kings Council told him, that the Romans rapines and Simonies had enough stained Englands purity, though the Pope himselfe came not personally to spoile & prey vpon the wealth of this Church and Kingdome. The like denial of entrance hee had found both in France and Arragon, it being said, that the Pope was but like a mouse in a sack, or a snake in ones bosome, who did but ill-repay their Hostes for their lodging, & the infamies of the Popes Court defured no other whole filth (saith our Monk) sent forth a stench & stench as hee as the very Clouds. The Pope, though hee could not come himselfe, yet hee had his pipes & conductors to conuay this stench into this land, and the wealth of it backe in lieu thereof. Which was now so fauoured by his Chaplaine Martin, that certaine of the Peeres commiserating the incessant depredation of the land, tooke order for strict watch at all the Ports in England, that all letters comming dayly from the Pope to picke men purses, should be stoppt. But soone after a more general redresse was intended against so vnmercifull tyranny: the King finding by diligent inquirie in every Shire that the annuall revenues here, where with the Court of Rome had fraudulently and violently enriched Italians, amounted to three score thousand Markes, to the great both wonder and anger of the King; which made him now beginne to desire the insatiable greedinesse of the Court of Rome. Hereupon, for that the Pope had now summoned a Generall Councell at Lyons, Embassadors were thither sent, there publickly in the name of the whole Kingdome, both to complaine and crave redresse of the Popes too long suffered extortions, (which were particularly there rehearsed, and which as being detestable to God and man, they would no longer endure); and to disauow all subiection vnjustly pretended from King John, as whereunto both the then Archbisshoppe openly contradicted, and the Nobles and State neuer consented nor would. The Pope (as shamed belike to bee so taxed in so great an assembly) is noted to haue sat long silent, not so much as lifting up his eyes from the ground, till at length hee cut off their importunity with this briefe answer, that so difficult a matter would aske longer deliberation; which vaine delay so enraged Earle Bigod, and the rest of the Kings Agents, that with threats and terrible oaths, they sware to remedy that themselves, which the Pope would not. And indeed the Nobles at home had already begunne so to doe; hauing commanded Martin (the Popes Agent) to depart out of hand, for if hee stayed, hee and all his company should bee cut in peeces; who presently packing away, (the King also wishing the Diuells to take him, hauing thus preyed vpon his land) so enraged the Pope with tidings of this vllage, that his Holinesse said; it is high time that we make a quick end with the Emperour, that so we may crush these petty Kings (meaning the English and French, who both denied him entrance into their land) who burne against vs; for the great Dragon being once crushed, those lesser poore snakes will soone bee troden under.

(71) The Welsh affaires by reason of the casuall death of Fitz-Matthew growing daily less tractable then other, the King againe prepares to repress their insolencies in person. Before hee sets forward, hee came into London to the Church of Saint Paul, to the intent that before his departure hee might take his leaue of the Citizens in a popular and louing manner. And because neither warre nor

Want

Then by the Popes owne rule, labor submission was of no force.

The Pope desired to come into England.

Mat. Paris.

Idem.

Mat. West. Mat. Paris.

The King preparing to invade Wales, with the Londoners familiarly.

* Norwithstand-
ing any former
commandement.
* Or former pri-
uiledge.

* Stat. Paris.

Sir Philip Darcy
appeareth Sir
Henry Bath a rib-
bon, Judge of
treason.

The disorderly
weeke and vio-
lent carriage of
trials.

The King pro-
scribes Sir Henry
Bath.

Sir John Mansel
flayes the Kings
servants from
killing Bath.

* Two thousand
Marks.

* Addiam ad
Math. Paris.
An. 1252.

uertered to aliens, and our houses to strangers. The mat-
ter seemed the more grievous, for that their pride
and violence were intolerable. About this time
the clause *Non obstante* (brought in first by the
Pope) was taken vp in England by the King, in his
grants and other writings, as * *Non obstante priore
mandato, Non obstante antiqua libertate, &c.* This
our ancient Author calls an odious and detestable
clause; and Roger de Thurkelby Iusticiarius, fetching a
deepe sigh at the sight thereof, cried out both of
the times and it, saying, * *it was a streame deriued
from that sulphureous fountain of the Clergie.*

(78) Another of the Kings Iusticiars, and a learn-
ed Knight, Sir Henry de Bath, (whose Lady, be-
cause herselfe was well descended, filled him with
pride,) was so confidently greedy, the better to
satisfie her ambition, that in one circuit, hee ap-
propriated to himselfe about two hundred pound
lands. Corruption in Iustice (which must needs be su-
spected to be there, where excoessive wealth is gotten by
the Officers of Iustice) is but a fandie ground-woke
of a vainly-hoped greatness, and may well be ree-
puted in the number of crying finnes; and this mo-
ued a Knight, Sir Philip de Arey, to appeach him
before the King, both for vnfaithfulness in his of-
fice, and treason against the King. The King had
no hold of himselfe, after hee was once thoroughly
kindled. Bath knows it, and therefore writes to
his wifes friends to come strong in his defence,
that the King should not dare to call him to his
triall; yet withall hee seekes all secret meanes how
to appease the King, who vnderstanding of this
combination, was the more enflamed. The Earle
of Cornwall his brother could not appease him; no,
not though hee knit vp his intercessions with these
minatorie words; *Wee must not forsake Gentlemen in
their right, nor in preferring the peace of the tottering
Kingdome.* In March there was holden a Parlia-
ment at London; there the King caused Bath to bee
sharply prosecuted. Thither Sir Henry Bath repairs,
strongly attended with Knights and Gentlemen of
his owne friends, and his wifes, to daunt the edge
of Iustice, which hee desferedly feared. The accusa-
tions were many, (for all me were called to say what
they could against him,) and among all, these two,
most hainous: that he troubled the whole Realme, and
stirred all the Barons thereof against the King, so that a
generall rebellion was to be feared, (which one of his
fellow-Iusticiars did openly testify); that hee had for
reward discharged a committed Malefactor out of prison
without punishment, in preiudice of the King, and to the
perill of his associate Iusticiars. The King was so enra-
ged herewith, that seeing no other way to punish
him, being so strongly backed, hee mounted into
an higher place then before, and cries out, *Whoso-
uer kills Henrie de Bath shall bee quit of his death, and
I here doe acquit him;* and presently departs. Neuer-
theless, although hee left behind him many men,
who would have readily executed the Kings terrible
doome; yet by the widome of Sir John Mansel,
(one of the Kings priuate Councillors) they were
restrained. His wordes are worthy to bee remem-
bered; *Gentlemen and friends, it is not necessary for vs
to put that presently in execution which the King hath
in his anger commanded. It may bee when his wrath is
ouerblowne, hee will bee farye hee said it. Moreover,
if any outrage be done to Bath, hee here are his friends
who will take all sorts of reuenge. Sir Henry elcaping
thus from so present a danger, found meanes vpon
promise of money and great mediation of friends,
to obtain his peace & safety; for at this time, Iustice
and all things grew saleable. The North-East part of
Wales was committed to Alan de Zouch, who had
it in Farme for cleuen hundred Marks yearly,
whereras John de Gray (whom hee supplanted in the
place) paid but five hundred; so * *miserable Wales
was let out to such as would giue most.**

(79) Alexander the third, succeeding his Father
in the Kingdome of Scotland, comming in Christ-

mas to Yorke, there espoused, though very young,
the Lady Margaret, daughter to King Henry. There
were present the two Kings in person, with a most
choyce multitude of either Nation, the English be-
ing in number about a thousand Knights, be-
side greater States, as Prelates, Earles and Barons,
and of the Scots about fixe hundred Knights and
Gentlemen, all of them well appointed. There
was also two Queenes, the Mother of the Bride,
(who was to be Queene) and the widow or Queen
Dowager of Scotland, who for that cause was re-
turned out of France, attended vpon in royall manner
with many Lords and Gentlemen of France. The
Scots were lodged in one place of the City by them
felus. Vpon Christmas day the King of England
gaue the order of Knight-hood to the King of Scots,
and at the same time to twenty others richly ap-
parrelled. Vpon the next day the princely couple
were espoused. Take a cantling of the cheere and
multitude of guests by this. The Archbishoppe of
Yorke, who was Prince (as it were) of the Northerne
parts, and the common host of all that most noble
fellowshippe, which cost him about foure thousand
marks) gaue toward that feast six hundred fat oxen,
all which were spent in the first generall seruice; and
whatsoeuer the *vaine* Stage-play of the world might
afford eyther for pompe or delight, was there all
enjoyed. More worthy to bee remembered, then
that magnificent gluttonie, (the natural vice of these
our Nations) was the orderly and no childlike acti-
on of the young Bridegrome, in reconciling Philip
Louell (whom King Henry had lately fined and dis-
counted for taking Bribes) to the King his Lord. K.
Alexander vndertaking the businesse, and finding
a fitt time, presents himselfe to the King of Eng-
land vpon his knees, holding vp his hands, neither
would hee rise, though earnestly requested, but
with a gesture which seemed to draw teares of ioy
and loue from the eyes of such as * *face round a-
bout, prosecuting his intent, saith; My Lord King,
your Majesty knowes, that though I my selfe am a king,
and through your goodnesse honored with the girde of
Knight-hood, yet that I am withall both a Child, as well
in age as in knowledge, and also an Orphan, my father
being dead, and my mother leaving me, though at your
sending for, she is now pleased to bee present; therefore
from henceforth, and for euer after, I here doe take
you, both for Father and Mother, that you may supply
both their wants, and with your paternall care be-
protect all mine insufficiencies.* The King scarce
able to refrain from tender teares, or to hold down
his throbblings, said no more but only this one
word, *Willingly.* The princely Child replied ther-
upon: *I will make experiment of that, and know it by
proofes; seeing you have graciously heard mee hitherto, in
trying whether I shall reape the effect of my first suit.*
Then hee declared his request, and had it; so that Lo-
uell was afterward Treasurer.

(80) The State and fidelity of the Gascoignes
was so desperately shaken and plunged by the re-
uenges which Simon de Montfort (to whom the king
had giuen the government of their Country for
sixe yeeres,) had exercised vpon them, for that they
had accused him to the King of tyrannous & pro-
ditorious dealing, and affirmed that his name ought
rather to bee Simon then Simon, that but for the
venter of their wines, (in which respect their sub-
jection to England was verie beneficiall to their
Common-weale) it was thought they would gen-
erally have revolted. But the King though re-
adie thus to leese Gascoigne, would yet needs hope
to obtaine Normandie, and his other lands in France
without blowes. The King of France (whose con-
science was wonderfully tender and sincere) had
indeed written out of Palestine to that purpose, as
thinking King Henries title was better then his
owne; but the French, among whom their Kings
misfortunes in the losse of Damietta in Egypt,
(which was wholly * ascribed to the Popes auarice, who
for

Alexander
third King
Scots
the Lady
Margaret
the King
hope
reuer
the
truce

Six hundred
Oxen
one male,

* Mat. Paris.

The young
of Scots
the King
bringing
him to
London
again.

* Circum-

The mother
and piety
situation
young
the King
in their
Law

Philip Louell
conducted
King.

Simon de
Montfort
to be
non, as the
eigen. full

* The Pope
claim
infirmitie

for money released those who should have aided him,)
had brought him into lesse regard then his excel-
lent vertues merited, did vnmercifully and constant-
ly refuse, adding, that before the King of England
should haue any more land among them, hee must passe
through a thousand sharpe Lances, and a thousand
blowdy Swords when the Lances were burst. On the
other side, the King of England was but in little
credit with his people: for, whereas (by an agree-
ment betwene the Pope and him,) the Tenth of
the Clergie through England during three yeeres
should haue bene receiued toward his charges in
his pretended iourney to the Holy-Land, yet in a
generall assembly at Westminster very few were
drawne to giue their names to that seruice, not-
withstanding that two Bishops and the Abbot
of Westminster laboured in their Sermons all they
could to stirre the people to that martiall Pilgri-
mage, and though the King himselfe in all their view
took a most tolemon or, that within three yeere he
would set forward; the onlie reason of their vnwill-
ingnes growing vpon suspition, that hee onely sought
(as the Pope had giuen him example) to draw by
this colour the treasure of the Realme into his hands.
This their diffidence of sinceritie in him, made him
rather incline to foster and fauour strangers, &
that with a kind of periuicacie, though himselfe
by manifold neglects of his word, had worthilie
bred that diffidence.

(81) The King could more hardlie find follow-
ers in such an enterprise, for that his people had no
conceit of his valour, but said: *What reason encoura-
geth him, who was neuer trained vp in Marshall dis-
cipline, nor hath managed an horse, nor drawn a sword,
nor charged a staffe, nor shooke a Target, to hope for a
triumph over the Sarazens, against whom the Chenevalrie
of France hath misfarrid? or wherefore dreames hee of
recovery of more land, who could not keepe that which
hee had in forraine parts? concluding, that he was a man
onely borne to draine their purses, to empty his own, and
to multiplie debts.* This was the opinion of men, &
behind his backe; but not onely of men, for Isabel
Countesse of Arundel, widow of Henry Earle of A-
rundel, a young Lady receiuing the repulse at the
Kings hands in a matter which hee alledged to be
hers in equity, durst say thus to his face: *O my Lord
King, why doe you turne away from Iustice? we cannot
now obtaine that which is right in your Court; you are
placed as a mean between God and vs, but you neither go-
uerne vs, nor your selfe, neither dread you to vex the
Church diuinely, as it hath not onely felt in present, but
often heretofore. Moreover you doubt not manifestlie
to afflict the Nobles of the Kingdome. The King fir-
red at so free a speech, with a scornfull and angry
countenance, answered with a loud voice; *O my
Lady Countesse? What? haue the Lords of England, be-
cause you haue tongue at will, made a Charter, and
hyred you to bee their Orator and Advocate? where-
vnto the Countesse replied: Not so my Lord, for
they haue made to mee no Charter, but that Charter
which your Father made, and which your selfe confir-
med, swearing to keepe the same inuolubly and con-
stantly, and often extorting money vpon promise that
the Liberties therein contained should be faithfully ob-
serued, you haue not kept, but without regard to ho-
nour or conscience broken. Therefore are you found to
be a manifest violator of your faith and oath. For where
are the Liberties of England so often fairly engrossed
in writing? so often granted? so often bought? I therefore
though a woman, and all the naturalloyall people of the
Land, appeale against you to the Tribunal of the feare-
full Iudge, and Heaven and Earth shall beare vs wit-
nesse, that wee are used vnjustly, and God the Lord of
reuenges right vs. The King abashed at these words
asked her, if shee did not looke to obtaine her suite vpon
fauour, in regard shee was his Kinswoman? wherevnto
shee answered: *That seeing hee had demid that
which the Law gaue, how could shee hope to obtaine her
suit by fauour? Therefore (saide shee) I doe appeale to***

the presence of Christ, against also the your Connec-
tors, who bewitch and dull your iudgement, and draw
you out of the path of truth, gaping onely after their owne
commodity. But the King (saith Paris) remained
incorrigible, and the Lady lost both her charges,
hopes and trauell.

(82) Thus harsh were the former yeeres to the
King and Kingdome: let vs see what more gentle
or rougher accidents rise vnto vs in the next. But
it then the first little better appeares, for the King
hauing bought out the time which Simon de Mont-
fort had in the government of Gascoigne (which now
he giues to Prince Edward) was truly aduertised,
that Gualtero de Biard was turned Spaniard, and labored
by all the meanes hee could to plucke that part
from the English obedience. Alfonso K. of Spaine,
claimed the same by vertue of a Charter made ther-
of by Henry the second, confirmed by Richard and
John Kings of England. Simon Earle of Leicester thus
displaced, to let the world see that hee would not
for any preferment incur the suspition of disloy-
alty, refused most honorable offers, which, (after
the death of Lady Blanch, Queene Dowager, and
Redrix of France,) the French Nobility made him, if
hee would with his counsell and Force helpe to su-
staine that Monarchie, while Lewis their king was
absent. In the meane time the king of England (all
old matters being buried in obliuion, vpon hope
of future amendment) for aduancement of his mar-
tiall Pilgrimage had large aides granted him in Par-
liament; but vpon condition that hee should now
at last, once for all, submit himselfe to gouerne by a
Law, not at his pleasure, confirming the Charters
of Liberties, against the breakers whereof a most
solemne curfe was pronounced by the kings assent.
The Archbishoppe, Bishoppes, and the rest of the
Prelates pontifically apparelled, pronounced that
curfe with Tapers burning, which when they had
throwne away vpon the pavement, where they lay
extinguished and smoking, the King (hauing laid
his hand on his breast all the while,) Iware to keepe
all Liberties vpon pain of that execratory sentence,
as he was a Man, a Christian, a Knight, and a King
anointed and crowned. The businesse of Gascoigne
foone after called him to a neerer warre, whether
vpon his promise made to the Gascoignes, hee set faile,
leaving his sonne Prince Edward, and his kingdome
to the government of his Brother, the Earle of Corn-
wall, and the Queene his wife: his arrival there gi-
uing a light and stay to all the affaires therof. Such
Holds as held against him hee reduced to obedi-
ence, but with too faulty a Clemency sparing
most open Traitors, whereas if an Englishman had
offended, hee was sure to smart for it, and that rather
more then lesse.

(83) His feare now was, lest the Gascoignes should
draw in the Spaniards, and relinquish his Soueraignty.
To prevent this, hee verie prudently and rea-
sonably sent Ambassadors to Alfonso King of Spain
and Castile, to desire that the Lady Elianor his sis-
ter, might be giuen in marriage to Prince Edward.
The motion was well approued, and besides that
they brought Letters Patents from the King of
Spaine, in which, among all other Clauses it was
contained, that the King of Spaine did quit his claime
and whole right, which by vertue of any Grants from
Henry, Richard and John Kings of England, hee had, or
ought to haue. Herevpon hee sends both for his
Sonne (whom the king of Spaine desired might be
conuayed to him, onely with a noble intent to see
and doe him honour) and for his wife the Queene.
Among other Acts of sinceritie and loue, Alfonso
sent to the King of England good aduise: that, af-
ter the example of good Kings and Princes, hee should
be a Lambe toward his Subiects, and Seruitours, and a Lion
to Aliens and Rebels. Simon Earle of Leicester with
a gallant Troupe of Souldiers offered his seruice to
the King, who admiring the Earles charity, receiued
him with all ioy possible: at which reconciliation
P p p p the

An. 1253.
An. reg. 37.

The king of
Spaine claimes
Gascoigne.

Simon Earle of
Leicester re-
tains high honour
in France to a-
void the suspition
of disloyalty
to England.

Magna Charta
confirmed, helps
the king to mony.

The kings oath
to observe that
confirmations.

The king re-
quests the king of
Spaine sister to
be giuen for wife
to his sonne
Edward.

The King of
Spaine quitteth
his claime to
Gascoigne.

The king of
Spaine aduise to
the king of Eng-
land.

* Stat. Paris.
* Stillatimib.

* Romanorum
maltus & con-
tempor. Paris.

* This letter is
verbalim in Paris.

* Stat. Paris.

Ann. 1254.
Prince Edward
married the king
of Spaines sister.

The estate which
the king gave
him in present.
The kings debt.

The king of Eng-
land most honour-
ably entertained
in France.

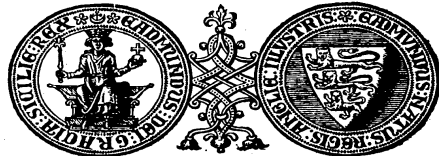
the *Gascognes* who feared him like lightning, were so appalled, that they came dropping in, and became good Subjects. That valorous Earle was thereunto moued by that great, free, and noble Prelate, *Robert Grosseteste*, called the *Maule of the Romans*, as being a great curbein those dayes of the Popes vngodly courtes towards his State of *England*: against which hee writ a famous letter to his Holinesse, learnedlie prouing, that his detestable, abominable, soule-murdering actions, did euince him to be an Heretike, worthy of death, to be *Antichrist*, and to sit in the Chaire of pestilence, as next to *Lucifer* himselfe, and that he had no power to excommunicate such as resisted those his actions. With which Catholike Letter, the Pope was besides himselfe for rage, swearing by *Saint Peter* and *Saint Paul*, that he could find in his heart to make that dotting Prelate a mirror of confusion to all the world for his sawynesse. But some wiser Cardinals aduised him from any sharper course against him; telling the Pope that all was true he said of their Courts abuses; that he was holier then any of themselves, and one who had no Peere amongst all other Prelates for sanctity or learning; and therefore it were best to hush the matter, for feare of stirring coales, especially sith it was knowne, that at length there would be a departure from their Church. This noble Prelate dyed this very yeare, with opinion of a Saint (in despite of the Pope, who would haue had his bones throwne out of the Church) leaving this *Prophecie* farewell to his verie last gasses, that the Church would neuer be set free from such her Egyptian seruitude, but by the dint of bloudy sword.

(84) Soone after the Queenes arriuing in *Gascogne*, when all things were rightly prepared, Prince Edward was thence sent into *Spain*, where, at the City of *Burgos* hee married the Lady *Eleanor*, sister to the King with great honour, hauing first receiued Knight-hood at his hand; which done, hee returns with his Bride to *Burdeaux*, from whence they all together came safe through *France* into *England*. What treasure this noble young Princeesse brought in portion to her husband, wee cannot say; but the King forthwith gaue his sonne *Gascogne*, *Ireland*, *Wales*, *Brislow*, *Stanford*, and *Grantham*. He had drawne vpon himselfe a debt, in this and other his actions of about three hundred thousand Marks; the King of *France* being not long before returned from the Holy-Land, gaue them both safe-conduct in their passage, and did to him, & his whole noble company all the honor which the wit of man, or the most goodly kingdom of *France* could afford. There were at *Paris* in this entertainment *Beatrice* the Countesse of *Provence*, and foure Queenes her Daughters. The King of *England* had in his owne Household traine, a thousand choice & excellent horse, beside Carriages, Sumpters, and Couriers. Hee was lodged in the Pallace of the olde Temple, being an house almost capable of an Armie, where the next morning hee commanded that all sorts of poore should be relieued with

his charity and Almes. The magnificence of the great Feast of the Kings, at the King of *England* charge, shall be expressed in our Authors owne words, who is bold to affirme, that *Affuerus*, *Arthure*, *Charles the Great*, had neuer any such. After dinner, the King sent to the French Lords, and men of Armes, Plate, Buckles of Gold, and other royall presents. The King of *England* late at the Table on the right hand of the French King, and the King of *Nauarre* on the left. But the French King contended much in curtesie to the contrary; till *K. Henry* obstinately refused saying, the King of *France* was his Lord, & should be for there was reason, meaning, because hee held his Lands in *France* of him. To whom the most iust and gracious King *Lewis* with a soft voice answered; Would to God every one had his right without offence, meaning such other lands as the English Crowne had right vnto. At another time he gaue the reason, why the Peeres of *France* would not consent to the restitution of *Normandy*, for that the *Normans* would neuer learne to keepe their Borders in quiet. The English King did to himselfe, and to the English name great honour, in his whole behaviour and carriage, which was full of charity towards the poore (a vertue for which in those dayes Kings chiefly sought to be commended) of *Majesty*, *Magnificence*, and all sorts of royall liberality and gentleness. The King and Court of *France* brought him an whole daies iourney vpon the way. He staid a while at *Boislogne* for a wind, but returned safe, hauing peaceably measured a way through *France*, out of *Gascogne*, which his martiall Nephews kings of *England* trode afterward in another manner, drawing lines of bloud and fire ouer all *France*, the most pleasant, rich, and spacious realm of Christendome.

(85) *Eleanor* Prince Edwards wife landed at *Douer* in great State. On the other side, *Edmund* the Kings second sonne, by a King, which the Pope sent (to engage King Henry in his warres against *Manfredus*, the sonne of the late Emperour *Fredericke*) was solemnly inuected in the kingdom of *Sicilie*. The Ambassador was a Bishoppe, who forthwith departed, for indeed his errand was in few glorious, but in truth both delusory and vnprofitable, allwell because the King had already vnreasonably interested himselfe in this quarrell, (the Pope hauing changed his vow against the Turkes, into this against Christians,) asallo, for that the *Roman* Armie which (by the Popes fetches) warred most at his charge, was (notwithstanding the Popes blessings) vtterly ouerthrowne, before this airy honour could be setled in the Lord *Edmund*, whom yet his Father (whose credulity the Pope for his owne ends had shamefully inuigiled, by drawing him into obligations of *two hundred and fifty thousand pounds*) openly teamed and vfed as the King of *Sicily*, (for which also he vfed this annexed Seale) highly pleasing himself in the varietie of a wastfull Title to his owne, and his whole Kingdomes extreme impoverishment.

Edmund



King of Sicil.

A.D. 1256.
A. reg. 40.

(86) The Calamities of the Kingdome in these exhaustings, was the more lamentable, because they were countenanced by the King, who should haue repelled them. But the Pope hauing no so easie way to be supplied as by the King, nor the King any but by the People, both Pope and King were well accorded to grinde the people each for the others

vses; the King to satisfie the Popes Auarice; the Pope to aduance the Kings Ambition. The gayning of the Kingdome of *Sicilie* must be the colour, for which the King was resolu'd to goe in person; and therefore *Rufandus* (the Popes Agent) sent to gather the Tenth of all *England*, *Scotland* and *Ireland*, for the Popes vse and the kings, indifferently, had called

* Stat. Paris.
* Stillatimib.

* Romanorum
maltus & con-
tempor. Paris.

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ably entertained
in France.

called a great Councel the former yeere, and adioyned it till this; where he also required all the Prelates to binde themselves to the Popes marchants, as hauing receiued of them a great sum of money, which was imploied to the vse of their Churches. At which guilefull and vntre deuse the Prelates replied they would rather die then suffer such oppression, and that they held it a manifest Martyrdom to die in such a cause, then was the death of *Thomas Becket*. The Nobles also peremptorily refused either to recouer *Sticlie*, or to beare the charge thereof, being both impossible; the one for the strength of *Manfredus*, the other for the present pouertie of *England*. And indeed soone after the Pope and *Manfred* were made friends, and so King Henry and King *Edmund* beguiled one of his great expences, the other of his high hopes. The King was herewith wakened out of a sweet dreame wherein till then he continued, feeding his minde with the hope to leaue to either of his sons a kingdom; though neither so he rested quiet till he had almost throwne the Crowne into the gulphes of irrecoverable debts and vsurie. The young King of *Scots* and his Queene, about this time came into *England* to visite their best friends, the King and Queene of this Kingdome, which lay wholly open to their honor and vses. The King to let his sonne in law see how welcome he was, did bestow vpon him the Earldome of *Huntingdon*; They and their Queenes with almost all the great Lords and Ladies of *England* met at *Woodstocke* by *Oxford*, from whence they came to *London*. The King was vnwilling to denie his sonne in law and daughter any thing, for at their earnest suite he pardoned Sir *William de Lile*, Knight Sheriffe of *Northamptonshire*, who was proued to haue practised by most foule suborned treacherie to spoile another Gentleman of his estate: for which the said *Lile* had died a shameful, but a worthy death, by drawing and hanging, had not his wifes teares and prayers made the King and Queene of *Scots* their intercessors. Thus the young Prince returned into *Scotland*, worthily well contented.

(87) The King much the fresher to vndergoe serious affaires, by reason of the late comfort he had in his Childe the Queene of *Scots*, bestirres himselfe, and comes in person into the *Exchequer* among the Barons thereof, when the Court was set, and made sharpe orders against all Sheriffs and Baylies of Towns incorporate, who did not yeerely appeare at the *Exchequer*, to pay such money of the Kings as was come to their hands. At the same time all the Sheriffs of *England* were amerced, because they had not disretained all those which had such estates in land, as the law limitch to take the order of Knight-hood, or pay their fines. Which of the Lords could say now, that the King would not proue a good husband? Howbeit the case of the people seemed nothing releued, for (saith *Paris*) there were so many petty Tyrants by the negligence or conuience of one, that the ancient State of *England*, when it had many Kings, seemed to be brought in againe.

(88) Occasions of expence like the heads of Hydra daily increased. The Welth (opprest by *Geoffrey de Langley* an officer vpon the Marches) role in armes, and ministred one of those occasions, but that Prince *Edward*, to whom his Father had giuen *Wales*, was left therein to himselfe, for his Father could spare no money. The Prince therefore borrowes some thousands of marks of his vnclie *Richard*, and with his owne and then wagers his Souldiers; his seruants behaued themselves most violently euery where, taking without payment, or paying with blows; and it was the humor also of their young Master, who had store of martiall and stirring fire in his bosome. The Welth therefore would not for any persuasions be drawne to lay downe weapons, but hauing about ten thousand of their coun-

trety horsemen, and many more on foot, tooke a solemne Oath, that they would stand together for their libertie and ancient lawes, holding it better to die with honour, then to live a wretched life in shame and seruitude. And indeed they did great things vnder Prince *Llewelyn ap Gruffyth*, by whose meates they valiantly recovered all the Inland-countrie of *North Wales*, with other places; and in one fight slew about two thousand Englishmen, and draue the rest out of the field. They also spoiled the land to the very gates of *Chester*. This they had the greater opportunitie to doe, for that the King, while he built Kingdomes in the Clouds, and plunged himself into the Abysses of *Vsury*, suffered some few, his sonne, his brother, the Earle of *Glocester*, and his halfe-brothers with their families to trample right and reason vnder foot, and with his hatred to enrich themselves, his owne meanes daily confuming, and mens mindes more and more alienated from him, as men that despaired of redresse and iustice. The Welth also persisting in their enterprise, made Prince *Edward* retire in a bataille, and he complaining to his Father, had no other comfort but this: what is that to me? the land is thine of my gift. Put forth thy strengths at first, and get honour in thy youth, that from thenceforth thy enemies may stand in feare of thee. As for me I haue somewhat else to doe.

(89) The greatest worldly forrein honour that (since *Constantine*) euer fell vpon anie English subiect, was at this time, in regard both of his birth and riches, deriued and tendred to *Richard*, Earle of *Cornwall*, brother to the King, to whom was sent an honorable Ambassage out of *Germanie*, who, in humble manner declared, that the Princes of the sacred *Roman* Empire had elected him King of *Romans*, beseeching him to accept of that their common choise. In testimonie whereof the Archbishop of *Colen*, high Chancellor of the Empire, Prince Elector, and other great Lords of *Almaine* had sent their writings vnder seale, affirming, *I hat neuer was anie one with so generall consent and vniuersall good liking elected to that place as he, his name carrying it clearly without anie contradiction among them*. Vpon receipt of this most honourable inuitation and offer, there was much debate in the Chappell where they fate vpon the Earles behalfe, whether he should accept thereof or no; but while all of the stood in doubt the king puts in a deciding voice, saying: *Left my brother be thought saint haried, my opinion & request is, that he wold not refuse to accept this honor, which God & man haue redered vnto him*. This made the Squadron of the negatiues to giue way, and at leastwise to become Neutrals, till all objections were answered, as they were all of them by one or other, concluding in their speeches to the Earle; *I hat hee should be warned, and withall stirred up to the seruice of God, in acceptance of this highest place, by the example of Robert Curthoise Duke of Normandie (eldest sonne of William the first, King of England) to whom the Kingdome of Ierusalem, for the intent to rule the inheritance of Christ, was offered, which he refusing to accept, did afterward feeble the grievous wrath of God, and neuer had happy daies after*. To these and many other reasons, the King, his halfe brothers, and speciallie the Elect of *Winchester* encouraged him with one voice, affirming that this honour would exalt the English name for euer: The Earle therefore putting on the man with a free and cheerefull voice answered: *And I relying vpon the goodness of Almighty God, though I am insufficient, & unworthy, to auoid the note of faintnesse, doe thankfully accept this burthen and honour, which Heauen (I hope) hath put into my hands*. And then turning himselfe to the Bishops who were present, among which *Richard* Bishop of *Bangor* (from whose mouth our author wrote those things) was one, hee concluded and said: *Let mee before I depart out of this Chappell, die, and suddenly be burnt with the fire of Hell, if I doe accept thereof either for ambition, or avarice; but onlie to restore the Empire (which God grant)*

The high and noble nobility of the Welth.

* Stat. Paris.

A.D. 1257.

The Earle accepted the electio,

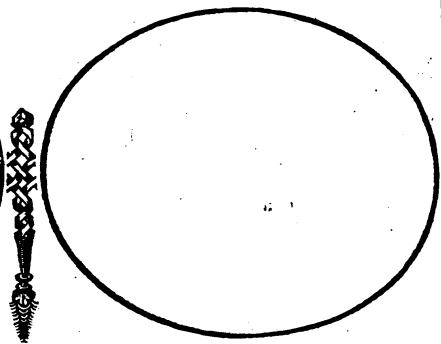
* Stat. Paris, who had also many historians dis-
cusses from the King himselfe, pag. 151. edit. 1654.

His most noble
protection.

The king of
Romans what
and who.

The English
tongue in the
days of Mat.
Paris agreeable
to the Dutch.

to a better estate, and to governe them, who have willing-
lie elect me for their Lord, in modest, iust and honou-
rable manner. These words exhale ioyfull teares
from off many of the hearers, and the Ambassadors
returned to deliver the newes of this acceptance,
who from thenceforth was King of Romans, that is
Emperour elect, which title is vied till they receive
the Crowne imperiall; though to all other purpo-
ses he is Emperour, so that King of Romans seems
to answer to the Title of Caesar, which vnder the
ancient Roman Emperours was given to the heire
apparent of the Empire or Coadiutors. After the
German Ambassadors were gone, the King permit-
teth his brother to send some ower to sound the
truth of the Electors and Peoples affections, which
(in regard the English were originally Germans, and
by late affinitie incorporated, and for that English



* Contra antiqua
statuta & liberta-
tes. Paris.

* Mat. Paris.
in his history.
The University
of Oxford the se-
cond Schoole of
the Church next
Paris. prote-
cted by the king

The King com-
mends the cause
of his sonne Ed-
mund for the
kingdome of Si-
cilia.

Note that by
this it appears
Edmund was not
deformed when
174. did after-
ward allage.

(90) In the meane time, while his brothers
royall preparations were in hand, the King being
for a weekes space at the Abbey of S. Albans, cer-
taine matters of Oxford brought a great complaint
against the Bishop of Lincoln, for some encroach-
ments vpon the ancient liberties of that Vniuersitie,
to whom the King was gracious, and assigned a day;
& Matthew Paris, whom the King in honor of his
learned paines, admitted euery day to his table,
and Chamber, said to him vpon this Complaint;
* My Liege, for Gods lone haue a care of the *fishen*
State of the Church. The Vniuersity of Paris (the Nurse,
and mother of so many holy Prelates) is not a little disqui-
eted. If at the same time the Vniuersity of Oxford should
be disturbed, which is the second Schoole of the Church,
yea the fundamental base thereof, it is greatly to be feared,
least the whole Church do fall to ruine. Whereunto
the King made answer, God forbid that should happen
at all, but chiefly in his daies. Which the Parlia-
ment then at hand, he accordingly prouided for,
to their contentation. The memory of the King
seemes by this to haue bene excellent, for beside
that hee recounted to Paris all the Kings of England
which had bene Canonized Saints, all the Princes
Electors, and great Princes of Germany and France,
he called to minde the names of about two hun-
dredth and fifty Baronies in England.

(91) At this Parliament, (which was exceeding
great) holden at London, the King in sight and view
of all the people, brings forth his younger sonne Ed-
mund attired like an Italian of Apulia, (which Coun-
try is a member of the Kingdome of Sicilia) and
vied this speech: Behold here good people, my sonne Ed-
mund, whom God of his gracious goodnesse hath called to
the excellencie of kingly digniti; how comely and well
worthy he is of all your fauors, and how cruell and tyran-
nicall they are, who at this pinc, would deny him effectu-
all and timely helpe, both with aduice and money. The
summe of all was to draw a vast contribution from
the Clergie for attenuement of this shadow (it pro-

(saith Paris) was in a sort agreeable to the *Almain*
tongue) they found entire, and with that certitude
returne. The King of England hereby seemed to
haue his desires for recovery of Normandy, great-
lie strengthened, the *Almaines* and French hardlie
brooking one the other; but howsoever, sure it is
that his brother the new King, had occasion to
spend the golden Oyle, which was so long in gather-
ing, to maintain the light of this Imperiall lampe;
and without question hee might bee liberal, for he
was reputed to possesse so much ready coine, as
would euery day for tenne yeeres afforde him an
hundredth marks vpon the maine stocke, without
reckoning his rents & reuenues in Germany, and the
English dominions. The Earl * was soon after crow-
ned King of the Romans, at Aquigrane, by Comrad
Archbishop of Colein, with great pompe & sollemnity.

ued no better) into his Coffers. Neuertheless he ob-
tained a grant of aboue fiftie thousand Marks, vpon
covenant that the liberties of the Realme should be
really and finally once for euer established: which
was done. There were present in this Parliament six
Archbishops, Canterbury, Yorke, Dublin, Colin, Messina
in Sicilia, and Tarentum in Apulia. The politike Ger-
mans knew what they did in choosing Richard their
King, for they saw a cloud of gold and silver would
disolue it selfe into shoures among them at his ar-
riuall; and all elections of strangers turne to their
profit, because none is chosen that relies wholly vpon
the rents of the Empire.

(92) It was a worthy care in this King, that when
by the prouision of his brother Richard King of Ro-
mans, there arriued in the riuer of Thames fiftie saile
of German Ships, laden with corne to relieue the
great dearth, which then raigned through the Land,
he caused proclamation to be made, That no Citizen
of London should buy any of that corne to store up, which
they were wont to doe, to the intent they might sell it the
dearer afterward, so such as wanted. But no warning,
prayers, aduises, nor sense of wants were able to
make him frugal of his expence; whereby he was
miserably streighted, neither would the Laitie in
Parliament contribute anything, but (hammering
some great attempts in their thoughts) in plaine
words concluded, That they neither would, nor could
any longer endure such (they called them) extorsions.
Morcouer they there vttered many greouances, and
Simon Earle of Leicester complained of the dishonor
and injury done him by William de Valence, calling
him Traitor, so that against the Session to be holden
vpon prorogation, he, the Earle of Gloucester, and
Marshall, confederated themselves and (pretending
the fear of strangers the Kings favorites,) determi-
ned to come strong to Oxford at Saint Barnabas day.
They also sent messengers to the King of France,
praying at least to much assistance, as that he would
not hinder the good purpose which they held of

A.D. 1259.
Arg.

The king
London
engaged
forbidden
king.

The bar-
comb.

ordinance and feeding the troubled estate of England.
They had also taken order to watch the Ports a-
gainst strangers. Thus they prepared to abate (as
it seemed) or banish the loftinesse and infolence
of Poitouines and of other Forreiners, by whom the
King was powerfully led, for they despaired of re-
dresse at his hands, who like another Proteus (as Pa-
ris saith) tooke all shapcs vpon him to serue his
turnes, and then slipt out at his pleasure, no promi-
ses, or ties being strong enough to hold him. These
were the beginnings of bloody euils, and the feede-
sparks of those factious fires which afterward brake
forth, from the sight and sense whereof, many thou-
sands were taken by death, whose mortall stroake
of pestilence raged ouer England, specially among
the poore through scarcity of food.

(93) When the time appointed for the Parlia-
ment at Oxford was come, the feditious Earles and
Barons (with whom sundry Bishops had taken Coun-
sell against the King the Lords appointed) repaired thi-
ther, and sternely propounded sundry trayterous
Articles to the King, to which they required his as-
sent. The chiefe points were, That the King would
vniuersally keepe and obserue the Charter of liberties,
which he had so often granted, and sworn to maintaine in-
uolable; That such a one should be in the place of Chiefe
Iustitiar who would iudge according to right, without
respect to poore or rich, &c. Then they renewed
their confederacie, solemnly swearing, That neither
for life nor death, nor lone nor hate, they would be awaue
to relent in their purpose, till they had cleared England
(in which themselves and their Forefathers were borne)
from upstarts and aliens, and had procured laudable Sta-
tutes. Those turbulent Nobles had yet a further
plot, then all this; which was first broached (saith
Paris: Westminster) by the disloyall Bishops, which
was, that 24. persons should there be chosen, to haue the
whole administration of the King and State, and yeerely
appointment of all great Officers, referring only to the
King the highest place at meetings and consultations of ho-
nour in publicke places. And because they would not
be croffed in their purposes, they came exquisitely ar-
med and appointed, that so the King and his Aliens should
be enforced, if they would not willingly assent. To all these
their ordina:ns the King and Prince Edward was en-
forced to weare, for fear of perpetual imprisonment,
the traitorous Lords hauing by an Edict, threatened death
to all that resisted. Whereupon all the Peeres and
Prelatestooke their Corporall Oath to be faithfull
in this their infidelitie, and made all who would abide
in the Kingdome, to swear they would stand to the try-
all of their Peeres: the Archbishops and Bishops so-
lemnely accursing all that should rebell against it. The
Monkes themselves detesting this impudent trea-
son, aske with what forehead, especiallie Prelats, durst
thus impair the Kinglie Maiestie, expresse against their
sworne fidelitie to him? This conuiration they so
prosecuted, that when William de Valence the Kings
half-brother, denied with Oathes to render vpon any
Cattle which was giuen him, the Earle of Leicester,
and therof the Barons answered, they would either
haue his Cattles or his head. This violent proceed-
ing so terrified the Poitouines, that suddenly they
left Oxford, and shortly fled into France, where also
the Barons had made them odious. Hugh Bigod,
brother to the Earle Marshall, was made chiefe Ius-
titiar. The people, seemed wholly theirs, which
made the Barons so rough and peremptory in all
their conferences, that when the Lord Henrie sonne
to the King of Almain, refused to combine or take
their oath, without his Fathers consent, they round-
ly bad him know, That if his father himselfe would
not hold with the Barons of England, he should not haue
a furrowe of earth among them. And least anything
which might tend to their securitie, should seeme to
be omitted, they vnting the Kings name, com-
manded London to stand vpon her guard, by keeping
their Cities gates carefully shut, & by maintaining
strong watches night by night, vpon pretence of

danger to the Realme through the practises of stran-
gers; and after they dispatched thither certaine fit A-
gents, who in the Guilde-hall made known their
commission, which was directly to vnderstand, whe-
ther they would immutably adhere to the Barons and obey
their constitutions, by manfully aiding and effectually sup-
plying them in the common cause. Whereunto the Ci-
tizens condescended, binding themselves thereunto
vnder the publike seale of London.

(94) The Barons did as yet forbear to declare,
what those reformatory Prouisions should be, be-
cause the Earle of Gloucester (a principall man among
them) was in danger of death, whose sicknesse did
perplex & suspend their proceedings, & the manner of
his maladie did put them in doubt of their owne
safeties, making them grow in distrust of their Cooks,
their butlers, and feners, for the Earle his body break-
ing out into pustules, and his haire, nailes, teeth and
skinne it selfe, falling away, was (as many others,
of which some died) thought to be poisoned. But whe-
ther they were or no, the Poitouines and strangers had
the blame laid vpon them, to make them the more o-
dious to the Commons. But the Earle partly recou-
ered his health in time by the benefit of medicines and
diligent attendance. The poisons were said to haue
bene tempered in the house of Elies a lew afterward
baptized. The King himselfe perhaps would not
haue bene sorry, if that he, Simon Earle of Leicester
and some few others of the Barons had bene with
God, for howeuer his body was among them, yet
his heart was not at quiet, which in this wise well ap-
peared. For being in the month of Iune vpon the
riuer of Thames in his barge, the aior suddenly grew
darke, and there ensued a terrible shower with thun-
der and lightning, of which the king impatient com-
mands himselfe to be let on land at the next place
which was Durham houte, whereas then, the Earle
of Leicester lay. The Earle being therof certified
came out to entertaine him, saying, Sir why are you a-
fraid? the tempest is now past: whereunto he answered
with a seuerer looke: I feare thunder and lightning aboue
measure, but by the head of God, I doe more feare thee then
all the thunder and lightning of the world. Whereunto
the Earle replied: My liege, it is inuision and incredi-
ble, that you should stand in feare of me, who haue alwaies
bene loyall both to you and your Realme, whereas you
ought to feare your enemies, such as destroy the Realme and
abuse you with bad Counsels. The Barons therefore re-
maining firme in their first purpose, send messengers
abroad to will all such as had bene wronged by the
Kings half-brothers and other Poitouines and fran-
gers to present their greouances to the Barons, and to
prosecute them. Morcouer (because sundry other
petty-tyrants of the English nation, encouraged by
their example, had exceeded their limits, in oppres-
sing their inferiours) they procured the King to
appoint foure Knight Commissioners in euery
shire, to enquire of all such iniuries, and certifie
the same vnder their seales within a certaine time li-
mitted.

(95) The Barons in the meane time neglect not
their enterprize, at whole instance (principally of
Hugh Bigod the new chiefe Iustitiar) Philip Louel the
Kings Treasurer, for abuses committed in the
Kings Forreits and game about Stony-Stratford, and
many Officers of the Exchequer, were likewise re-
moued, to giue roome to such as the Barons better li-
ked. The Sheriffs likewise of Shires, their practises,
and extorsions, were diligentlie scene into, and it was
ordained, that aswell the gliers as takers of bribes
should be seuerely punished. The welth seeing these
round proceedings in England, the peace & restorifi-
ment whereof they feared, labored for reconciliation
but could not then obtaine it.

(96) Richard King of Romans, hauing a desire to
see the King his brother, and his lands in England, not
without a purpose to bring an Armie, or such a num-
ber of men as might greatly strengthen the King a-
gainst the Barons, as they suspected, was aduertised
that

The City of Lon-
don joines with
the Barons to re-
dresse the king-
dome.

* Mat. Paris p. 951.

The King feares
the Earle of Lei-
cester more then
thunder and
lightning.

Commissioners
to certifie what
oppressions in
euery Countie.

Officers put from
their places.

The abuses of
Sheriffs noted
and prouided
against.

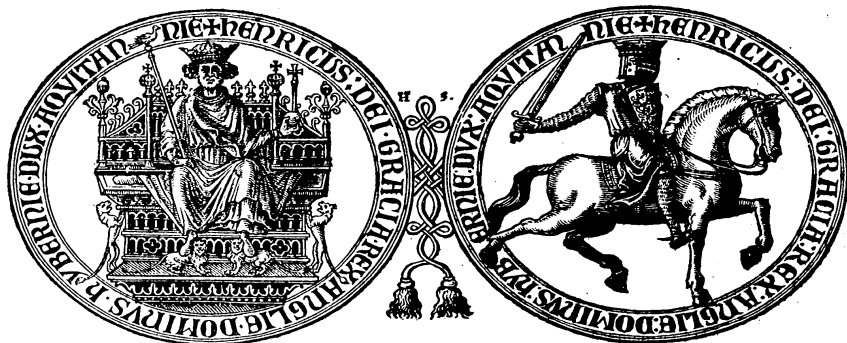
A.D. 1259
A. reg. 43.
The King of Ro-
mans suspected
of the Barons,
strives in Eng-
land & takes an
oath.

The King not
suffered to enter
his own Castle.

* Then the
Barons too.

* Polyd. Vergil.
lib. 16.

that they provided for his resistance as well by land as sea. This made him, his wife, and sonne, to lay aside that purpose, and to arrive in a private manner at Dover with a small traine, in which there were only two Earles, and about nine Knights. The king met him with great congratulation at the Sea side, but nor King, nor hee could be suffered to enter into Dover Castle, because (forsooth) it was the principall Key of England, for the safeguard whereof they openly exacted an Oath of him at Canterbury in this manner. The holy Gospels being laide vpon the Pulpit in the Chapter-house of Canterbury, the Barons reuerently brought in thither the Kings of England and of Aimaïne, then Richard Earle of Gloucester (for Simon Earle of Leicester was gone with others into France, to deale with the King and States thereof about a perpetual league) standing in the midst openly, and in humble sort calls Richard King of Romans vnto him, by the name onely of Richard Earle of Cornwall, who obeyed accordingly, to whom hee distinctly minitred the Oath following: *Heare all men, that I Richard Earle of Cornwall sweare vpon the holy Gospels, to be faithful and forward to reforme with you the Kingdome of England, hitherto by the counsell of wicked men too much deformed. And I will be an effectfull Coadiutor to expell the * Rebels and troubles of the Realme, from out the same. This oath will I obserue vpon paine to forfeit all the lands I haue in England.* On the other side (had the King known how to vie it) there fell out such diffension between the Earles of Gloucester and Leicester, that Leicester departed from England discontented, saying, hee tooke no joy to liue among men so mutable and deceitfull. Neuertheless such means were vied, that these two chiefe Captaines of the Barons, brake not forth into any farther diuision. Thus whiles the Barons vsing the Kings name, disposed of all things, and Simon de Montfort Earle of Leicester, was gone with others to transact with the French about an indissoluble league; the King himselfe through desire not to be interrupted with foraine matters, if warre should rise at home, or through want of money or better aduise, was induced (if not betrayed) to an act of little honour, though it carried with it the face of profit and setled quiet.



A.D. 1260.
A. reg. 44.

Ann. 1261.
An. Reg. 45.
* Polyd. Vergil.
lib. 16.

(98) The King (at these vnworthy rates) hauing secured himselfe from the French, labours to vindicate the Regall power out of the vsurping Barons hands (whose ouer-toppings at home had driuen him to those forraigne indignities,) alledging, that the Oath which his sonne and hee had taken at Oxford, was void, in regard it was compulsiue, that the Barons also, who pretended the profite of the Realme, sought only their owne honour and gain, contrary to their decrees. For his more security he takes the Tower of London, preparing force by the

(97) For (the affairs of the realm thus strangely managed) the King in person sailes ouer into France, there to demand a peaceable restitution of such Signiorities as Philip & Lewis (Father of this Lewis) had iniuriously withdrawn from his father King John. The French replied, that no restitution was due for many respects, specially, because the * ancient grant made to Rollo the first Duke of Normandy, was not voluntary, but extorted by feare and force of Armes, in the dayes of the weak state of France. The King hauing * no disposition to recouer his claimies by battell, and destitute of money where-with to wage an Armie, but principally for that his owne Peeres and people stood on their guard against him, did * vnwillingly ratifie a conclusion; the Articles whereof were, that the King of France should quietly hold the Dukedom of Normandy and Earldome of Angiou (* Main allo, Taurain and Poitou) for * three hundred thousand small pounds of Taurain, and vpon promise to recouer other lands to the yeerly value of twenty thousand pounds. Polydard faith, that the reputed limits of the English Pale in France, were from thenceforth the riuer of Charent in Xantising and the mountains Pyrenees; and that hee should peaceably haue Angoumois, Quercy, and Limain, being Countries marching vpon Gascoigne, in lieu of the rest, yet so as the King of England should * hold them of the Crowne of France by homage and fealtie. Vpon these Articles the king acquitted, and for euer renounced all his challenge to Normandy & the other lands, and thenceforth abridged his Stile, and changed his Seale, vsing a Scepter in place of a Sword: whereon these Monkish and mockish verses were written.

*Est M.C.C.L.IX. vitam concordia felix,
Andegania, Pitta-uu, Neustria, gente relicta
Anglorum, dantur tibi France, Sigilla mouantur,
Nomina tolluntur fugit Ensis, Sceptra geruntur.*

*M.C.C.L.IX. God grant firme peace thou fix,
Poitou, Angiou, Normans, to France range you,
New Seales are made, sold Styles forsaken,
Downe laid the Blade, Scepters up taken.*

helpe of his brother King of Romans. There followed a grievous perturbation of the Realm, although at this time it brake not forth into the extremity, Armes being laid downe for a little space. Edward the Kings eldest sonne would not traueise the oath he had made at Oxford, but held with the * Barons for the present. The King, the Queene, and his selected friends, still remaine vpon their guard in the Towers where hee (in the yeere before) had burst vp the locks of the ancient Depositarie, or dead stocke of the Crown, to employ against the Barons. Peace was

The King
not
suffered
to enter
his own
Castle.

* Gail. G.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

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* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

* Polyd.

was notwithstanding brought about againe by the Queenes speciall diligence; and Douer and Rochester Castles (whither hee went in person) are deliuered vnto him. This makes him resolute to pursue the Barons; the rather also for that the French King (who much condemned the Barons vnjust courses) had promised his assistance. Henry therefore thrusts out the Barons Chancellor, & Chiefe Iusticiar, placing Walter Mers & Philip Bassett, men of much more loyal affections in their rooms. The Barons hearing of this, hasten in Armes to Winchester, where the King was, who (hauing intelligence by his faithful Clerk, Sir Iohn Mansel) got back into the Tower of London. The King of France was made Vmpire in the quarrell. The * cause was heard at Amiens, where hee gaue iudgement with the King of England against the Barons, pronouncing all the Statutes and Acts made at Oxford, to be utterly void: provided neuertheless, that the Charter of Liberties which King Iohn had made to the English nation, should in no sort be thereby infringed. This prouiso animated Simon Earle of Leicester, and the Barons, to maintain all the Statutes of Oxford, (because they were pretendedly founded vpon that Charter) notwithstanding that iust iudgement which King Lewis had giuen. The secret confederacy with Lewelin Prince of Wales, ministred to the Barons no little encouragement; who about this time waiked the Dominions of Prince Edward in the Marches of Wales. This iudgement of the French King did much diaduantage the Barons, of whom diuers being drawne with persuasions, gifts, and promises, reuolted from Simon Montfort. There was now a taking of Townes and Prisoners on all hands. Prince Edward (who now was wholly for his Father in despite of the Barons) takes the Castell of Bristol, and fines the City at a thousand pounds. Simon Montfort executeth his greatest reuenges vpon the Queenes friends which were Aliens, not sparing the Kings. Marching forward, he recouers Gloucester Castell, enters Worcester and Bridgenorth; lastly, surpriseth the Ile of Ely, subduing that fastnesse or fenny strength to the Barons vse. Sir Iohn Mansel the Kings Councellour, fearing the euent of things, flies secretly from the Tower where the King was. Henry sonne to the King of Aimaïne, was after this taken by the Barons. Meanwhile Prince Edward fortifies Windsor Castle with strangers. Mutuall wearinesse at length begat a desire of peace, and the * King had yielded that the Statutes of Oxford should stand: but the Queene was utterly against it, not without cause; for it did enfeeble the arbitration which the French King had made. The Queenes opposition in this point was knowne to the Londoners; which put the baser sort into so lewd a rage, that hee being to shoot the Bridge from the Tower toward Windsor, they with durt and stones and villanous words forced her to returne. Prince Edward vnder the conduct of the Bishoppe of Worcester, came from the Castle of Bristol (by reason of quarrell betwene his men of warre and the Burgers) and contrary to his promise entred into Windsor Castle; but afterward going forth to meet Simon Montfort at Kingston vpon Thames, with purpose to offer peace, the laid Simon got Windsor Castle, & would not permit him to depart. At London yet in a Parliament, matters were pieced againe, and the Kings side grew stronger dayly.

(99) There were with him his brother King of Romans, his sonne Edward, William de Valence (whom Prince Edward had brought out of France) Iohn Comyns of Scotland with a multitude of valiant Scots, (whose King was Henries sonne in law,) Iohn de Balhol Lord of Galloway, Robert de Bruis, &c. with whom hee marcheth from London to Oxford, where the Rendevou of his friends and forces was appointed. The King meaning to make that place (where his chiefe blow was giuen him) his chiefe seat to consult for remedies, dismissed thence all the Students,

by reason of their multitude, * being about 15000 (saith William Rishanger who then liued) of whose names were entered into the Matriculation booke, amongst whom being so many young Nobles, the King doubted how they might bee affected to the Barons. Whereupon many of them went to Northampton, where then the Barons were strong; and thither the King comming with his host, and breaking in at the Towne-walles vpon Passion Sunday, encountered his enemies, amongst whom the * Students of Oxford had a Banner by themselves advanced right against the King, and they did more annoy him in the fight, then the rest of the Barons: which the King (who at length preuayled) had vowed sharply to reuenge, but that his Councellers told him, those Students were the sonnes and kindred of the Great-men of the Land, whom if hee punished, even the Nobles who now stood for him, would take Armes against him. The King there tooke Simon Montfort the younger, and foureteeen other principall Barons and * Knights Banerets, forty other Knights, besides Esquiers, &c. Encouraged with this successe, hee aduanceth the Standard royall toward Nottingham, burning and waiking the Barons lands wherelocuer hee came. To diuert this tempest, Simon Montfort hastneth to London, and attempts the taking of Rochester Castle, which Iohn Earle of Warren defended for the King: who comming to raise the siege, takes Kingston Castle, which belonged to the Earle of Gloucester; then vnexpectedly falling vpon such as maintained the siege of Rochester, while Simon was absent, kills verie many, and scatters the rest. Then seieth hee the Castle of Tumbidge, and therein the Countesse of Gloucester, whom, notwithstanding hee nobly set at large, as professing not to warre against Ladies; from thence the Cloud of power borne vpon the winges of indignation, speedes to Winchester, and receiues the Cinque-Portmen to grace, settling at last in Lewis, where himselfe rested in the Priorie, and his sonne in the Castle, whither the Barons sent letters to him, protesting their loyal obseruance to his person, but all hostility to their enemies which were about him.

(100) But the King flaming with desire of reuenge, sets slight by these vowed (but fained) fidelities; and returns a full defiance as to Traitors, professing that hee takes the wrong of his friends, as his owne, and their enemies as his. The King of Aimaïne, Prince Edward, with other of the Kings chiefe friends, sent their like letters of defiance. The Barons, loath to let it come to the hazardous and vnkind trial of Steele, (though they then encamped about fix miles from Lewis,) not acquitting themselves in this repulse, iterate their message, with an offer to pay to the King thirty thousand pound, in satisfaction of such hurts as their people had done through the Realme, so as the Statutes of Oxford might stand. The king of Aimaïne (whose honour they had toucht, and spoild part of his inheritances) hindred all harkening to any their offers.

(101) It came to a battell, wherein Simon de Montfort commands his traitorous Army to weare white Crosses on breast and backe, to shew they fought for Iustice; great was the effusion of blood on both parts; chiefe of the Scots vpon the Kings side, & of the Londoners vpon the Barons side; whose Battalion, (lead by the Lord Segraue,) Prince Edward most furiously charged, and had the execution of them for about foure miles, which he pursued the more bloudily, in reuenge of the extreme disgrace which they had offered vpon London Bridge to the Queene his Mother, and after that the Garison of Tumbidge folloves, and slew many at Croyden. But while the Prince spent himself in that reuenge, his Father (who, hauing his Horse slain vnder him, had yielded himself prisoner to Simon de Montfort) his vnckle the king of Romans, and others great Peeres were taken, and the whole hope of that day lost. There fell in all on both sides, about five thousand. Prince Edward returning from the slaughter of the Londoners, would

* R. Rishanger MS.
in Bibliotheca D.
Rob. Cotton
Baronius.

* Chron. M. S. P.
in Martyrolog.
Helling.

* Gail. G.
lib. 16.

The Barons
letters.

The kings letters
returns

The king of Al-
maines letters, &c
Prince Edwards,

The Barons send
the second time,

Simon Earle of
Leicester takes
the kings of Eng-
land and of
Aimaïne in the
battell at Lewis

Prince Edward
on Henry's
Romany
composition.

An. 1265.
An. reg. 49.
The Earle of
Leicester carries
the King about
till he had gotten
all the chief
strengths of the
Realme.

* Episcopus Sa-
biniensis.
* Atai. Woff.

The Earles of
Leicester & Glo-
cester fall at de-
la eina good
time.

Prince Edward
having escaped,
joins with the
Earle of Glo-
cester.

* Nic. Trivet.
apud Holinhead.

would have reenforced the Battaille, but the Barons offered peace, which vpon the next day was concluded for the present, so that Prince Edward and Henry sonne to the king of Romans, should also render them felices prisoners, and the two kings, till such time as all quarrels might receive an happier conclusion by calme deliberation. Thus was Simon Earle of Leicester in possession of both the kings and of their elder sonnes, so fortunate may Treason and Rebellion bee for a time, but in the end it speeds as it deferves.

(102) By this advantage this Kingly Rebel got all the chief Castles of the Kingdome into his hand, leading his Soueraigne as his Prisoner about the Country (yet with all outward respect and honour) the rather to procure a more quiet surrender. The King of Romans hee imprisoned in the Tower, Prince Edward and the Lord Henry in Dover. The Earle feeling now his owne greatness, began to be leffe tractable; neither could the Popes authority interposing it selfe for the King, prevaile. For as the Pope by *Apostolike sentence* before had absolved the King and others from his Oath to the Provisions of Oxford, so now he sent his * Cardinal Legate to excommunicate all the Fauourers of those *Aties*, & impugners of the King; but these men * having the material sword to trust unto, made no reckning of the Spiritual, pretending they appealed to the Pope, or to better times, or a general Council, or to God himselfe: so great account made these crossed fouldiers of the Popes curle. Notwithstanding the loyall blood of Roger de Mortimer, and many other high spirited men of Armes, could not brooke their Kings so base vylage and dangerous estate, but make head, in vaine. For Simon treacherously combines himselfe with Lewelin Prince of Wales, and with their joint forces takes Hereford Castle; thence they remoue Prince Edward from Dover. The loyall band was hereby compelled to capitulate, and deliver hostages. Of the fearfull point, to which England was brought at this present, but God (in whose protection it was) deliuered it. Simon and the Earle of Gloucester fall at debate about their *Diuidend* and shares in the spoiles, (for what euer they pretended for the Kingdome, their owne greatness and gaine was the motive, and somewhat also the vnequall altitude of his said partner the Earle of Leicester, together with the perill of his Country moued him. Who thereupon confederates, with Roger Mortimer and his associates, to whom not long after, John Earle of Warren, Surrey and Sussex, and William de Valence Earle of Pembroke with others are ioyned; and not long after, Prince Edward by escape from the Castle of Hereford, commeth in safetie to Wigmore. There were that laboured to atone the two Earles of Leicester and Gloucester, but of fence and indignation had taken too deepe roote. Meane while thou, & Henrie are shewed vp and down by the Arch-rebellious Earle of Leicester, to countenance thine owne destruction.

(103) The Prince therefore seeing that he must resolutely stand for the liberty of the Realme and of his Father, friends and posterity, raiseth an Armie, confederates himselfe with the people and Countiees of Hereford, Worcester, Shropshire and Chester. Gloucester hee enters by force, and drives the defendants into the Castle, which after yeelds. Simon Montfort with Lewelin Prince of Wales, doe in the meane time spoile their enemies lads in * *Monmouth & Glamorgan shires*, the King in person, not in spirit being present. Prince Edward, and the Earle of Gloucester on the other side, speed to the Castle of Kenelworth, kept against them by Simon, sonne of the Earle of Leicester; there they intercept the Earle of Oxford with about thirteene Knights Bannerets before they could reach the Castle, whither they were hastning. News came then that the Earle of Leicester was returned with the King in his companie out of Southwales, neere to Worcester. Thither the Prince advanceth to fight with him. The Earle hearing of his approach, encampes at Ewelham with his whole power. Vpon the third of August the noble Edward sets out of Worcester, and

strikes betweene Simon Montfort and his way to Kenelworth, and the next day turnes back toward Ewelham, the Earle of Gloucester with his force, and Roger de Mortimer (as they had agreed) with his battalion, drawing thither by two other waies; so that Simon thus shut vp and enclosed, must either fight or yeeld. They ioine in battaile in a goodly large field before the Towne of Ewelham; where the Earles host being assailed on all sides, was with much slaughter (of the Welsh speciallie) utterly in the end distressed and difcomfited. At the houre of his death it thundered and lightened, and so great a darknesse spread the skie that men were amazed. The Earles head, (which was sent to Worcester Castle to the Ladie Mortimer) his hands, and feet, were chopt off. In this cruell Battaille the King himselfe (being wounded vnawares with a launcel) was almost slaine. Let vs now behold how this victorie vsed. The King being thus restored to liberty, calls a Parliament at Winchester, by authority whereof hee seith into his hands the Charters and freedoms of the Citie of London, and of many other Townes for their Rebellion. Those that were taken in the battel are committed to safe Custody, and all such as had been vpon the Earls side were disinherited, a ratable distribution being made of their estates to the Kings well deferving friends. Simon and Guy de Montfort, the Earles sonnes, were chiefe of the attainted; their mother the Countesse with all her goods was sent in safetie out of England neuer to returne. Simon the eldest brother fought to preferre himselfe, and the remains of his Fathers misfortunes in the Ile of Axholme.

(104) The King meaning to take all refuge from him, is together with his brother the King of Romans, Ottobon the Popes Legate, (who was lately arrived), and a puissant armie, at Northampton, with purpose to oppress him by warre. Simon had friends about the King, but the Earle of Gloucester maligning his restitution to full grace, it was concluded (vpon his submission) that he should liue in exile, and for his maintenance receive ouly five hundred marks by the yeere. But the Castle of Kenelworth would not yeeld, driving the King to an halfe yeeres garrison; who also in the end was content to giue the fierce pardon for life and limme, licensing it to part with bag and baggage. In the meane while the other outlaws and disinherited men, made sundry excursions out of the Ile of Elie. Temperate men, desirous to pacifie all these evils, would gladly haue had the king to pardon those transgressions, and restore their lands vpon reasonable fines. This proposition found a fowre enemy of Roger Mortimer, who had by the kings gift gotten much of their land; which moued the Earle of Gloucester (who fauoured the other courle) to indignation and distrust, so that he withdrew himselfe. Not long after which, hee by his messengers befought the king, to remoue strangers from about him, to see that the Statutes of Oxford were observed through the kingdome, and to keepe such promises as he had made at Ewelham. Otherwise the king must marcuile, if he did that which himselfe thought best. The Legate Cardinal Ottobon, about the same time (to hinder the growth of anie new rebellion) excommunicated the Bishops of Winchester, Worcester, London and Chichester for hauing adhered to Simon Montfort, and also declared that the Clergie were to pay their tenths, for seuen yeeres next ensuing, to the king. On the other side, all the vndone and disinherited men (except the sonnes of Simon Montfort and Robert Earle of Derby) were offered to be put to ranfome, and for certaine fines to be restored to their lands; but they required to haue them without redemption, expostulating with the king and Legate many greivances. When words had no better operation, the King and Prince Edward beliege the Ile of Ely on all sides. This being known to the Earle of Gloucester, who (although hee had vnder his scale promised neuer to take armes against the King and Prince, but only in his owne defence) gathers a force

An. 1265.
An. reg. 49.

Episcopus
important in
1270.

Episcopus
important in
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Episcopus
important in
1270.

force in Wales in fauour of the disinherited, marcheth vp to London and taketh it, the Citizens fauouring him. Then commands he the Popes Legate, who lodged in the Tower, to yeeld vp the same; but he, as taking no knowledge of any such matter, repaired quietly to Pauls, there, by preaching to stirre vp people against the enemies of Christ in the Holy land. Peace ensued not long after, by mediation of the King of Romans, and the Noble Lord Philip Basset, the Earle binding himselfe in ten thousand marks to the King, neuer to moue any tumult. Lewelin Prince of Wales, who had greatly supported the Earle of Leicesters rebellion, for thirty thousand pounds sterling was restored to foure Cantreds, which the King had taken from him in the warre, and reconciled.

(105) Domesticke peace now beginning to shine in the English Hemisphere, Prince Edward his brother, the Lord Edmund, the Earle of Gloucester with many other Noble men of England, with intent of a more honourable warfare, take the Crosse vpon them at Northampton, by the deliury of Ottobon, who not long after returned into Italie. Then was the Kings peace proclaimed through England, all men being vpon paine of death commanded to forbear to make spoiles, or take booties violently, as they of late had been accustomed. The Prince, seeing the Realme thus acquitted, doth the more willingly (hauiing his Fathers content) yeeld to goe with Lewis King of France, into the holy land, who, toward his furniture in that voyage, lends him thirty thousand marks: for assurance whereof the Prince morgageth Aquitaine vnto him. But what true letted peace may we iudge it, when John de Warren Earle of Surrey the Kings halfe-brother (vpon the increase of words betweene them) durst kill Alan le Louche the chiefe Iustice, with his owne hand in Westminster Hall? A plaine and fearefull example of fauorites potencie. That all things yet might not run out of square, the King held a Parliament at Marlborough where the Statutes called of Marlborough were enacted. The old King and his Quene henceforward enioyed the blessing of a quiet estate at home, with the more leisure to pray therein for their sonnes faire successe in Palestine, whose virtues had there raised an admiration of him among the Infidels. That quiet neuertheless was a little interrupted by an incendiary outrage at Norwich, where the Citizens set fire on the Priorie Church. The king being kindled with another kind of fire, (ware he would in person see a reuenge taken; and dispatching first away Sir Thomas Trivet, (before whom a great multitude were found guilty, and condemned to be drawne and hanged) himselfe, hauing in his company one Bishop and the Earle of Gloucester, followed; where beholding the deformed ruines, he could hardly refrain from teares. The Bishop hauing therefore excommunicated the noient, and the King condemned the Towne in three thousand marks, toward the reedification of that Church, as also to pay one hundred pounds for a Cup weighing ten pounds in gold, he purposed to returne toward London. This publike act of zeale to religion and Iustice, was the last which he did, as a King; for now he was come to that, which hee was to enter into as a mortal man: At the Abbey of S. Edmund in Suffolke, he fell greuously sicke, where he lay, * he caused the Earle of Gloucester to be sworn to keepe the Realme for his sonnes; the Prelates, Earles and Barons of the land, being assembled to be present at his departure. Therefore after hee had in Christian manner prepared his soule, by acknowledging his sinnes, and receiving fit spirituall consolations, he rendered vp the same to his Redeemer. His will was short, for his Creditors and the Poore shared all his goods. The space of time which he reigned, is almost an old mans age, and absolutely the longest number of yeeres, that euer any King of England reigned, not excepting Eshelbert the first Christian King, if (which is * written by some) he reigned fiftie fixe yeeres, and as manie

daies more, as are between the feast of Simon & Jude, and * Saint Edmund the Archbishop, which are about twentie. A Prince whose * deuotion was greater then his discretion, as we see in his permitting the depredation of himselfe and his whole kingdome by Papall ouerwings, the error of whole Government, concurring with the tumultuous treasons of his Nobles, did precipitate him into many mischiefes, out of which yet God almighty did strangely deliuer him; for if he had not bene diuinely protected, there is no cause for a reasonable man to doubt, but that his end had proved as headlong, as some of his own, and his Barons actions seemed to threaten. The royall remains of this happily-dying Prince were with all the due pompe of exequies interred in Westminster, the great and sumptuous new worke whereof he began, but finished not; the description of whose life, being full of diuerticles and abrupt passages, as a maze or labyrinth, here at last hath found a place of rest for it selfe and vs.

His Wife.

(106) Eleanor the wife of King Henry, was the second of the five daughters, of Raymond Earle of Provence, sonne of Earle Alfonso, sonne of Alfonso the first king of Arragon; her mother was Beatrice, daughter of Thomas Earle of Savoy, sister of the Earles Amee, and Peter, and the Archbishop Boniface of Canterbury. Shee was married to him at Canterbury, January 24. An. 1236. regn. 20: Crowned at Westminster the 19. of the same moneth: was his wife 37 yeeres, his widow 19. died a Nun at Amesbury, the 25. of Iune, in the 20. yeere of her sons raigne 1291, and was buried in her monastery, the 11. of September following.

His Issue.

Edward their eldest sonne was borne at Westminster, the 28. day of Iune, the 24. yeere of his Fathers Raigne; 1239, hee was furnished Longshanks of his tall and slender body, made knight in Spaine of Alfonso king of Castile, created Earle of Chester by his Father, after the Issue male extinct of the former Earles, and succeeded his Father in the kingdome of England.

(107) Edmund their second sonne, borne Jan. 26. A. 1245, and of his Fathers raigne, 29, was surnamed Crouched-backe, of bowing in his backe, say some, but more likely of wearing the signe of the Crosse, (anciently called a * Crouch) vpon his backe, which was usually worne of such as vowed viages to Ierusalem, as he had done. He was invested titulare King of Sicilia and Apulia, and created Earle of Lancaster, (on whole person originally the great contention of Lancaster and Yorke was founded) and hauing of the grant of his Father, the lands of Simon Montfort and Robert Ferrers, (disinherited in the Barons warres) was by vertue of the same graunt Earle of Leicester and Derby, and high Steward of England. He had two wiues, the first was Avelin, daughter and heire of William Earle of Albemarle, by whom hee lost no issue, the second was Queene Blanch, daughter of Robert Earle of Artoys; (brother of Saint Lewis King of France) widow of Henry of Champagne, King of Navarre, and mother of Joane Queene of France and Navarre, the wife of Philip the faire. By her hee had issue three sons and one daughter. Thomas who after his Father was Earle of Lancaster, and hauing married Alice, daughter and heire of Henry Laue Earle of Lincoln, was beheaded at Pomfret without issue: Henry Lord of Monmouth, who after his brothers death was Earle of Lancaster, and father of Henry, the first Duke of Lancaster: John, who died without marriage: and Mary, married to Henry Lord Percie, mother of Henry, the first Earle of Northumberland. This Earle Edmund died at Bayon in Gascoigne, Iune. 5. An. 1296, and of King Edward his brothers raigne 24. when hee had liued fiftie yeere, foure moneths and nineteene daies; whose body halfe a yeere after his death, was conuaid into England, and lieth entomb-

* Rainsford, High.
Polychron.
Tridig. Newfist.

* So we call the
wooden sup-
porters of im-
portant men, made
like a crosse at
the top; and
Crouched Friars
for wearing a
Crosse.

ed at *Westminster* on the Northside of the high Altar, vnder a faire monument of stone, with his Portraiture, and the armes of him and others of his house, and mapie noble houses of that time.

(108) *Richard* the third sonne of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, (bearing the name of his vnclie *Richard*, King of *Romans* *Almaine*), deceased in his youth, and lieth at *Westminster*, entered on the fourth-side of the Quire.

(109) *John* the fourth sonne of King *Henrie* and *Queene Eleanor*, (bearing the name of King *John* his grandfather,) deceased yong, and at *Westminster* his bones lie entered with his brother *Richard*.

(110) *William* the fift sonne of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, is mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, (a Priest of the monastery of *Whitby* in *Yorkshire*, who liued in the time of King *Henrie* the sixt, and wrote a large Genealogie of the Kings of *England*, and their issues,) and that he dying in his childhood, was buried within the new Temple, by *Fleete*-*streete* in *London*.

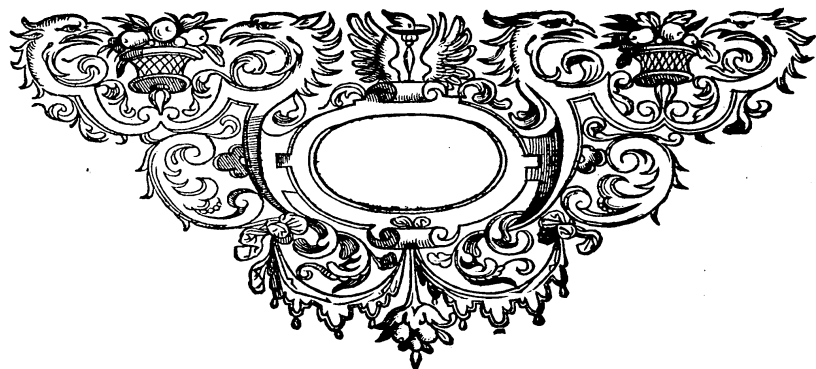
(111) *Henry* the sixt sonne of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, is also reported by the same *Pickering*, to haue died yong, and to be buried at *Westminster*.

(112) *Margaret* the eldest daughter of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, borne the twentie sixt yeere of her Fathers raigne. 1241. was the first wife of *Alexander* the third, King of *Scotland*, married to him at *Yorke*, An. 1251. by whome shee had issue, *Alexander* and *David*, (who died both before their Father without issue,) and *Margaret* *Queene* of *Norway*,

wife of King *Erike*, and mother of *Margaret* the heire of *Scotland*, and *Norway*, that died vnmarrried: shee was *Queene* twenty two yeeres, liued thirtie three, deceased before her husband, in the twenty third yeere of his Raigne, the first of her brother *Edwards* in *England*, and was buried at the Abbey of *Dunfermling* in *Scotland*.

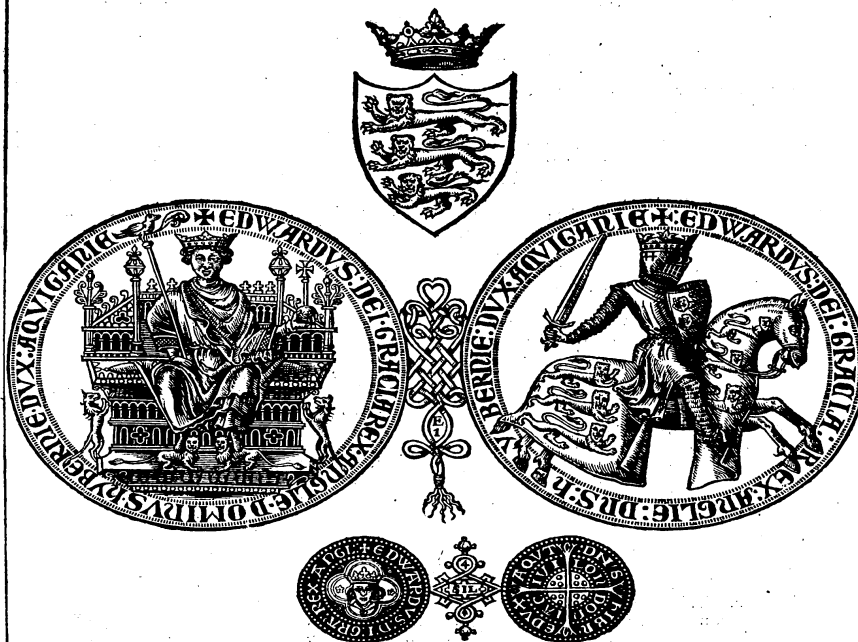
(113) *Beatrice* the second daughter of King *Henrie*, and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at *Bordeaux* in *Gascogne*, June. 25. An. 1242. of her Fathers raigne 27. At the age of eightene yeeres, shee was married to *John* the first Duke of *Britaine*, (sonne of *John* the last Earle of the same,) and had issue by him, *Arthur* Duke of *Britanny*, *John* Earle of *Richmont*, *Peter*, and *Blanch* married to *Philip*, sonne of *Robert* Earle of *Artoys*; *Eleanor* a Nunne at *Amsbery*, and *Marie* married to *Guy* Earle of *Saint Paul*: when shee had bene his wife twelue yeeres, and liued thirty yeeres, shee deceased in *Britanny*, in the first yeere of the Raigne of her brother King *Edward*, and was buried at *London*, in the Quire of the *Grey Fryers* within *Newgate*.

(114) *Catherine* the third daughter of King *Henry* and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at *London*, An. 1252. of her fathers raigne 37. *Novemb.* 25. being *Saint Katherines* day, whose name was therefore giuen vnto her, at the font, by *Boniface* Arch-Bishop of *Canterburie*, her mothers vnclie, who christened her, and was her Godfather. Shee died yong and at *Westminster* her bones lie entered, with her brother *Richard* and *John*, in the space betwene the Chappels of King *Edward* and *Saint Bennet*.



EDWARD

EDVVARD THE FIRST, LORD OF
IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQUI-
TAIN, &c. THE FORTIE-SEVENTH MO-
NARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE,
ACTS, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER X.



Edward, who followed *K. Henry* in wearing the *English* Crowne, but far out-went him in all regall vertues, was abroad at the time of his fathers death, still pursuing his high desires for the *Holy Warres*: wherein what he performed, (being yet but

a Prince,) against the public enemies of *Christians*, it shall not bee impertinent to touch, before wee come to his actions as a King; hauing already remembred, with what valour and felicity hee had subdued his Fathers domestick enemies, settled the peace of his Kingdome, and reestablished the raines of Soueraignty in his Fathers hands, which those potent Rebels had formerly extorted.

(2) King *Lewis* of *France*, whose persuasions had enflamed this noble-spirited Prince to associate him

in this glorious quarrell, hauing first set forth for the enterprise, lay now in siege of *Tunis* in *Africa*; where Prince *Edward* with all his forces arriuing, the *French King* (greatly reioicing in his wished presence,) together with the *King* of *Nauarre*, and other Princes of his Army, went forth to meet him, and receiued him in the kisse of Peace. This place which they beleaguered, was (as then) not great, yet by reason of the situation,* it greatly impeached the *Christians* in their passages through those Seas; being built out of the scattered ribs, and wasted ruines of that mighty and famous City *Carthage*, tial once in *Matesty* and *Ambition* with ancient *Rome*, as contending with her about the *Empire* of the World. Therefore to secure the *Mediterranean* Seas, it was thought necessary to beginne that enterprise for *Asia*, with this in *Africa*; but not long after *Lewis* yielding vppre his holy Soule to God at the siege, and sicknesse (by reason of the heates in those Regions, for it was *August*) raig-

Prince *Edward*
at *Tunis* in *Afri-*
ca.

**Paul. Amylin*
Lud. 2.

Continuatio
Mat. Par.

Prince Edward
willing to any
truce with the
Sarazens.

Paul. Army.

* Continuation
Mat. Par.

Prince Edwards
high resolution
to hold on his
enterprise.
* Custos Pallredi.
* Acron or Acron.

Heeariueh safe
at Acron.

Edwards volun-
tary single fight
with Sir Adam
Gordon.

ning in the Christian Campe, Charles King of Sicilie, whom Lewis (before his decease) had sent for, to take charge of the whole enterprise, armies; and after sharpe reinforcement of the siege, (where Edward gaue frequent prooffe of his great valour and prudence,) Charles is content to forebare extremity, (to which the Sarazens were brought) vpon capitulations with them, contrary to Edwards mind, being wholly set to subdue, conuert or root them out.

(3) Yet the points of the treaty & truce (though granted for many yeeres) carried shew of honour, being these: 1. that all Christian Captiues should bee free without ransom: that in the Cities of that Kingdome, the Christian faith might freely be taught: 2. that all such as were willing, might freely receiue sacred Baptisme: 4. that the Sarazens should repay to the Christian Kings, their charges: 5. that the King of Tunis should remaine tributarie to the King of Sicilie. The siege hereupon was raised, to the griefe and indignation of Edward, who would not (as is reported) partake nor share in any of the treasure, which by reason of the truce was payed by the Sarazens, as accounting it to be wickedly gotten, and contrary to the Tenor of the vow, which for the honour and aduancement of Christian Religion had beene made. The euental so seeming to confirme no less; for the wrath of Heauen (saith our * Author) pursued King Charles, brother to the late King Lewis, and finding him out vpon the sea in his returnetoward Sicilie, tooke seuerer reuenge by terrible weather, awfull vpon him, as almost his whole Army, which perished in the waters, together with the impious treasure brought from Tunis, and all other his furniture of State and Household. Which when Prince Edward vnderstood, hee sware by the blood of our Lord, that though all his Companions in Armes and Countreinen should abandon him, yet hee and Fowin his * Lackey alone would enter into * Ptolomais, and keepe the vow which he had made, whilst soule and body held together. A noble resolution, and as faithfully performed, but not with so final attendance; for the English hearing his feruent assertion, promised with one heart to accompanie him, and that (in all likelihood) the more willinglie, because it is not obserued, that the tempest had any way danished Edward, or his fellowship. He forthwith therefore sets sail toward Acron, into which hee entered safe not about four daies before the City should haue bene yielded to the Sarazens, from which precipitation their succours out of England withheld it. The Sultan of Babylon, who lay about Acron with a puissant host, and had begun to assault the breaches; hearing this, not long after raised his siege, and without the fruition of his desire withdrew to his owne Dominions.

(4) Edward vndoubtedly was not more tall of personage then stout of courage, and vpon trust thereof, doing some things, which perhaps a Prince of his hopes, and fortunes, might with good reason haue forborne. His vndaunted courage against those Infidels may be gesseid by the like against a domesticke Rebelle. Amongst those who were out-lawed for Rebellion & Treason, after the battell of Eueham for partaking with Simon Earle of Leicester, was one Sir Adam Gordon a Knight of the parts about Winchester, who with certaine his Complices kept out of the way of the Kings officers, but made the Kings high-way betwene Wilton and Farnham (which by reason of woods and windings was fitte to shelter enemies) very dangerous for such, as meant to passe, but doing most mischief to the lands and goods of such as were the Kings friends. Edward hearing of this mans singular courage, gets intelligence of a fit time, and comes vpon him with a strong band of followers, but he, nothing terrified, prepares himselfe to fight for his life to the last gaspe. The Prince hereupon commands that none of his men should dare to interrupt their Combat, and forthwith with

equall courage exchanged mighty blowes without winning ground each of other. Edward delighted with the brauery of Adams spirit, and prooffe of his manhood, had him yeeld, promising him life, and his lands again; who presently throwing away his weapons, enioyed the full benefite of Prince Edwards promise. The happinesse of that age, wherein Sword and Shield were the ordinary weapons, and afforded much assurance in fight, might somewhat excuse the Prince from the note of temerity, which otherwise, in hazarding his princely person against a priuat Gentleman, hee could hardly haue escaped. But here at Acron hee refused no occasion of putting forth the naturall strengthes of his firme-compacted body, till by the Sultans retreat the most honourable opportunities were subtracted.

(5) All this while did that renowned and vertuous Lady, Eleanor, wife of Prince Edward, endure with him an inseparable companion of all his fortunes, and was at Acron deliuered of a daughter, baptized there by the name of Ioan. But if God had not better provided for him, shee was not likely to haue enioyed any longer the deare company of her louing Lord and Husband. Amongst that bloody Sect of Sarazens, called Assassini, who, without feare of torments, undertake (vpon command of their * Superior) the murder of any eminent prince, impugning their irreligion, was one Anzazim, often vited by the Saracen Admirall of Toppe, as a Messenger betwene him and Edward, whom the Admirall pretended exceedingly to honour for his heroicke parts of mind and body. The desperate wretch by this employment getting credite and access, vpon his insinuation of certaine secrets to be imparted, Prince Edward commanded all men to void the Chamber, when looking out of a window, the Assassine sodainly with a poisoned knife giues him three wounds, two in the arme, and one neere the arme-pits, whom Edward presently with his foot threw to the earth, wrung the knife from the Traitor, (nor without wounding himselfe in the hand,) and with the tressel of a Table smote out his braines. Then calling in his people, hee commands that the body of the villain should bee hanged vpon the Cities Wall, and a liue dogge with him. The Admirall hearing of this trayterous attempt, is * said to haue sighed for sorrow, for that hee neuer knew thereof, but meant himselfe to haue become a Christian. But when the Christians vnderstood of this cursed assault vpon the person of so renowned a Prince, they ment in reuenge thereof, to haue forthwith invaded the Pagans wherefoeuer. But the Prince (whose first care was the safety of Christians) said, I forbid you on the behalfe of God, that none of you yet presume to infect the Pagans Armie, because many of our people are gone to visit the holy Sepulchre, who shall euery one of them bee murdered by the Sarazens, if they shall now sustaine any (though but small) vexation at our hands. The second care was of his wounds, which by reason of the envenomed blade were feared to be mortall; wherein the Lady Eleanor gaue so rare example of coniugal affection, as her immortal memory doth iustly impart glory to that whole Sex. For when no medicine could extract the poison, shee did it with her tongue, licking daily, while her husband slept, his rankling wounds, whereby they perfectly closed, and yet her selfe received no harmes; so saueraigne a medicine is a wifes Tongue, anointed with the vertue of lowely affection.

(6) Thus while Edward abode in forraigne parts for the generall service of Christianity, against the encrailing Enemies thereof, (contending then to that lamentable Greatnesse, wherein our vnhappy times beheld them;) his Father king Henrie dies, and Prince Edward had the defect of his presence supplied by the faith and care of such venerable and noble persons, as his Father left behind him at his death. Therefore Robert Kilsarby Archbishop of Canterbury, Gilbert Earle of Gloucester, with other the

Edwards deliuered
daughter at
Acron.

* or Sect.

Princes
traitorously
wounded
Assassine.

* canine
Peris.

A rare
of wifely
affection.

The

chiefe Prelates and Peeres of the land, assembling together at the New Temple in London, acknowledged and proclaimed absent Edward for their Soueraigne Liege Lord; and by the assent of his Mother, the Queene Dowager, provided for the common affaires of the King, and the good estate of the Kingdome. The first newes of his Fathers death were brought vnto him, when after his return from the Holy Land (which seruice hee was * enforced to forsake, having long in vaine expected the promised aids of Christians, and Tartars,) he rested himselfe in Sicilia, with Charles the King thereof; where to the immortal commendation of his pietie, and filiall affection (rare in Princes) it is recorded, that the death of his Sonne and Heire, coming first to his care, and afterward of the King his Father, hee much more sorrowed his Fathers departure, then his Sonnes: whereat King Charles greatly maruailed, and demanding the reason, had of him this answer: *I were; The losse of Sonnes is but light, because they are multiplied euery day: but the death of Parents is irreparable, because they can neuer bee had againe.*

(7) Now, whether it were the terrour of such reuenge as followed the captiuation of his valiant Predecessor King Richard, or his owne wilier carriage, or the calmer condition of the times, or all of them together, which secured him in his returne: certaine it is, that hee trauelled in great safety and honour ouer land from Sicilia to Rome, where hee was met vpon the way with all the Cardinals, gratulating the honourable successe of his Chaeualrie against the Turkes, his safe returne, and new Kingdome. At his instance Pope Gregory * excommunicated the bloody-handed Guy Monford (because * his person could not easily bee gotten, by reason of his Greatnesse, and power) with all his receiuees, and (vntill amends were made) put their whole Dominions vnder interdict, for that the said Guy, (sonne to Simon, late Earle of Leicester, slain at the battell of Eueham) in reuenge of his Fathers death (for which he mortally hated all King Henries race) had most butcherly murdered * Henry of Almaine, King Edwards neere kinsman, vpon his returne toward England, in the raigne of the late King Henry, as hee was devoutly seruing God in the Church at Viterbo in Italie; which horrible act induceth a * iudicious Author to suspect, that Guy also had a hand in that Assassination on Edward, who had slaine his Father. This Guy being afterward taken by the Admirall of Aragon, to gratifie King Edward, was kept in prison, & the death of Henrie reuenged * with his. From Rome hee iourned through the Cities of Italy, where hee was generally entertained with exceeding ioy and honour; and as hee was * entering into Sauidy, at the roope, or descent of the Alpes, very many of the Prelates, and Peeres of England met him, acknowledging their gladnesse for his safety, and their duties to his Soueraignty. In his passage, hee gaue notable prooffe of his great prowess and strength at a Tournament (or rather * battell) against * the Earle of Chaboun, and his Burgundians: for the said Count being a gallant man at Armes, after many blowes with the sword betwene King Edward and him, throwing away his weapon, graspt the King about the gorger, and hung vpon him with the weight of his masie body, in hope to cast him to the earth; but the King, sitting vpright, without any bending, put spurres to his lusty horse, and lifted the Count to hanging about his necke, quite from his Saddle, carrying him away, till hee had forcibly shooke him off to the ground, who recouering himselfe, & comming to redeeme his disgrace, had such entertainment, as hee was contented to yeeld. In our effeminate and degenerate age, to omit such an achievement of a King of Engnd in his owne person, had bene hainous and pinculum. Thus his renowne encreasing with his progresse, hee had magnificent entertainment in France, of Philip the king,

Lampin

1274.

Princes
traitorously
wounded
Assassine.

Lampin

Lampin

1274.

Lampin

A rare
of wifely
affection.

The

to whom (vpon condition to haue such territories restored, as were promised to his Father King Henrie, when he sold Normandie to the French) hee did homage for such Signiories, as he held of the Crown of France.

(8) And as well to shew his owne moderation & princely temperance, (a vertue which makes euery man a King in himselfe, and Kings like to Gods) as also his reuerence to the Crowne of France, whose Homager hee was for his transmarine Dominions, Gausco de Biern, a valiant man of Armes, being in actual rebellion against K. Edward in his Dutchie of Gascoigne, was admitted to appeale for triall of his pretended causes to the French King, as the superior Lord. Many of King Edwards friends and Counsellours were vtterly aduerse to this fauour, aswell because the said Gausco had drawne the King to no small charge, and labour, as also for that now hee was brought by strait siege to such extremities, as tht hee could no longer hold out, and himselfe, hauing all that while put his confidence in walles of stone; and the weapons points, there was also little reason to allow him an ordinary ciuill triall of his pretexs for taking arms; and many perhaps, both thought the example prejudicious to King Edward and his Successors, by giuing way to such appeales, and distrust the iustice of the French Court: Contrary to all which, the King decreed, and it was fortunate with him; for Gausco (not long after) was condemned in France, and sent with * an halter about his necke, to prostrate himselfe to iustice, or mercy at King Edwards feete in England, who pardoned him the forfeiture of life, & (when hee had for certaine yeeres kept him prisoner at Winchester) set him at liberty, and sent him backe to his own, who remained for euer after gratefully firme and loyall.

(9) King Edward (his transmarine affaires thus being settled) arrived in England, where hee was after so long desirings most ioyfully welcome, and there, in the Church of Westminster (the magnificent newwork of his deceased Father, who had with great cost, and after about fifty yeeres spent therein, almost finished the same) he and his dearest Eleanor were anointed, and crowned by * Robert Kilsarby Archbishop of Canterbury. There were present at this solemnity Queen Eleanor the Kings mother, * Alexander King of Scots, the Duke of Britaine, with multitudes of Peeres and others: where (as * one saith) for the more royall celebration of this great feat, and honor of so martiall a King, there were five hundred great Horses let loose, euery one to take them for his own, who could.

(10) The finall abolishment of succession of the Welsh blood in the Principality, or chieftdom of Wales now ensued: but yet (as great matters vie) not first without some time, and certaine degrees. The original was this; King Edward hauing sent for Lewelin Prince of Wales to his Coronation, there to doe him homage; he, excusing the same, was againe (for that cause) admonished to repaire to the Kings Parliament at Westminster: whether likewise hee forbore to come, pretending it was danger to his person, but * directing his excuse to the Archbishops of Canterbury and Yorke, and their Suffragans, professed his readinesse, if it would please the King, *either to send a Commission for taking his Oath, and Fealty, (who bare him a deepe displeasure, euer * since Lewelin had put him, being then but Earle of Chester, to the worke) or else, to appoint some indifferent place, or giue to him for hostages the * Kings sonne, and Robert Earle of Gloucester, with Robert Burrell the Kings Chancellor.* But King Edward dissembling the arrogance of the demand for the present, went forward in his Parliament, where the first Statutes, called of Westminster, and among them the Statute of Mortmain were enacted. But after the Parliament, the King repaired to his City of Chester, being very neere to Wales, and Lewelin forefollowed his comming thither also; wherefore the King, resolving (for deniall

Lampin

* or Sect.

Princes
traitorously
wounded
Assassine.

* canine
Peris.

A rare
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Prince Edwards
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with Sir Adam
Gordon.

Edward delighted with the brauery of Adams spirit, and prooffe of his manhood, had him yeeld, promising him life, and his lands again; who presently throwing away his weapons, enioyed the full benefite of Prince Edwards promise. The happinesse of that age, wherein Sword and Shield were the ordinary weapons, and afforded much assurance in fight, might somewhat excuse the Prince from the note of temerity, which otherwise, in hazarding his princely person against a priuat Gentleman, hee could hardly haue escaped. But here at Acron hee refused no occasion of putting forth the naturall strengthes of his firme-compacted body, till by the Sultans retreat the most honourable opportunities were subtracted.

Edward J. ENGLANDS MONARCHS. Monarch 47.

(20) The names of the *Competitors* were these, according to *Walsingham*, *Erick*, King of Norway, who appeared by his Attorneys; *Florence*, Earle of Holland; *Robert le Brus*, Lord of *Amundale*; *John de Baliol*, Lord of *Galway*; *John de Hastings*, Lord of *Abergueny*; *John Comin*, Lord of *Badenaw*; *Patrick de Dunbar*, Earle of *Mar*; *John de Vesci*, on his Fathers behalf; *Nicholas de Sules*; *William de Rosse*. These all peaceably submitted themselves, for so much as concerned their *feudal titles to the Scottish Crowne*, to the final award and arbitration of King Edward, passing thereof an authenticke Instrument vnto him; who hauing giuen caution to restore the realme of Scotland, (within a certaine prefixed time,) to that party to whom the Crowne thereof should be adjudged, had feisid deliuered to him, the better to put the sentence in execution, or (say the writers of that nation) they giuing him power to constrain the parties to stand to this sentence. The whole carriage of which weighty business, being so diuerly related and censured by the writers of both nations, (though for the present it be not material, both Kingdoms now blessedly acknowledging one absolute *Superiour*) wee will fo trace the steps of truth in a middle way, as resolving neither to impeach the action of that glorious vmpier, nor preiudicate the right of our noble sister nation. The State of Scotland now was not without manifest perill; for the Scots * denying that their Kingdom was in anie point subalterne to the Crowne of England, and King Edward either perswaded that it was so, or resolving and plotting now to make it so, would not neglect the aduantage of this * *Acephalis* or want of a known head in Scotland.

(21) Vpon full ventilation therefore and scanning of all rights, the maine doubt rested vpon Lord *Brus* and *Baliol*, for the residue might seeme rather to affect the honour of hauing pretended title in blood to a Diademe, then to haue colour to contend with either of them. Great was the aduise, and deliberation (as there was cause) which King Edward tooke therein, for not trusting to his owne iudgement, hee called (saith * *Heitor Boetius*) twelve of the best Clerks or learned men of Scotland, and twelve of England to concurre as Assessors with him in that great decision.

(22) While this weighty cause was in debatement, there fell out deadlie strife betwene the English and Normans, occasioned by one of them casually slaine by the English; which mischiefe the King of France forwardly nourish, as thirsting for the dutchy of *Gascoigne*, which he might attain by troubling the forreine affaires of King Edward, whom they saw now entangled at home in so weighty employments. Whereupon the Normans slew sundry of the English, and hang vpon one vpon the mast of a Shippe, whom they had taken at Sea; but, ere long after, threecore English ships encountering with two hundredth saile of Normans, laden with wines, after a most bloody batel (wherein many * thousands of the French were slaine) tooke, with their whole fleet, their full reuenge, and brought them into England.

(23) At last yet King Edward returning to *Berwick*, hauing with him the said twenty foure Assessors, as it were a iury of either nation, * and, with the good will and assent of the Scottish Lords, gaue solemne iudgement with *Baliol*, as being defended of the eldest daughter of *David*, Earle of *Huntington*, a younger sonne of Scotland; whose issue (the line of the elder brother being extinct) was to inherit, without question. But the strife being betwene the descendents of the said *David*, of which the Lord *Robert Bruce* was also a principall, reasons of importance were produced, which drew many mens iudgements, to incline to him, as hauing a nearer interest to that Crowne. But according to the sentence, *Baliol* was solemnly crowned King of Scotland vpon *S. Andrews* day, and, in *Christmas* following, repaired to King Edward, at *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*, and * there (against the minds of many Scots) did homage vnto him for the

whole Kingdom of Scotland.

(24) Meantime the French King pursued the reuenge of the Normans, demanding restitution, and citing King Edward iudicially to appeare to answer such wrongs, as were done in *Aquitaine*; who, (desirous to settle his owne affaires at home, or, as some write, * eager vpon a match for himselfe in France) while hee discounted either his unwillingness to appeare in that kind, or to warre, suffered himselfe by a French deuisse, to be merely deceived, and put out of his possession of *Gascoigne*, to the great mischiefe, and disaduantage of the English: whereupon K. Edward highly incensed, called a Parliament at *London*, where *John* King of Scotland was present; and had the full consent of the whole Realme, to reigne that himselfe by the sword which was craftily gotten away by a cunning trick, * renouncing to the French his homage for *Aquitaine*. Wales also was at the same time full of troubles; but the fires of rebellion, there rashly kindled, were, not long after, quenched with the blood of the Actors, and thousands of their Complices.

(25) *Baliol* hauing thus obtained the Crowne of Scotland, and finding his party, by the homage which hee had made to King Edward, much empaired among the Scots, who greatly repined thereat; for regaining their loues, * attempted a secret combination with the French against the English; which Edward ignorant of, and * requiring him by vertue of his homage to aid him with all his powers against the King of France, * discovered (by *Baliols* delays, and traueises) the said conspiracy. Whereupon hee aduanced forward against the Scots with a puissant armie to *Newcastle* vpon *Tyne*: The first blood which was drawne was of the English, of whom, the Scots * slew almost one thousand in a village vnder the leading of one *Robert de Ros*, who had fled from King Edward: The City of *Carlisle* likewise was assaulted, and the County of *Cumberland* spoiled by seuen Earles of Scotland, and their companies, which to Edward was not greatly displeasing, (as was said) for that the first hostile acts were done by them, whom hee had a full purpose to subdue, that at last he might see sole in *Albion*, which, had not God refused for other times, we might wonder he effected not.

(26) King Edward therefore presented himselfe before the strong Towne of *Berwick* with a mighty host, there to aulpicate his entrance to a conquest of Scotland; and, after summons sent to the Towne, abode one whole day, without offer of violence: The Townesmen refusing to render, had a victory of the English Mariners, who rashly entering, with twentie and foure Ships into the harbour, were repelled with the losse of foure of their vessels, which was soone reuenged by the forceable taking of *Berwick*, where * *Heitor Boetius* saith, there was exercised great cruelty by the English. In the Towne, the Flemish Merchants (who were smothered by the English with fire) had a very strong house in the manner of a Tower, from whence they leueld, at the entering of the English, with darts, and iaculins, one of which casually slew *Richard of Cornwal*, a gallant Gentleman brother to the Earle of *Cornwal*, which, in an army heated with former contumelies, for the Scots vpon the slaughter and repulse which they had made of the English mariners, published certaine rimes in derision, as

(VVhat wens King Edward with his Longshanks,
To haue wonne Berwicke, all our vnthanks? &c.)

together with the remembrance of many fresh strewd turnes, might stirre vp bloody effects. After the Towne was thus taken, the Castle after stood not long out, but rendered it selfe. * Sir *William Douglas*, capitaine thereof, was detained prisoner, and (as * some write) Sir *Robert Bruce*: others were suffered to depart, vpon oath to beare no armes from thenceforth against the King of England. The losse of this important Towne, and Castle was very great, for it was the key, and common Bulwarke of Scotland.

(27) While

(27) While the English, at this place, were busied to cast a very deepe ditch, to hinder the fodeine inroads of their enemies, *John* King of Scotland, sent two religious men to the King of England with * letters; in which, alledging that he was by Oath bound to defend his owne kingdom, and people, he renounced his homage, and fealties, as extorted by violence, and void in it selfe, being made without assent of the three estates of his Realme. The resignation was admitted, King Edward commanding his Chancellor to record the same for perpetuall memorie, as a iustification of his proceedings.

(28) The Scots hereupon, vnder the conduct of the Earles of *Bucchan*, *Meneth*, *Strathern*, *Ros*, *Arthol*, *Marr*, and other of their nobility, made an incursion into England, whence with the spoiles of two religious houses, and other booties they returned: But *Patrick* Earle of *Dunbarre* came to King Edward submitting himselfe; and the Castle of *Dunbarre* (by this submission being vnder King Edwards protection) was regained by Scots: For recouerie, or surregaining whereof, the King sent *John* Earle of *Surrey*, and *Suffex*, and *William* Earle of *Warwick*, who were entertained with batted by the Scottish nation, of whom the English, * after cruell fight, obtained a victory of great importance, the chafe holding about eight miles, in which the slaughter was not small. The siege of *Dunbarre* being reinforced, King Edward had it yeilded vnto him, at his coming, wherein were taken three Earles, fixe or seuen Barons, besides many knights, and Esquires, which were all sent prisoners to diuerse Castles of England, and (if some say true) not put to the sword (as *Heitor* transported perhaps with hatred to Edward writes) contrary to his word, and faith giuen.

(29) King Edward knowing as well how to vse a victorie, as to get it, hauing a present spirit vpon all aduantages, and turnes of fortune, takes the Castle of *Rocksbrough*, and (for a small end to this affaire) marcheth to *Edenburgh* it selfe (the chiefe Towne of Scotland) which * was shortly rendered: Then tooke they *Striueling* also, and draue *Baliol* to the * Castle of *Forfar*: where *John Comin* Lord of *Sirabogie* submitted himselfe to King Edward. About this time there came to the English campe great numbers of Welsh souldiers, with whom hee releued many of the English footemen, tyred with seruice, sending them backe into England. Thither also came the Earles of *Ylster* with bands of Irish.

(30) The King of England prospering thus, past with his army ouer the * Scottish Sea, where while he kept the feast of *Saint John Baptists* * at *Perth* (or *Saint Johns Towne*) there came messengers from *Baliol*, and the Lords his factors, to sue for mercy, which was granted vpon condition, that they should render themselves to him as his subiects. * *Heitor Boetius* saith, that after this agreement (wherein * *Anthony* Bishop of *Durham* was vied) *John Comin* brought *Baliol*, void of all kingly habiliments with a white rod in his hand, to the English campe at *Montror*, where hee resigned his whole right that he either had, or might haue to the Crowne of Scotland, into King Edwards hands, and made thereof a formall Charter in French, and at the same time also (for feare of life) gaue his sonne Edward for hostage, and assurance of his fealties; by which final disclaimer, the Lord *Bruce* right might seeme now vnquestionable. But this resignation being thus made, King Edward returns to *Berwick*, where * all the Nobles of Scotland (at a Parliament there holden) were sworne to be loyal, and true subiects to King Edward for euer after: and * hereof a solemne instrument was sealed by the said Lords (of whom *John Comin* of *Badenaw* was first) bearing date at *Berwick* in the twentie fifth yeere of the reigne of their Soueraigne Lord King Edward.

(31) *John* the late King, was sent to the Tower of *London*, and there was honourably attended, hauing liberty for twenty miles about. The Scottish Lords were confined within *Trent*, ouer which Riuer they

might not passe toward Scotland, vpon paine of life: The custody of Scotland was committed to *John de Warren*, Earle of *Surrey* and *Suffex*, and the *Treasurership* thereof to *Hugh de Cressingham*; but *William de Ormesby* was ordained Iusticiar, with this particular commandement, that hee should take the homages and fealties of all such as held lands of the King. And the more to shew his purpose, vtterly to dissolue the distinct Regality of Scotland, and to write it to the English Monarchie, as hee had done Wales, hee tooke out of *Edinburgh* the Crowne, Scepter and Cloath of State, offering them vp at * *Saint Edwards* shrine in *Westminster*, if the Author mistake not, for at *Saint Thomas* at *Canterbury*, * hee offered vp *Baliols* Crowne saith another, and (besides many other Acts tending to the abolishment of the Scottish Name, which * *Heitor* relates, as the burning their Records, abrogating their lawes, altering their forms of diuine seruice, and transplanting all their learned men thence vnto his Vniuersity of *Oxford*.) hee tooke out of the * Abbey of *Scene* the * *Marble Chaire*, in which the Kings of Scotland were wont to bee crowned, and sent the same to *Westminster*, for Priests to sit therein at Celebration. This Chaire is the same vpon which was engrauen, the famous Propheticall Distichon:

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocunque locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tuncntur ibidem,*

*If Fates goe right, where ere this stone is pight,
The Regall race of Scots shall rule that place.*

Which by whomsoever it was written, we who now liue, finde it happily accomplished. But these great Acts of this yeere brought to the Commones of England small commodity, vpon whom the charge of the warres lay heauily, and it is not often found, that the people gaine much by their Princes Conquests.

(32) The force of Scotland with a greater force being thus for the present broken, who would suppose, that it could once again haue lifted vp the head, and that chiefly by the particular vertue of a priuate man, as it after hapned? which hee had the more opportunity to doe, for that the King of England was diuerly diuerted by occasion of warres in *Gascoigne* for recovery of his owne, and for aid of his friends in *Flanders*, whom the French did afflict in hostile manner. The Captaine of the reuolted troupes in Scotland, was one *William Wallace* (the sonne of * *Sir Andrew Wallace* of *Cragie* Knight, though some * vpon heere say, write contemptibly of his course of life, as of a publike robber) who, by the assistance of such as were outlawed, for refusing to doe their homage to King Edward, draue *William de Ormesby* (the Kings Iusticiar) out of Scotland. Which King Edward hearing, discharged *John Comin* of *Badenaw*, and the Earle of *Bucchan* from their confinement, to the intent, that hee might by their endeouours, the sooner settle matters, but withall hee gaue *John de Warren* Earle of *Surrey* commission to leue an Army: and the king (loath to bee hindered from his other definitions) easily yeilded to such requests as were propounded on the Scots behalfe for that time. The voyage which hee had then in hand, was to transport from *Winchelsea* an Armie, to assit the Earle of *Flanders* his confederate.

(33) England at this time was not without great discontentments, which *Humfrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex* Constable of England, and *Roger Bigot* Earle of *Norfolke*, Marshall of England, did countenance; for present satisfaction whereof, the King yeilded (among other things) to confirme * *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*, and that * there should no Subsidie nor taxation bee leuied vpon the people, without the consent of the Prelates, Peeres, and people. But before this time, and while the King was absent out of the land, the Scots vnder the leading of * *William Wallace*, put to * flight, the Earle *Warren* and all the English Forces which were with him.

R r r r

of their Monarchie in Britaine, upheld, in some sort, their liberty, when the English had twice by Danes, and Normans, in the meane time, utterly lost it.

(46) Scotland (saith **Heftor*) being in this manner subdued and all the strengths of buildings, and the Nobility thereof at King Edwards disposition, he having ordered the affaires thereof as himselfe thought best, left the custodie thereof againe to **Seigneur*, and in his triumphall returne through England from Dunfermlin in Scotland where he kept his Christmas, caused the Courts of the Bench, and Elchequer, which had bene seuen yeere kept at Yorke (for the more commoditie of his Scottish expeditions) to be reduced to London, their ancient residence. Moreover he ordained Justitiars for Traillbaston, who were to inquire of man-slaughters, **Ruffians*, Disseisors, Boot-halers, Incendiaries, and other perturbors of the common quiet, and them to punish, by fine, death and otherwise, which brought to the Realme much rest, and to the King much riches.

A.D. 1306.

(47) But, the more to secure King Edward in the Scottish kingdom, it was not long, but that William Wallace (whom an Earle of Scotland in the beginning of his resistances had honoured (saith *Walsingham*) with the girdle of **Knight-hood*) was brought vp prisoner to London, being treasonably taken at Glasgow by one Sir John Menteith (though **Polydore Vergil* saith the English took him in warre) where he had publicke triall at Westminster, and **denying* that he was a Traitor to the King of England, was there for other his crimes (as burning of Townes, taking of Castles, killing the English, &c.) adjudged to death, which sentence was executed vpon him, and his head and quarters set vp in severall places over the land, his right leg at Perth or Saint Johns Towne in Scotland, and his left at Aberdeen. This was the end of Wallace, whom his Country had once by common consent chosen for their defender, and **Captaine Generall*, and, for his deserts towards her, doth place in glory farre above the starrs, as the only person, by whose example, the Scots had their spirits kept awake, and quicke vpon all occasions, by which they might recover the Government out of the hands of the English, whose reigne over them this Wallace neither by faire means, nor by force could ever bee drawne to endure, or looke vpon with a patient eie, whom though (with *Heftors* **translation*) we doe not call a Martyr, yet must we thinke his Country honoured in him, wishing many the like in our owne.

(48) Let no man now make doubt to write vp King Edward among the greatest of our English Monarchs, for (besides the whole lands of Britaine and Ireland) hee also held Aquitaine, which about two yeeres before, the King of France (entangled with troubles otherwise) did restore, and the City of Burdeaux of the owne accord submitted it selfe againe to the English Scepter, as that wherewith it had formerlie bene so long, and well acquainted; and to gratifie the same Edward the King of France also banished the Scots out of his dominions. Thus was King Edward possessed of Scotland; which nevertheless (that the world may see Gods hand in translating of Kingdomes, being a point of his prerogative) was not long after plucked from his sonne; and the calamities which the Scots had suffered, whelmed backe vpon the English. Which peculiar art of diuine providence: you will more easily acknowledge, when you shall behould by how naked an instrument he raised againe the Scottish Common-wealth out of that dust, in which for a little season it seemed to lie buried.

(49) Wallace therefore being taken out of the way, the Lord Robert Bruce (betweene whom, and the unfortunate Baliol the maine strife lay for the Diadem) beholding the state of his Country, for which Wallace, without interest to the Crowne thereof, had stood so nobly, and desirous to giue it a new head by making himselfe King (whereto by Baliols surrender his other right was made more passable) had for that purpose entered into a conspiracy with Cumyn, whose

disclosure thereof (as Scots doe write) brought into apparent danger the Lord Bruces life, who was then attendant in the Court of England. King Edward vpon the first discovery of the plot not crediting the same, Bruce, most constantly denying it, and calling the accusation, with good probability, vpon Cumyns enuie, had time, and warning to escape. For an Earle (saith *Boetius*) sent vnto him twelue Striueling pence, and a paire of sharpe spurs, presently vpon his departure from the King, which he wittily interpreted to be a Symbole of speedie flight. According wherunto he forthwith sped from London, where King Edward kept Christmas, shooing his horses backward, that he might not be followed by their prints vpon the snow, and with his owne hand thrust his sword into Cumyn in the Church of the Friars Minors at Dunfermlin in Scotland, whom two of Bruces friends with other mortall thrusts dispatched. Bruce knowing now no way to answer the fact, but by open defection, which he did refuse vpon, did thereupon procure himselfe to be crowned King of Scotland about our Ladies day in March in the Abbey of Scone.

(50) Such an attempt as this could not be long hidden from King Edward, who hauing at the Whitsonide next after honored Edward Prince of Wales, his eldest sonne, with the order of Knighthood at London, sent him against King Robert into Scotland, attended with a troupe of noble young gentlemen, Aimerie de Valence Earle of Pembroke; Robert de Clifford, and Henry de Percie being gone before with an Armie, and King Edward preparing to come after, appointing the Remedeous of his owne host to beat Carleil. Where, in a Parliament, besides prouisions for the warres, sundry consultations and courses were entred, for repelling another kind of enemye no lesse dangerous to the State, to wit, the Pope, and his still continued extorsions in this Land whereof greuous complaints were made in that Assembly; and both the Clergy there **appealed* from the Popes Bull, and his Cardinal-Legats exactions: and also the Kings Councell was driven to enact some orders for bridling their excessive depilations.

(51) Meane time Aymery de Valence at Perth in Scotland had put to flight King Robert Bruce, & pursued him so neer, that he tooke his wife, his brother Nigelus, and others, but himselfe escaped into the most fles of Scotland. This handle taken at the entrance to his Regalltie, draue his people into such despaire of his future better fortunes, that there remained only two friends vnto him, the Earle of Lenox, and Gilbert Haythe rest, as the Earle of Athol, at London, (who had twise reuoluted) and his brother Nigelus at Berwick, were put to death as all others his chiefe partakers were, or else kept prisoners in England. In which number was King Roberts wife (daughter to the Earle of Vester in Ireland) and his daughter, the Bishops of Glasgow, and Saint Andrewes, the Abbot of Scone and others. The Countesse of Buequhan, sister to the Earle of Fife (then absent in England at his mannor of Whitwick in Leicestershire, whose office it was to haue crowned the Scottish King) was also taken; and because (in her brothers absence) shee had stolne from the Earle her husband, with all his great horse, to set the Diadem vpon Bruces head, it was deuised that shee should be set in a wooden Cage (made **Crowne*-wife) vpon the wals of Berwick Castle, for all to wonder at. This ridiculous reuenge was held sufficient, without taking her life, though shee were a manlike woman, and did herein but the part of a noble spirited Lady. Thus was King Robert (saith the Scottish **translation* of Boetius) brought to such misery, that hee was sometime naked and hungry without meat, or drinke, saw only water and roots of herbs, and his life perpetually in danger. Howbeit, hee neuer forsooke himselfe, but as one that had firme trust in God, cherished an hope in his minde, at one time or other to recover the Crowne. In which condition hee exhibited himselfe so noble a spectacle as in which

which euen the **mortal* Heathen doe teach, that the Gods themselves took pleasure; how then can Christians looke off? Certainly, all generous spirits, whom cruell injuries oppress, haue reason to dwell in this patternne of Christian magnanimity and patience.

(52) King Edward also on the other side (like a Christian Prince) as hee had some yeeres before, by his speciall letters (directed to the Archbishoppe of Canterbury,) requested that publicke prayers should be made to Almighty God for him, his Realme and people, that the heavenly Maiesty would direct his way and workes to the glory of his holy name, and advancement of the Kingdomes; so now repayed hee with his Lords to Westminster, after this discomfite of his enemies, there solemnly to render vnto God his humble thanks for the Conquest, wherof hee thus held himselfe assured. Which confidence drew him on so farre, that now (his turns being serued, as he thought against the Scots) hee refused to stand to the confirmation which hee had made to the Barons, of such lawes and liberties as haue before bene mentioned, pretending that they had forced his consent: and doubtles, as great was the Kings fault thus to renounce what hee had solemnly sworne, (**though indeed it was on some necessity and enforcement*) so the Popes warranting thereof (which certainly encouraged the King therunto) is most execrable, who afterward absolved him (as other Popes had done to his Predecessors) from obseruance of that oath.

(53) The miraculous deliuerance of Scotland was now at hand; for the noble Bruce, not staying till King Edward were dead (who was now about threescore and eight yeeres of age) came forth out of the Scottish lands with such powers as hee had gotten together, taking the Castles of Carricke, Inverness, and many other, doing many things about the opinion of his meanes. To put an end to all which troubles, King Edward resolu'd once againe in person (notwithstanding his age,) to enter Scotland with a mighty host, which hee appointed to attend him at Carleil in Cumberland, three weekes after Midsummer day: where God visiting him with his last sickness, hee commanded his Sonne the Prince to repaire with speed vnto him, vnto whom being come, hee vttered many admonitions and precepts, the summe wherof was **this*.

(54) That he should be mercifull, iust and courteous, constant in word and deed, familiar to the good, and toward such as were in distresse alwaies pitifull. **That* after his death he should not hasten to take the Crowne of England, till hee had honourably reuenged the injuries of his Father, and accomplished the present seruice. That hee should carry his Fathers bones about with him in some coffin, till hee had marched through all Scotland, and subdued all his enemies, for that none should bee able to overcome him while his Skeleton marched with him. Moreover, hee commanded the said Prince to loue his Brethren, **Thomas* and **Edmund*; but specially to tender and respect his mother Queene Margaret. **That* vpon paine of his malediction, and curse, hee should not presume without common consent to repeale Piers de Gaueslon, who for abusing the tender yeeres of the Prince with wicked vanities, by common decree was banished. That whereas himselfe, by the continuall; and new attempts of Bruce, could not in person (according to his vow) make warre in the Holy-land, therefore hee should fend his Heart thither, accompanied with seuen score Knights, and their retinues, for whose support hee had prouided thirty & two thousand pounds of siluer. That his Hart being so by them conuayed, hee did hope in God, that all things there would prosper with them. Lastly, That vpon paine of eternall damnation, on the said money should not be expended vpon any other uses.

(55) With these admonitions dismissing the light young man from his presence, to accomplish (so pro-

vident was hee to the very end of his late affaires) the marriage with the French Kings Daughter, which had bene formerly agreed vpon between the Parents; hee advanced neerer to the enemy vnto Burgh upon Sands, where his lingering Discontent encreased (for that was the sickness wherof hee died, though one maliciously sayth, hee died suddenly, without shew of repentance for his finnes) hee tooke his **leau* of this world, after no lesse preparation (no doubt) for his owne soules health, then careful premonition for the carriage of his sonne, and ordering of his Kingdom. Which pious Prince raigne and life, we cannot here shut vp with a nobler Euloge, then that wherewith our Great and Iudicious Antiquary hath already depicted him, as a Prince of chiefe renowne, to whose heroicke mind God proportioned (as a most worthy mansion) a body amforable, so that as well in beauty and goodly presence, as in wisdom and valour, hee was suitable to the height of his Regall Dignity, whose flourishing youth his Destinie did exercise with many warres and troubles of the State, so to frame and fite him for the Britis Empire; which, being King, hee managed with the glory of his Welsh and Northern victories, that by due desert hee is to bee reputed a chiefe honour of Britannie.

His Wines.

(56) Eleanor, the first wife of King Edward, was sister to Alphonfus King of Castile, Daughter to King Ferdinand the third, and onlie Child of Ioan his second wife, Daughter and Heire of Iohn Earle of Ponthieu. Shee was married to him at Burges in Spaine in the thirty ninth yeere of King Henry his Father, 1254. shee was crowned with him the day of his Coronation, and liuing his wife (in louely participation of all his troubles, and long voiaiges) thirty six yeeres, died at Herdeby in Lincolnshire, November 29. of her husbands raigne 19. An. Do. 1290. shee is buried at Westminster at the feet of King Henry the third, vnder a faire marble Tombe, adorned with her portraiture of Copper gilt; **other* costly monuments of her husbands loue being in euery place erected where her Hearse rested, as it was conueyed from Herdeby to Westminster.

(57) Margaret his second wife being sister of Philip the fourth, furnished the Faire, King of France, and eldest daughter of King Philip the Hardy, sonne of S. Lewis, was married vnto him at Canterbury, on Thursday, September 8. of her husbands raigne 27. An. D. 1299. after almost eight yeeres marriage, suruiuing him, shee remained a widow ten yeeres, and deceasing 10. of Edward 2. An. D. 1317. was buried at the Gray-Fryers in London before the Altar in the Quire which her selfe had built.

His Issue.

(58) Iohn the eldest sonne of King Edward and Queene Eleanor was borne at Windsor in the raigne of King Henry his Grandfather, before his Fathers voyage into Syria, and in his absence, was committed to the charge of Richard King of Romans, his great vnclie, and others, who procured principall men of euery Hundred in each County within the Realme, to sweare their fealty to his father and him, but hee died shortly after, being a Child, & was buried at Westminster by the wall, betwene S. Edmunds and S. Bennets Chappell, August 8. in the last yeere of King Henry his Grandfathers raigne; there is remaining ouer him a Tombe of Marble inlaid with his picture in an Archedoier.

(59) Henry the second sonne of King Edward and Queene Eleanor, deceased also being a Child, the newes of whose death was brought to his Father, being then in the Isle of Sicill in his returne from the Holy Land, not long before the report of his owne fathers death came to his knowledge: he was buried

in Saint Peters Church at Westminster, the twentieth day of November, in the first year of his Fathers reign, Ann. Dom. 1272. in the same place, and vnder the same Tombe where his brother John lies with his picture also in the Arch about it.

(60) *Alphons*, the third sonne of *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor* was borne at the Towne of *Maine* in *Gascogne*, as his father and mother were in their returne towards *England* from *Jerusalem*, November 23. in the second yeare of his fathers reign, 1273. hee deceased at *Windsor*, August 4. in the twelfth yeere of his age, 1285. and was buried at *Westminster* in Saint Peters Church by Saint Bennets Chappell, where his body lieth vnder the Tombe of his Brothers, *John* and *Henry*, his Image also there portraied with theirs.

(61) *Edward*, the fourth sonne of King *Edward*, and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne April 25. in the thirteenth yeere of his fathers reign, 1284. at *Cacernan* in *Northwales*, and after the death of *Lewelin ap Griffith*, in regard of the place of his Natiuity, was by his fathers Creation, with the consent of the *Welsh* made Prince of *Wales*, the first of the sonnes and heires apparant of the Kings of *England*, that bare that Title, which afterward became ordinary to most of the rest: hee was also Earle of *Ponthieu* and *Chester*, and being made Knight by his father at *London* on Whitsunday, in the thirty fourth yeere of his Raigne, 1306. succeeded him the same year in the Kingdome of *Wales*.

(62) *Eleanor*, the eldest daughter of King *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor* was borne at *Windsor* in the fiftieth yeare of King *Henry* her Grandfather, shee was married with all Ceremonies of Proxie to a Deputy for *Alphons* King of *Aragon*, sonne of King *Peter*, who deceased A.D. 1292. before the solemnization of marriage, leauing his Kingdome to his brother *James*, and his new wife to another husband, who was married at *Brissol* in the two and twentieth yeere of her fathers reign, 1293. to *Henry* the 3. Earle of *Bavrie*, whose Earldome lay in the East borders of *Champaigne* in *France*. Shee had Issue by him *Edward* Earle of *Bavrie*, from whom descended the Earles and Dukes of that Country, whose inheritance by Heires generally deuolued to the Kings of *Aragon*, and from them again to the Dukes of *Anjou* that were Kings of *Sicill*. *Henrie* another sonne of hers was Bishoppe of *Trois* in *Champaigne*. *Helen* her Daughter was married to *Henry* Earle of *Boys*; and *Joan* to *John* Warren Earle of *Surrey*, she was his wife fife yeeres, and deceased 27. of her fathers reign, A.D. 1298.

(63) *Joan* the second daughter of King *Edward*, and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne in the first yeere of her fathers reign, 1272. at a City in the holy Land sometime named *Ptolomais*, commonly called *Acon* and *Aker*, where her mother remained during the wares that her father had with the *Saracens*: Shee was, at eightene yeeres of age, married to *Gilbert Clare* called the Red, Earle of *Glocester* and *Hereford*, by whom shee had issue, Earle *Gilbert* slaine in *Scotland* without issue; *Eleanor*, married first to *Hugh Spencer* (in her right, Earle of *Glocester*), and after to *William Zouch* of *Kierds* castle. *Margaret*, first married to *Peter Gantston*, Earle of *Cornwal*, after to *Hugh Audley* Earle also of *Glocester*; and *Elizabeth* Lady of *Clare*, married first to *John* son and heire to *Richard* Burgh, Earle of *Wylster* in *Ireland*, mother of *William* Burgh Earle of *Wylster*, and Grandmother of *Elizabeth*, Dutchesse of *Clarence*; secondly, to *Theobald* Lord *Verdon*, and lastly, to *Sir Roger Damary*. This *Joan* suruiued her husband, and was remarried to *Sir Ralph Monthermere* a Baron, father to *Margaret* the mother of *Thomas Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, of whom the now Vicount *Mountacute* is descended; shee liued thirty eight yeeres, and deceased in the first yeere of her brother King *Edwards* reign, and is buried at the Fryer *Austines* in *Clare*.

(64) *Margaret* the third daughter of King *Ed-*

ward and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at the Castle of *Windsor* in the third yeare of her fathers reign, and of our Lord, 1275. When shee was fiftene yeeres of age, shee was married at *Westminster*, July 9. in the eighteenth yeere of her fathers reign, A.D. 1290. to *John* the second, Duke of *Brabant*, by whom shee had issue Duke *John* the third, father of *Margaret*, wife of *Lewis* of *Archebin* Earle of *Flanders*, and mother of the Lady *Margaret*, the heire of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, who was married to *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*.

(65) *Berenger* the fourth Daughter of King *Edward* & *Queene Eleanor*, was born the 4. of her fathers reign, An. 1276. as *John Euereden* the Monke of *S. Edmundsburie* in *Suffolke*, hath recorded in his booke of English Annales, but other mention there is none, but onely from him: whereby it is likely that shee did not lue to be married, but that shee died in her childhood.

(66) *Alice* the fiftth Daughter of king *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor*, is by *Thomas Pickering* of the Monastery of *Whitby* (who wrote the large Genealogie of the Kings of *England* and their issue) reported to haue deceased without Issue.

(67) *Marie*, the sixt daughter of king *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at *Windsor*, April 22. in the eight yeare of her fathers reign, 1279. and at ten yeeres of age, A.D. 1289. September 8. shee was made a Nunne in the Monastery of *Ambresberie* in *Wiltshire*, at the instance of *Queen Eleanor* her Grandmother, who at that time liued there in the habite of the same profession, although her Parents were hardly enduced to yeeld their consents to that course.

(68) *Elizabeth*, the seuenth Daughter of king *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor*, was borne at the Castle of *Ruthland* in *Flintshire*, in the thirteenth yeere of her fathers reign, An. 1284. When shee was fourteen yeeres of age, shee was married at *London* to *John* the first of that name, Earle of *Holland*, *Zeland*, and Lord of *Freezeland*, who died within two yeeres after without Issue, and shee was remarried to *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Brecknok*, and high Constable of *England*, by whom shee had Issue *John* and *Humfrey*, both Earles successiue-ly after their Father; *Edward*, that died in *Scotland* without issue; and *William*, who being created Earle of *Northampton*, while his Brothers liued, after their deceases, was also Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*, Lord of *Brecknok* and high Constable of *England*, and father of Earle *Humfrey* the tenth of that name, and last of that house, who died without Issue male: shee had also by him two daughters, *Eleanor* married to *James Butler* Earle of *Ormond*, and *Margaret* to *Hugh Cowiney* the first, Earle of *Denonshire*. Shee was this Earles wife foureteeen yeers; liued thirty three, deceased in the ninth yeere of the reign of King *Edward* her brother, A. D. 1316. and was buried in the Church of *S. James*, at the Abbey of *Saffron Walden* in *Essex*.

(69) *Beatrice*, the eight daughter of King *Edward* and *Queene Eleanor*, bare the name of *Beatrice* Dutchesse of *Britannie* her fathers sister: she is by some Genealogists mentioned to haue liued till shee was marriageable, but yet no mention being made of her match it seemeth shee died unmarried.

(70) *Blanch*, the ninth daughter of king *Edward*, and the last of *Queene Eleanor*, is so mentioned by *Thomas Pickering*, and some others, but not at all by *Thomas Ebrahama* Monke, who made a Pedegree of the Kings of *England*, but shee is by the rest reported to haue died in her childhood.

(71) *Thomas*, the fiftth sonne of king *Edward*, and the first of *Queene Margaret* his second wife, was borne at a little village in *Yorkshire* called *Brotherton*, Iune 1. in the nine and twentieth yeere of his fathers reign, Ann. 1300. hee was created Earle of *Norfolke*, and Earle *Marshal* of *England*, which Earldomes the last Earle *Roger Bigod*, leauing no Issue,

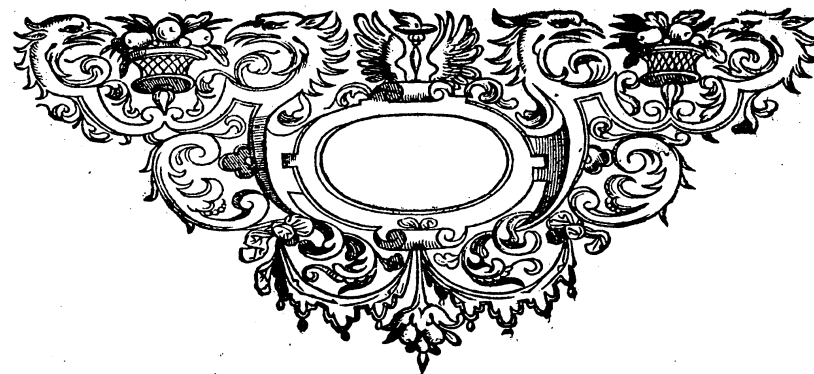
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left to the disposition of the King his father. He had two wiues, of which the first was *Alice* the daughter of *Sir Roger Hayles* of *Harwich* in *Suffolk*, by whom hee had issue *Edward*, who married *Beatrice* the daughter of *Roger Mortimer* the first, Earle of *March*, but hee died before his father without Issue, and two daughters, *Margaret* twice married, first to *John* Lord *Segrave*, by whom shee had *Elizabeth* Dutchesse of *Norfolke*, wife of *John* Lord *Montbray* (from whom the *Montbrayes* & *Howards* Dukes of *Norfolke*, and Earles *Marshall* descended), secondly, to *Sir Walter Manny* a Knight of *Cambray*, and by him had *Anne* wife of *John Hastings* the elder Earle of *Pembroke*, and mother of Earle *John* the younger, that died without Issue; his yongest daughter *Alice* was married to *Sir Edward Montacute*, and had by him three daughters, *Elizabeth* and *Joan* married to *Walter* and *William* two of the *Wiffords*, and *Maud* that died unmarried. The second wife of this Earle *Thomas*, was *Mary* the daughter of *William* Lord *Ros*, and widow of *Sir Ralph Cobham*, who suruiuing him without Issue by him, shee was married the third time to *William* Lord *Brerose* of *Brember*.

(72) *Edmund*, his sixt sonne by *Queene Margaret*, was borne at *Woodstocke* in *Oxfordshire*, August 5. in the thirtieth yeere of the reign of his Father, A. 1301. Hee was created Earle of *Kent*, and married

Margaret daughter of *John*, and sister and sole heire of *Thomas* Lord *Waker* of *Lydel* in the County of *Northampton*, by her he had Issue two sonnes and one daughter: *Edmund* his eldest sonne was Earle of *Kent* after his father, and died vnder age without wife or issue: *John* the younger was Earle also after his brother, he married *Elizabeth* the daughter of the Duke of *Gulike*, and died likewise without Issue; His daughter was *Joan*, for her beauty called the faire Maid of *Kent*, first married to *William Mountacute* Earle of *Salisbury*, and from him diuorced, and remarried to *Sir Thomas Holland*, in her right, Earle of *Kent*, and by her, father of *Thomas*, and *John* Holland Duke of *Surrey*, and Earle of *Huntington*; and lastly, shee was the wife of *Edward* of *Woodstocke*, the Blacke Prince of *Wales*, and by him, mother of King *Richard* the second. This Earle *Edmund* was beheaded at *Winchester* the 19. of March, in the fourth yeere of King *Edward* his Nephew.

(73) *Eleanor* the tenth daughter & fifteenth child of King *Edward*, and the last child of *Queene Margaret* his second wife, was borne at *Winchester* the sixt day of May, in the nine and thirtieth, and last yeere of her fathers Raig, being the yeere of our Lord 1306. shee deceased in her Childhood, and was buried in *S. Peters Church* at *Westminster*, by her brother *John*, *Henry* and *Alfons*, vnder the monument before named with her picture ouer it.



EDWARD

Edward.II.

EDVVARD THE SECOND.LORD OF IRELAND, AND DVKE OF AQVIL-TAINE, &c. THE FORTIE-EIGHTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XI.



Hat the *Mind* is not deriued from *Parents*, certainly the second *Edward* (called of *Caernarvon*) might (if nothing else) abundantlie shew, being of a most valiant, wife and fortunate father, an vnlike sonne; yet not to beginne our description of his courses, with prejudice of his person, we will so temper our stile, that by his owne actions sincerely related, rather then by any verball censures the man may be iudged. This cannot be denied, that whereas from the Conquest till his time, *England* thought endured (by Gods iust iudgements) many bitter, sad and heavy stormes through some headinesse, ambition, or other sicknesses of mind in the Princes thereof, yet had the Men to sway and gouerne her, and those distempers were

as the perturbations incident to vigorous dispositions; whereas vnder this *Edward*, who could neither get nor keepe, it seemed to endure the leuities of a *Child*, though his yeeres, being about twenty and three, might haue exempted him from so great infancie of iudgement, as his raigne discovered.

(2) Neuer came Prince to the crowne with more generall applause then he: so great hopes of doing well, his *Victorious* father, *Edward* of *Winchester* had left vpon him, besides the right of succession, whose last warning and terrible adiuations you haue heard: with the *vtr* contempt and breach whereof, to the destruction of himselfe, and his friends, hee in a manner auspicated his gouernement.

(3) After that *Edward* had in his best maner provided for the *affaires* of *Scotland*, where (at *Dumfries*) many of the *Scottish* *Lords* did their homage to him, as they had to his Father; the first taske which hee gaue of his future behauiours at home,

was a rigorous reuenge taken by him vpon *Walter de Langton* Bishoppe of *Chester*, Treasurer of *England*, and principall Executor of the last Will of the deceased King, whose body was not as yet interred, but by the care of the Executors, conuied with funnall pompe to *Wallingford*, and (after sixteen weekes) to *Wallingford*, where vnder a plaine monument the same at this present rests. The Bishoppes crime was a kind of good freedom, which hee vsed in the late Kings daies, in *grauely* reprouing the Prince for his misdemeanors, and shortning his waste of coine by a frugall moderation; and particularly, *for* that he had complained of *Peirs Gaussefion*, whereupon ensued Prince *Edwards* imprisonment, and the others banishment, and therefore comming now to the Crowne, hee arrested the Bishoppe by *Sir John Felton* Constable of the Tower, and imprisoned him in *Wallingford* Castle, seising vpon all his temporall goods and *credites*, there being not a man in the Realme who durst speake a word on his behalfe, (so great displeasure hee had conceived, seeking vterly to ruine him) till afterward by means of the Papall authority, hee was restored, and in a faint sort reconciled.

(4) The thing which suited best with his youthful affections, to wit, the marriage of young *Isabel*, daughter of *Philip the Faire*, King of *France*, he performed with wonderfull magnificence at *Boleyn*, at which solemnity were present besides all others, The King of *France* Father to the Bride; The King of *Nauarre* his sonne; The King of *Almaine*; The King of *Scill*; *Marie* Queene of *France*; *Margaret* Queene Dowager of *England*, her daughter; The Queene of *Nauarre*. There was also present (as no Sunne-shine but hath shadow) *Peirs* of *Gaussefion*, the beloued Minion of this *Edward*, whose reentertainment the dying King had so seriously forbidden, whom notwithstanding, together with his own new wife, he brought into *England*.

(5) This fatal fauourite of this young King was a stranger borne, but a *Gentleman*, and (in regard of good seruice done by the Father of *Peirs* in *Gascogne*, *brought* vp (at old king *Edwards* owne appointment) with this Prince: from whom not to derogate in any point, as if hee had without some appearances of worth and value embraced *Peirs*, it is certaine (by that which a *Knight* and seruitor of this very King hath left written) that he had a sharpe witte in a comely shape, and briefly, was such an one, as wee vie to call *very fine*; Neither yet was he vnhardie in Arms, but of commendable performance, whereof (saith *de la Moore*) hee gaue proofe against the *Scots*, (to whom *hee* was alike hateful as to the *English*) till hee was recalled to satisfe such as (saith their Courtier) did enue his graces, and good success; but of his Christian or morall vertues (which onely make men truly commendable) there is great silence in Authors, though not of his vices, whereof wee shall haue occasion enough to speake hereafter.

(6) At the Coronation of the King and Queen, (which the Lords would haue empeached, had hee not promised reasonably to *satisfie* them about *Gaussefion*) none was *neerer* to *Peirs* in brauery of apparel, or delicacie of fashion, which (and for that the King gaue him *S. Edwards* Crowne to carrie in that pompe,) greatly increased the offence of the Lords against him: But hee that (hauing a King to backe him) knew no other means to extinguish hatred, but by daring it to the vttermost, spared not afterwarde to scoffe and reproach the principall Peeres, *calling* *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*, *Stage-plaier*; *Amerie* de *Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, *Tospe* the *Jew*, because hee was pale and tall; and *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke*, the *blacke doge* of *Arden*: all whom, and others, hee at a *Turnement* by him proclaimed and holden, handled vilely.

(7) But King *Edward* was dayly more and more possessed with the familiarity of *Peirs*, who to esta-

blish his interest in the vnprudent Prince, by sensuallities and riotous practices, filled the Court *with* buffons, parasites, and the like pernicious instruments, drawing *Edward* from the thought of al great enterprises, in accomplishment of his fathers will, or discharge of his particular dutie, to all sorts of vnworthy vanities, and sinfull delights; while himselfe in the meane space reuelled in all outward felicity, wasting the riches of the Kingdome, or conuerting them to his priuate vies. For (fearing belike that the time might come againe to vndergoe banishment) hee transported much treasure into forraine parts, and much hee had to transport; for not onely by the *sale* of his fauour with the King, to which there was no speeding approach but by *Gaussefion*, (who vsed to peize the gifts, more then the causes) but also by the kings prodigality, hee had whatsoeuer could be powred vpon him: for (though it might seeme incredible) hee both gaue him his iewels and ancestors treasure, and *even* the Crowne it selfe of his victorious fathers, not sticking to professe, that (if it lay in him) hee should succeed him in the kingdome.

(8) The Lords (who for reuerence of the King face downe by their priuate iniuries, in hope there would be a season, in which their Soueraign might by timelie and sweet admonitions recouer the vse of himselfe,) not thinking it tollerable to bee now any longer silent, (and the rather, lest that *Peirs*, farther abusing his greatnesse, should *bring* in Forreiners, not onely to the prejudice of the English lawes and customes, but of their authority also and places,) preuailed so much with the King, in a Parliament holden at *London* (where sundry prouisions concerning the liberties of the people, and execution of Iustice, were enacted, and by corporall oath confirmed by the King himselfe,) that among them, the decree of *Gaussefions* perpetuall banishment, was by the king (ouercome with a meere necessity for satisfaction of the Kingdome, to whom the said Earle of *Cornwall* was odious) vnwillingly suffered to passe; and the king was thereupon regratified with a Subsidie of the twentieth part of the subiects goods. The king also rooke his Oath not to reuoke the said Earle of *Cornwall* fro banishment (if it may be called a banishment) wherein *hee* had the kingdom of *Ireland* entrusted to his charge, and forthe securing thereof against rebels, was furnished with men & money by the king.

(9) Yet forgetting, that those affections, which oftentimes deserue praise in a priuate person, are subiect to much construction in a publike, and neglecting both his deceased fathers so solemn adiuations, and also his owne oath, as carelesse of the sequele, hee calls Earle *Peter* home, with whose loue hee was most fondly, and most passionatellie transported, and (as if hee had recieued some diuine benefite) gaue him most ioyous welcome at the Castle of *Flint* in *Northwales*, and *bestowed* vpon him for wife *Isabel* of *Acre*, Countesse of *Glocester* his sisters daughter, resolving with himselfe to retaine his *Gaussefion*, maugre all his Earles and Barons, or (for the loue of him) to put his Crowne and life in perill when time should serue. In which, whether the king or his fauourite shewed lesse discretion, it is not at the first sight easily determinable; it being as vnlike for the one, with so offensive behauiour, to affect immoderate shew and vse of grace, as for the other, to the injury of his name and realme to bestow the same.

(10) The contemptibillitie and vanitie of this effeminate argument detaines vs longer, then for the qualitie thereof were fitting, did not so much mischief issue out of it. For *Peirs* (of his owne nature insolent) being thus (about reason, or his own daringes) advanced to alliance with the bloud royall, was so far from all amendment, as hee rather seemed to strue to outgoe himselfe in his former courses, consuming so much of the kings treasure and meanes, that he had *not* wherewith to defray ordinarie charges.

*Peirs of G.

*The Wolfingh.

*Chr. Danhab.

A.D. 1311.
Peirs de Gaussefion
Earle of Cornwall
banished for euer

*Tho. VVallin.

*S. Thede la Moore

The Earle of
Cornwall reuoked.*John Stow.
The VVallin.
Thede la Moore.Is the third time
banished, and
returnes.*The VVallin.
ges.

ges, or to pay for the necessities of his Court. The young Queene also tooke herselfe not to be a little wronged by this vngacious mans predominance, & thereof sent her complaints to the king of France her father, which concerned injuries in the highest kind, as in her bed (the King being drawne by *Gauelson* to *adultery) and in her honour and *mainenance. Whereupon the Peeres of the land, animated by the King of France, so confidently dealt with *Edward*, that his Earle now the third time did abjure the Realme: but (the King of France and his enemies making foraine parts vnfore to him to abide in) he returned in Christmas to the general perturbation of the Kingdom, and to his owne certaine ruine, for that the Barons (his aduersaries) had gotten him banished with this Prouiso, * that if at any time afterward hee were taken in England, hee should be forthwith apprehended and suffer death. But an Angell from heauen could not seeme more welcome, then this most faithful friend (as that * Courtier calls him) was vnto King *Edward*, who * forthwith advanced him to be his principall Secretary.

(11) Vpon report of *Gauelsons* returne, the chiefe Lords, atwell Ecclesiasticall as temporall (*Walter Bishope of Coutree* excepted, * who allowed the Kings affections towards *Gauelson*, and procured him to breake the former agreements, which were made and sworne in the Parliament at London,) consulted vpon a deperat course of reformation in this point, and made choise of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster* to be their leader. This *Thomas* was sonne of *Edmund* Earle of *Lancaster*, *Leicester* and *Ferrers*, second sonne of *Henry* the third King of England, and in right of his wife (after her fathers decaile, which hapned about this time) Earle of *Lincolne*, *Salisbury*, and (besides many other great Lands in *Yorkshire*, *Cumberland*, and *Wales*) hee had the Earledome of * *Artoys* in *Picardy*, so that without comparison hee was the greatest lubiect of the Kingdom.

(12) The Issue of which combination before we pursue, wee may nohere in our way ouerslippe a strange alteration both here in England, and in all *Christendome*, by the vniuersall extinguishment of the Order of the *Templars*, wrought about this time by the procurement of the French King, who being so gracious with Pope *Clement*, that formerly * hee sent Ambassadors to craue of his holinesse with great importunity, that the bones of his Predecessor Pope *Boniface* might be burnt as being an Heretike, so now also hee so farre prevailed with him, that in the Councell at *Vienna* this so highly esteemed Order, was vpon clear prooffe of their generally odious finnes, and scarce credible impieties, vtterly abolished through Christendome. The French King * caused 54. of that Order, together with their Great *Maister* to be burnt at *Paris*; and though that King hoped to conuert all the Lands of that Societie to his sonnes vse, whom hee intended to make King of *Ierusalem*; yet the Pope and Councell annexed their possessions to the Order of the *Knights Hospitallers*, called commonly *Knights of the Rhodes*. Notwithstanding, in England (where such Papall commands were not always for lawes) the heires of the *Donours*, and such as had endowed the *Templars* here with landes, entred vpon those parts of their ancient Patrimons, after the dissolution of the Order, and (saith our * Courtier) detained them vntill not long after, they were by Parliament wholly transferred vnto the *Knights of the Rhodes*, * or of *S. Iohn of Ierusalem*.

(13) King *Edward* was now at *York*, and Earle *Thomas*, according to that which had bene concluded among the combined Lords, who refused to trie all extremities, rather then any longer to endure *Peirs Gauelson*, as being perswaded while that King-bane breathed, peace could neither be maintained in the Realme, nor the King abound in treasure, nor the Queene enioy his loue) sent humble * petitions by honourable messengers to their Soueraigne, requesting him to deliuer the man into their hands, or

to driue him from his company out of England. But the selfe-wild King * preferring the dearenesse of one stranger before the loue of the whole Realme, would not condescend.

(14) Afterward, *Peirs* (whom * the Earles pursued with an Armie) being * entrusted for his safeguard to *Amerie de Valence* Earle of *Pembroke*, was left by him but one night at a Village or Manour called *Datbington* betwene *Oxford* and *Warwicke*, (being a place neither * farre enough off, nor strong enough) pretending to haue conuained him on the next day to the Castle of *Wallingford*, the said *Amerie* in the meane space departing to lodge with his Countesse, who lay hard by: but, the said *Amerie* conuiuing thereat (as our * Courtier chargeth him, who also writes, that hee tooke a solemne oath before the king to doe his best to safe-conduct *Gauelson*, the king purposing in the meane time to labour his peace with the Lords * vpon any conditions) *Guy* Earle of *Warwicke* with his people surprised him the same night, and took him to his Castle of *Warwicke*, where in a place called *Blacklow* (afterward * *Gauelhead*) his head was stricken off at the commandement * and in the presence of the Earles of *Lancaster*, *Warwicke*, and *Hereford*, * as of one that had bene a subcort of the lawes and an open Traitor to the Kingdom. In which bold attempt, themselves (who yet pretended so much standing for the liberties of the land,) did most vnadvisedly infringe a Capitall branch of the same Franchise, in putting to death an Earle, and so deare a friend of the Kings, * without any iudicial proceeding by trial of his Peeres, which caused a lasting hatred betwixt the King and his Nobles.

(15) There wanted nothing now to King *Edward* but present meanes to reuenge the blood of his friend, or rather of his halfe-selfe, the lacke wherof did encrease the sorrow hee tooke for his death, which being well knowne to the Lords, they refused not to lay downe Armes, till they had provided for their security, and the performance of all such points, as concerned the temperance of the Regall power, that (vnder colour thereof) the Nobles themselves might finger some part of the Soueraigne government. The King was then at London, and the Lords at *Dunstable*: but by the continual interdealings of the Prelates, and of *Gilbert* Earle of *Glocester*, who stood neutral, the kindling disputes were for the present allayed, vpon condition that the Lords should restore to the King all such things, once belonging to *Peirs Gauelson*, as they had taken at *Newcastle*, which they accordingly did.

(16) King *Edward* neuertheless, as if his soule were ouercast with some blacke cloud, continued mourning, till it pleased God to enlighten the world with the birth of a young Prince, whose noble Acts did afterward redeme all the blemishes wherewith his Fathers infelicities had darkened the brightnesse of the English name, and at this present cleared the mind of the sorrowfull King his father: for * vpon *Saint Brices* day, *Isabel* his Queene brought forth her first sonne at *Winford*, which caused great reioycing through the Kingdom. Her French kindred and friends (which were therein in good numbers of either sexe) & among them as chiefe, the Queens owne brother, *Lewis* the French Kings sonne, would haue had the Infant at his Baptisme named *Lewis*, but the English Lords would * not permit, who therefore was after his Fathers and Grandfathers name, called *Edward*. This was hee who afterward rayed the honour of English Cheualrie to so high a point, by his famous victories in France and elsewhere.

(17) The euill will which the King bare in his mind against the Barons for their ouer-ruling his affections, and the death of *Gauelson*, by sundry bad offices and sycophancies of the * French at *Winford* was rubd so hard vpon, that it grew raw againe before it was halfe healed. Therefore in a Parliament at London the king sharply charged those presumptuous Lords with their contempt against him in the spoiles they had committed at *Newcastle*, and (which most afflicted his languishing spirit) in taking, and wickedly killing *Peirs Gauelson*. To all which, they stoutly answered, * that they had not offended in any point, but deserued his roial fauour, for that they had not gathered force against him, but against the publicke enemy of the Realme, &c. Howbeit, to prevent the feared mischief of ciuill Armes, by the working of the young Queene, of the Prelates, and Earle of *Glocester*, the Lords in open Court at *Westminster* humbled themselves to the King, praying grace; and the King granted to such of them, as would desire the same, his gracious pardon. The whole house of Parliament seeing the kings wants, of their own accord granted a Fifteenth & all parts hereupon returned with ioy and peace, but not long after the Lord *Guy de Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke*, who in this Parliament was appointed to be Priue Councell with the King, deceased, being (as by the Barons well-willers * it was said) impoisoned by such of the Kings secret friends as did maligne him.

(18) The mischieuous effects of the Kings former misgovernment, beganne now most perillously to discouer themselves. For the Scots his neighbours, who could not bee ignorant of all such griefes and maladies as fettered in the heart and entrails of England, had long since made their timely vse thereof, adhering so to the vndaunted *Bruce*, that by degrees hee had gotten a great strength, and was againe publickly receiued, and obied for King of Scotland, from most places whereof hee * draue the English, and (in contempt of *Edward*) committed great spoile by slaughter of People, burning of Townes in *Northumberland*, and other Acts of hostility. The principall charge of Scotland for King *Edward* had bene entrusted to the Lord *John Cumina* Scot, Earle of *Buggham*, whom * King *Robert* had vanquished in battell, and was now (while *Edward* fate bewitched with most vnworthy languishments) grown potent, sending his Brother *Edward Bruce* to besiege the Castle of *Strirling*, which was in the hands of the English.

(19) The King of England awakened out of his slumbers with these Alarums, marched thereupon with a very great Armie toward the said Castle. It pleased *Hector Boetius* (putting off, as it were the Historian) to report maruellous things of the numbers of Souldiers which came with King *Edward* in this iourney; for (if he say true) there were not fewer then one hundred and fifty thousand horsemen, and as many thousand footmen; and that we may not suspect the multitude to be far greater then either the cause required, or the realm of England could well afford, hee informeth vs, that besides the English there were in his aid at this time, *Hollanders*, *Zelanders*, *Brabanters*, *Flemings*, *Picards*, *Bolonsers*, *Gascognes*, *Normans*, with much people of many other Regions; and that besides these three hundred thousand men of warre, there were infinite families with their women, children, seruants, and household-stuffe: but because other Writers doe ingenuously grant, and containe probable matter enough for the honour of the Scottish Nation in this iourney, wee will as neare as wee can, (being things to vs neither vp nor downe, in regard of the long time since these hostilities hapned,) truly and freely, though briefly informe our selues hereof.

(20) The Earles of *Lancaster*, *Warren*, *Warwicke*, and *Arundel* (the greatest Peeres of the land) refused to attend their King in this seruice, for that hee had delayed to ratifie the points of their desired liberties, and prouisions for the pretended better government of England, by himselfe so often consented vnto. In whichas their loyall affection cannot bee much admired: so it is certaine, that King *Edward* hereby vnderooke that voyage with farr the lesse force eyther of men or counsell. Neuertheless his hoate was great enough (if numbers did sway in such affaires,

more then religion, discipline, and valour,) to haue effected more then it selfe did suffer. But King *Edward* and his people rather seemed to goe toward a wedding or a Triumph, then to a battell, * adorning themselves with all sorts of riches, gold, silver, and the like toies, in a kind of wanton manner, correspondent to the humour of the Prince whom they followed.

(21) In this iourney it was made manifest, what true and sober valiance could effect against light brauery and insolvency. King *Robert* lodged with his forces (being inferior in numbers to the English) not farre off, where was nothing but a religious, * deuout and modest care, quickned (after manifold calamities, with a most noble desire to recouer the libertie of their Country, and to settle the same into the hope whereof they were the rather erected by a fresh victorie, which they had obtained that day vpon certaine of the English * horsemen. King *Edward* on the contrary part nothing esteeming so light a preface, reioiced vpon the very next (being *Midsummer*, or *Saint Iohn Baptists* day) to take a terrible reuenge vpon the Scots: but how to effect the same the care was not excessive; for in his Campe, * *Wassails*, and *Drinkehailes* were thundered extraordinarily, as accounting themselves sure of the victory: which kind of impious selfe-trust, if God Almighty did not sometime scourge with iust and terrible confusions, what outrages would not be executed.

(22) Farre otherwise the *Bruces* Army: which by his commandement spent * the euening in making humble confession of their finnes, that they might (saith our Author) bee ready on the morrow to receiue the blessed Sacrament, as accordingly they did: Moreover to leaue nothing vndone which might aduance their cause; the Scots had digged before their Battalions, certaine * trenches or dikes * three foot deepe, and three foot broad, which (hauing fixed * sharpe stakes in them with their points vprward) they couered so with * hurdles, that footemen treading warily) might passe, but not groupes of horse. Next to Gods anger against the English, (whom courtly *Pride* and *Sloth* had now effeminated) this stratageme was the cause of their ruine: for whereas they reposed much vpon their *Cauallerie*, in these *Pit-falles*, the fury of their charge was intercepted and broken, the riders being miscerably slaine by the Scots, whom King *Robert* marching foremost on foot, had presented most courageously to the enemy.

(23) The King of England not altogether careless, neither yet by his careable to doe much (as one whom God was not well pleased with) had ordered his battels with some aduise, but vpon the dismal and vnexpected discomfiture of his horse in those mischieuous holes or ditches, was enforced, (after some troubled resistance) to leaue to the Scots the greatest victory that euer they had before or after. * Hardly could *K. Edward* bee drawne to flie: the courage which it became such a Monarch to haue then first disclosing it selfe, till by his friends hee was enforced to seeke his preservation by that more necessary then noble meanes, and with him (besides others) the Lord *Hugh Spencer* (whom our * Courtier calls a *saunt hearted Kne*) betooke himselfe to like remedie.

(24) All things proued vnfortunate to the English in this iorney, for when they perceived their *Cauallerie* thus miserably ouerthrowne in the ditches, they shot their arrowes compasse, with purpose to kill or gall such Scots as came to the execution, but did them little or no harme, as they who were armed in the fore-parts, and in stead of that, * flew their friends, whose backs being toward them were vnarmed.

(25) The losse fell much vpon the Noblest, for there were slaine in this Battell, * *Gilbert* Earle of *Glocester* (a man of singular valour and wisdom) the Lord

* Tho. de la More
The English o-
uerthrowne at
Bannockburne.

* Heff. Boet.

* Tho. de la More.

* Tho. de la More.

* Heff. Boet.

* Heff. Boet.

* Heff. Boet.

* Heff. Boet.

* Tho. de la More.

* Heff. Boet.

* Heff. Boet.

* Heff. Boet.

* All. & Mon.
Fabian.
* Tho. de la More.

* All. & Mon.
465. colom. 11.
Tho. de la More.

* Tho. de la More.
Continuator
Triner. MS.

* Tho. de la More.

* John Stow.

* Ric. Triuitt ad
an. 1307.
In those dayes
it was thought
the Pope might
be an heretike.

* Fox Martynolog.
p. 460.

* Tho. de la More.

* John Stow.
2nd ed. Newf.

A.D. 1312.

* Thom. Walsingh.

* Tho. Wallf.

Robert de Clifford, and besides other Lords, about 1500 men hundred Knights, Esquiers, and men of Armories. Of these the slaughter could not be but great, though much the less, in regard the Scots fought on foot. *Heffor* saith, that there were not slain fewer than fifty thousand English, no Writer else, that hitherto we can meet with, exceeds the fifth part of that number; the riches gotten by spoils and ransomes of the English, were doubtlesse very great. Among the number of prisoners, the principall was *Humphrey de Bohun* Earle of Hereford, but recovered afterward by exchange for King Robert's wife, who all this while was detained in England. This battell was fought at *Banocksbourne* neere *Struelin* in Scotland.

* Tpd. Neuf.

(26) From this overthrow King Edward escaping to *Berwick*, King Robert (who to his great glory, as hauing himselfe bene trained vp among the English, vsed such as were taken prisoners with singular humanity) sent thither to him the bodies of the Earle of *Gloster*, & Lord *Clifford*, that they might receiue honourable interment among their owne friends. But Edward (vnder whole vnfortunate leading the English name sustained so great dishonour and damage) withdrew to *Torke*, resolving (therein only *Princelike*) to assemble new force, and either to be reuenged, or to die. But *all enterprises and attempts of that nature miscarried, for about twelue yeeres after, insomuch that great feare reigned among the Northern English, who lay open to the first brunts and violences of the Scots, ouer whom many faire dayes shone. And to augment the calamities of the North, many of the disloiall English * conspired with the enemy, and jointly spoiled the west parts of *Northumberland*, nothing being secure, but that which was defended.

* Polyd. Ver. li. 7. cap. 41.
An.D. 1314.* Tho. Wallfingh.
Tpd. Neuf.

A.D. 1315.

The worst estate of England vnder the three plagues of Sword, death and pestilence.

* Tho. de la More.
Tho. Wallf.

(27) God, to humble the English, who through long prosperities had forgotten both themselves & him, drew not backe his heauy hand so; for seldom hath so terrible a famine bene heard of here, as succeeded to this overthrow: so that for moderation of prices, a Parliament was assembled at *London*: but (saith *Walsingham*) as if God had bene displeased at the said rates (which not long after were repealed) things grew scarier day by day: and the dearth was generally such, that vpon Saint *Laurences* Eue, there was scarcely bread to be gotten for sustentation of the Kings owne family. This famine which lasted about two yeeres was accompanied with much mortality of people.

Gauelsons funerals.

(28) But neither the dishonours taken in Scotland, nor innumerable afflictions and discontentments at home, made Edward suspend the celebration of his *Gauelsons* funerals; whose Body with great pompe hee caused to be transferred from the place of his former buriall, (which was among the *Friers Preachers* at *Oxford*) to *Kings-Langley* in *Hertfordshire*, where hee in person with the Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, four Bishoppes, many Abbots, and principall Churchmen did honour the exequies, but few were present of the Nobility, whose great stomackes would not giue them leaue to attend. Somewhat also to fifteen these generall acerbities, *Lewelin* Bren and his two sonnes, were brought vp prisoners to *London*, hauing burnt many towns vpon the Marches, and committed some murders with their Welsh adherents.

A.D. 1316.

* Tho. Wallf.

(29) Meane-while the state of the Kingdome was miserable, there being no loue betwixt the King and the Peeres, nor any great care in him or them of the common affaires; neuertheless they assembled at a Parliament in *London*, where no great matter was concluded: for the famine and pestilence encreased. The famine was growne so terrible, that horse, dogs, yeomen and children were skorne for food, and (which is horrible to thinke) the theecues newly brought into the Gaoles, were torne in peeces, and eaten presently halfe aliue, by such as had been longer there. In *London* it was proclaimed, that no

corne should be conuerted to Brewers vses, which Aet the King (moued with compassion toward his Nation) imitating, caused to be executed through all the Kingdome; otherwife (saith *Walsingham*) the greater part of the people had died with penury of bread. The bloudie flux or disenterie caused through raw and corrupt humors engendred by euil meat and diet, raged euery where, and together with other maladies brought such multitudes of the poorer sort to their end, that the liuing could scarce suffice to bury the dead.

An.D. 1317.

(30) The King was now in so great dislike and distrust with the Lords and Barons, that they would not appeare at *Clarendon*, where hee held a great Councell. To augment this fatalle auersion, a certaine Knight belonging to *John* Earle *Warren*, stole away from *Cansford* in *Dorsetshire*, the wife of *Thomas* Earle of *Launcester* (chiefe of the Lords faction) not without the Kings consent (as it was said) and brought her to the said Earle *Warrens* Castle at *Rigate*, with great pompe, and in despite of the Earle, whom one *Richard de Saint Maurice*, a wretched, lame, and bunched Dwarf challenged for wife, pretending that he was formerly contracted, and had lien with her, which the (the greatest and noblest Inheretrix of her time) did openly confesse, to her immortal infamie, incurring alas (saith *Walsingham*) the publike note of a most filthie strumpet. This deformed Elfe (hauing mighty seconds) durst hereupon claime the Earldomes of *Lincolne* and *Salisbury* as in her right, and in the meane time, the name and honor of *Thomas* the great Earle was baffled, as it were, by a light and wicked woman.

(31) The parts of England beyond *Humber*, were now more and more afflicted; for such as till then had opposed themselves against the Scots in defence of the Country, perceiving all things left at large, in stead of Protectors became Tyrants, * saith our Author, of defenders, destroyers, and of valiant Champions, treacherous Chapmen; so that as betwixt the hammer and the anuile, the Scots vpon the one side, and these false English on the other, all was lamentable, and brought in a manner to nothing; and this face of things continued there about foure yeeres.

* Tho. Wallf.

(32) Neither did the King seeme to haue any will or power to relieue the common calamities, but rather to conuert his whole both wits and forces vpon reuenges against the Lords, who vnder pretence of their extorted prouisions, manifestly withdrew their loues, seruice and duties from him, wherefore feeling himselfe thus weak and diffurnished, hee soughte the spirituall assistance of Pope *John* the two and twentieth, who thereupon sent certaine Cardinals to set all things in quiet without bloodshed. Betwixt the King and Earle of *Launcester* they established a peace, who, in a certaine plaine neere *Leicester* met, embraced and kissed each other, but when they could not worke the like with the Scots, they put that Country vnder Interdict.

* Tho. Wallf.

D. 1321.

(33) For they (as it is the manner of prosperity) after the victory at *Banocksbourne*, which clearly got them *Scotland*, did beginne to bethinke themselves of gaining new Empire in *Ireland*. Thither Edward Bruce Brother of King Robert had passed with an Army, procuring himselfe to be crowned King thereof by fauour of some of the Irish Nobility, whom neuertheless about three yeeres from his first entrance, the English vnder the conduct of the Archbishoppe of *Armagh*, and of *John* Lord *Brinningham* Iusticiar of *Ireland*, valiantly encountered, where, together with his late vsurped Kingdome, hee lost his life. There were slain in that battell many honourable Scots, besides the new King *Edward*, and about 50000 others: his head was cut off * at *Dundalk* (saith *Walsingham*) but *Heffor* Boetius writes that hee was slain in the battell itselfe. Thus did God temper one with another, and the iust reioycement which the Scots had conceiued of their

An.D. 1321.

Edward the king of Ireland vanquished the English.

* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallf.

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* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallf.

so happie victory ouer the English at *Banocksbourne*, was soured with this loss.

(34) But King Robert (as a most expert and vigilant Prince) did not suffer this ioy to continue long to the English, for by practise with one * *Peter Spalding* to whom King Edward had entrusted the keeping of *Berwick*, hee recovered it from the English, saith * *Harding*, by *treaitie*, *Peace*, *Spalding*, and *treasons*; after it had remained twenty yeeres in their possession; which when King Edward thought to haue wonne againe, the Scots diuerted him from the siege, with incursions and slaughters of his people in other parts of England, not failing much of surprising the Queene in a village not farre from *Torke*, where the sojournd during the siege at *Berwick*, the plot being laid, and drawne between the Scots and some perfidious English, whom King Robert had monied for that purpose. But *Spalding* after the treason done had the reward of a * *Traitor*, for King Robert put him to death.

(35) To giue some breathings after these so manifold troubles, a truce was agreed vpon and confirmed betwixt the two Kings of England and of Scotland, for the space of two yeeres, which brought forth confusion and not refreshment. For thus it happened; The King vpon the commendation of the * *Lords* themselves, had made *Hugh de Spenser* Lord *Chamberlaine*, who being at the least of equal insolence, vices, and ambition to *Gauelson*, so wrought that hee succeeded in short time to all the graces of familiarity and power which euer *Gauelson* enioyed, as in like sort to all his hatred and enuie. *Hugh* his father an ancient Knight, the better to strengthen his sonnes courses, was likewise imploied, and grew in special fauour with the King, who afterward also created him Earle of *Winchester*, but the father in manners unlike to the sonne, was ruined rather by a natural tendernes, then any malicious will. The sonne, as hee was of shape most loosely, so the verie spirit selfe of pride and rapine, carried him to all sorts of intollerable behaviours and oppressions, that *Gauelson* might with good reason seeme to be wished for againe. Against these two, who wholly swayed the vnfortunate King, *Thomas* Earle of *Launcester*, and in a manner all the Barons of the Kingdome, (who meant the King should loue none but with their leaue) did swell with such impatience, that (not contented with the waite of their lands) they neuer rested till (by the terror of ciuill Armes) those two fauourites (father and sonne) were banished; they thus reuenging vnder publike pretences both publike injuries and * their owne.

(36) In all contentions which hapned betwixt the King and his Lords, Queene *Isabel* had euer hitherto bene a maker of Peace, doing therein worthy offices, but the euill starres of the Earles of *Launcester* and *Hereford* would not suffer her to continue any longer so: for the Queene being denied lodging one night at the Castle of *Leedes* in *Kent*, which belonged to the Lord of *Badlesmere* (one of the Earles faction) she withdrew her good conceits, and was an author to the King of presently reuenging that dishonour, who vpon her complaint, came in person with many thousand Souldiers before the Castle, tooke the * *Captaine*, and put both him and all the men therein to shamefull death. Moreouer, longing to be righted against the Lords for their late insolencies, marched on to *Cirecester* taking many Castles, and besieging others: The Lords (who little suspected any such sodaine assaults) providing in the meane time for their defence.

(37) Thither repaired to him (at his commandement) *Hugh Spenser* the sonne, who had hovered vpon the Sea, expecting from thence the successe of things vpon the land. The Lords, who had falne from their Soueraignes good conceit, and wanting now their wonted Mediatrice the Queene, lay open to all the mischief which enemies could work them by the King, who (as taking his regall power and au-

thority to be in danger) resolved wisely and manfully, to die in the quarrell, or to bring the Lords to be at his commandement. Meane time the iudgement giuen against the *Spensers* was reuerfed as erroneous, and their reuocation decreed at *London* by the * *Archbishoppe* of *Canterburie* and his Suffragans.

(38) The Lords not all of a like temper began to misdoubt, and many of them forooke their Chief, (the Earle of *Launcester*) and rendred themselves to the King, or were apprehended; among which were the two *Rogers Mortimers*, who were committed to the Tower of *London*, and others to *Wallingford* Castle. The faction weakened by this defection made head in the North, vnder the Earle of *Launcester*, who now was to fight for his life. Thither the King marcheth, and with the onely few of his Armie, made the Earle to flee from *Barton* vpon *Trent*, whose forces in their retreat or flight behaued themselves outrageously.

(39) But Gods heauie displeasure, and the Arme of the Kings power left them not: for at *Burrowbridge*, *Humphrey de Bohun* was slaine by a *Welshman*, who thrust him into the body with a Spear from vnder the Bridge; and the Earle of *Launcester* him selfe with other principall men, Barons and knights, to the number of about 40000 and ten were taken prisoners, by a man of small fortunes, *Andrew de Herckley* Captaine of the City of *Carlisle*, and *Sir Simon Ward*, * *Captaine* of *Torke*, who with great forces out of those parts, stoop their farther passage at *Burrowbridge*, as the Kings forces tooke all safeguard from them behind.

(40) The third day after their apprehension, the * King in person being set in iudgement at *Pontfract*, and with him *Edmund* Earle of *Kent*, *Amyer* Earle of *Pembroke*, *John* de *Warren* Earle of *Surrey*, and among * others, the Lord *Hugh de Spenser* the Father, as also * *Hugh Spenser* his sonne; the Earle of *Launcester* was brought before them, and had sentence pronounced against him * by the said *Andrew de Herckley* (created afterward Earle of *Carlisle*) and the Kings Iusticiar, the * Lord *Ampleforth*, as against an *Arch-Traitor*; neuertheless, for reuerence of his blood (being the Kings neere Kinman) drawing and hanging were remitted vnto him, but his head was stricken off the same day without the Towne of *Pontfract*.

(41) Nor satisfied herewith, the King gaue full way to reuenge, putting to shamefull death, by drawing, hanging, and (as some write) * quartering in sundry places, all the Barons (the Lord *Roger de Marne* only excepted, who died of his natural death) with sundry Baronets and Knights taken at *Burroughbrig* and elsewhere. The Lord *Badlesmere* (at whose house this tragical fire beganne) was executed at *Canterburie*. And that so great and mighty a man as *Thomas* Earle of *Launcester*, should not seeme to die without a bloudie complement futable to his condition; there were hanged and quartered vpon the same day at *Pontfract* * five or * sixe Barons; and the next day at *Torke* were hanged in yron chaines, the Lords *Clifford*, *Mowbray*, *Deuill*, and others afterward in other places, to the number in all (though all of them not Barons) of * twenty and two, the chiefe Captaines of the Realme suffered death for their disloyalties. Threecore and twelue Knights more were disperfed into sundry prisons, who (saith *De la Moore*) vpon fines paid had afterward their Liberties.

(42) As for the said *Thomas* Earle of *Launcester*, there are so many reasons why he cannot reasonably be iudged either a good subject or a good man, that we may worthily wonder why some at that time should repute him a Saint. Certainly, the wife and discreet old Writers are not so opinionated of him; but note his priuate life for * vicious, himselfe to be nothing * valourous, and of the publike * not well deferuing, omitting his contumelious behaviours toward the King his Soueraign Lord in his discom-

Rrrr 2

forts

* Tho. de la More.

* Tho. Wallfingh.
Tho. de la More.

* Tb. de la More.

* Tho. Wallf.

* Tho. Wallfingh.
Execution of Nobles.* Holinsh. p. 330
col. 2.
* Tpd. Neuf.* Tho. de la More.
* Holinsh. p. 331.
col. 1.* At. & Mon.
p. 493. col. 2.
John Stow.
* Tho. Wallf.

* Holinsh. p. 331.

* John Stow.

* At. & Mon. p.

493. col. 2.

* Contin. Nich.

* Trin. MS.

* Tho. de la Moore

saith but about

28 and 5, banished.

The quality of Earle Thomas described.

* Raml. Higden.

* At. & Mon. p. 493.

* S. Th. de la More

de Polib. lib. 8.

* Thom. Wallfingh.

forts, which as *Walsingham* forgets not to relate, so thinks he that the like was worthily vied toward that Earle himselfe, who, when hee was brought prisoner to *Pontfract* (his owne Castle but then furrendred) the whole multitude derided, and called him in scorne King *Arthur*: by which name hee was designed (as *some* write) in the *Scottish* Cypher intercepted, prouing a conspiracy with *Scots*: but the very thoppes, where his and the other *Barons* original Treasons were forged, was the Parliament house, wherein from time to time, they forced on the King presumptuous and treasonous Ordinations, whereby the Peeres challenged, not onely to reforme the Kings house and Councell, and to place and displace all great Officers at their pleasure, but euenaoint interest in the Regiment of the Kingdome together with the King, which *William Inge* (a Iudge of the Common-Law) with other like sticklers, traiterously perswading them to be according to Law.

(43) Of his ill desertings toward the common-Weale (who for the good thereof could not digest any indignity) let this bee a kind of demonstration: for when King *Edward* having by strat siege brought *Berwicke* neere to termes of yeelding, chanced once to breake forth (after his vaine manner) into these words; *The Lord Hugh Spenser shall be captaine of the Castle, when it is taken*: the Earle forthwith with others of his affection abandoned the service: by reason of which departure, it was thought that *Berwicke* was not as then obtained, and that the enemy thereby had great advantage in all their attempts. The names of great Barons (besides Banerets, and some few others of special note) as perilled by hatchet and halter for this businesse, as out of so great variety of Writers wee could now gather them were,

At * Pontfract, { *Thomas Earle of Lancaster.*
The Lord Warren Lile.
The Lord William Tochet.
The Lord Thomas Mandute.
The Lord Henry de Bradburne.
The L. william Fitz-William the younger.
The Lord William Cheyne.

At * Yorke, { *The Lord Roger Clifford, son of that Robert Lord Clifford, who was slaine by the Scots with Gilbert Earle of Gloster, at the battell of Banocksbourne in the service of this King.*
The Lord John Mowbray.
The Lord Isobelle Deynville.

At Gloster, { *The Lord * John Gifford.*

At London, { *The Lord * Henrie Teyes.*

At Windfor, { *The Lord Frances de * Aldenham.*

At Canterburie, { *The * L. Bartholmew de Badlesmere.*
The * L. Bartholmew de Ashburnham.

Neuer did *English* earth at one time drinke so much blood of her Nobles in so vile manner shed as at this, which, whatsoever could be pretended. (as doubtlesse their offence was capital) yet all was taken to be done as in the quarrell of the *Spensers* onely, nor was it vnrenewed, as will appeare in the mean space their enemies not contented with their blood, procured also the * confiscation of their estates and inheritances.

(44) King *Edward* thinking that this exploit had made him terrible aswell to the *Scots*, as it had done to the *English*, marcheth with a mighty host into *Scotland*, from whence not long after (for want of victuals) hee was compelled to returne without the honour of any achievement, and being vpon his returne, was sodainly by *Scots* assailed in the night, very narrowly escaping in his owne person, and with a few saved himself by flight, leauing his * treasure &

furniture for pillage, and so came sorrowfull to *Yorke*. *John de Brittain* Earle of *Richmond*, was taken prisoner by the enemy, and the rest of the Country defaced with destructions as farre as to the wals of that City.

(45) Thus * passed this yeere, to the *English* full of losse, reproach, and lamentation, by reason of their intestine discord and the shambles of their Nobles: to the King infamous, and hateful also for his vnfortunate iourney into the Northern parts, &c. But these bloody and tempestuous winds blew some to profit; so * during the space of about fife yeeres after, the fortune of the *Spencers* hugely encreased, and the *Queenes* decreased, who (for her relenting toward the Lords, & expressing some dislikes of these rankly-growing weeds) was grown to beare a share in the persecution. And that these with such like violent men working vpon the Kings inclination, were the onely Authors of that sharpe reuenge taken vpon the Lords, for their particular and inglorious enrichment (for what else can we call the same, since that they betraide thereby their Soueraignes Crown and Life to speedie destruction) let it by this in part appeare, and moue the world the rather to pity the seduced.

(46) Among them who were condemned for rising with the Earle of *Lancaster*, there was one of a meane Familie, for whose life neuertheless, because hee had once served in Court, and was pleasing to some of the Grands, or Potent fauourites therein, many interceded, and pressed the king to farre on his behalfe, that he brake out into these * most vehement words; *A plague vpon you for cursed whisperers, malicious backe-biters, wicked counsellors, entreat you so for the life of a most notorious knaue, who would not speak one word for the life of my neere Kinsman, that most noble Knight Earle Thomas? Had hee liued, wee and our whole Realme should haue had speciall need and use of him. This fellow the longer hee liues, the more villanies he will commit, as hauing already filled my Kingdome with his desperate outrages. By the soule of God hee shall therefore die the death he hath deserued.*

(47) By this then it is euident, that these tragedies against the Lords were exploited by others, in which it is plaine that this King (otherwise so deuout to God, so noble and so full of naturall good propensions) was fatally over-wrought by wicked counsell; though hee therein bee inexcusable, for good nature (as wee call it) cannot satisfie for publicke errors. But the condemned man was forthwith put to death accordingly, the King being most highlie offended, that none had entreated him on the Earles behalfe, whom (saith *Walsingham*) hee did inwardlie loue. Neuertheless, hee had not long before created the elder *Spenser* Earle of *Winchester*, and deckt the plume of his fortunes with a toppe-feather taken out of the said late Earle of *Lancasters* estate, that is to say, with the Castle and honour of * *Donington*, parcell of the Earldome of *Lincolne*. Hauing thus farre shewed the originall of the mischief, wee will hasten now to the last Act or Catastrophe of our *Edwards* tragédie, onely wee will first remember some inter-currant matters.

(48) You haue heard before, how that the Cardinals sent from the Pope, had (in fauour of the *English*) put *Scotland* vnder Interdict; wherefore King *Robert* now at last dispatched the Bishop of *Glasgow*, and *Thomas Randolph* Earle of *Murray* to Rome, for obtaining releafe and absolution, but they returned without effecting it. Whereupon King *Robert* moued to haue a truce for thirteene yeeres, which King *Edward* accordingly granted, and the Pope * then absolved the *Scots*. The matters of *Scotland* seemed thus to be sufficiently provided for during that time, and the rather for that somewhat before the motion for truce, the King had caused the newly created Earle of *Carleile* *Andrew de Herley* to be degraded, hanged, drawne and quartered for treason; which hee was conuicted to haue entred into with the

AD. 1324.
King Edward
moderately
upbraideth
the Earle of
Lancaster
for his death.
Walsingham
then wrote
impr.

Th. W.

Paul.

Scots

Scots, vpon * whom he had before done speciall seruices, as hauing for that cause the Castle and Citie of *Carleile* committed to his gouernment. The truce with *Scotland* being thus confirmed, the King makes his progresse through the * Counties of *Yorke* and *Lancaster*, and the *Marches of Wales*, from whence the late sedicious had their nourishments, taking wife & carefull courtes for ministration of Iustice there, and prevention of like inconueniences, by punishing their Authors seuerely. And Iustices * void of all corruption, were appointed else-where.

(49) In the meane space, the new King of *France* *Charles* the fifth, a most earnest enemy to the *English* mens possessions there, sought occasions of quarrell with King *Edward*, who while hee consulted at home how to order that affairst, the yong *L. Roger Mortimer*, one whom the *Diuell* (saith our * Courtier) refused to kindle new diffention with, and to stirre vp a most miserable ciuill warre, hauing corrupted his Keepers, or (as some others wrote) hauing poisoned them with a sleepey drinke, escaped out of the Tower of *London*, getting ouer clearly without any empeachment into *France*.

(50) The *Spensers* both father and sonne, the one thus created Earle of *Winchester*, and the other Earle of *Gloester*, aspiring to the fullness of command, and desirous to leaue nothing in their eye, which might stumble their sway with the King, failed not to beger immortal enimities both against themselves and the King. The *Queene* tooke their carriage so heinouly, because (besides other things) they had abridged her meanes of maintenance, (while themselves abounded in all riches and magnificence) as shee complained * That the daughter and sole heire of the king of *France* was married to a gripple miser, and that being promised to be a *Queene*, shee was become no better then a waiting woman, liuing vpon a pension from the *Spensers*.

(51) Thus was the matter, and as it were, the Embriou, of their common destruction laid, and begun in the impotence of a womans will, to helpe out the which with shrewd drifts and directions, they encrease her side with *Adam* Bishoppe of *Hereford*, by tripping him out of all his Temporalities as a Traitor, for that hee had supported the *Mortimers* in the Barons quarrell. This *Adam* (saith our Knight) was a man of most subtile witte, and in all worldly policies profound, daring to doe great things and factious withall, who for this cause conceiuing deepest hate, and therefore easily growing deare to the *Queene*, made a great secret party. To which *Henrie Burmwalsh* Bishoppe of *Lincoln*, who (for like causes) had beene kept from his temporalities (about two yeeres) ioyned himselfe. Neither would the *Spensers* auarice suffer them to weaken the multitudes of their enemies, for they sold the Kings gracious fauour to such as had beene in the Barons quarrell, at so great rates that they by granting away lands and Manours to the said Lords *Spensers* for their pardons &c. verie many of the Nobles were empowrished. To be short, the royall power being in the hands of the *Spensers*, and *Roger Baldock* Chancellour, or of their Creatures and Faouourites; this other faction had the generall discontentments of the Realme to worke vpon for their aduantage.

(52) The King thus guiding himselfe, and hauing sent his Brother *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* (vpon notice of the first troubles) with Forces into *Gascogne*, who gaue some little Ray for a time to the *French* proceedings, till they might otherwise be provided for, it came to this point at last: that whereas the King had a purpose to haue gone in person into *France*, the *Spensers* who were afraid to be seuered from his person, the onely reuerence whereof they knew to be their safeguard, and yet not daring to attend him thither, or stay behind, * perswaded the King contrary to the minds of all the rest, that the *Queene* (who sought it) should goe

and negotiate her husbands affairst in *France*. Shee did so; and whereas before her departure, things were in great extremity betweene the two Nations, inso much that all the *French* were banished out of *England*, not they who were attendant on the *Queen* her selfe in neere place being spared, all matters by her negotiation and suite were quieted vpon condition that King *Edward* should giue to his sonne *Edward* of *Windfor* (afterward King) the *Duchy of Aquitaine*, and *Earldome of Poitou*, for which the king of *France* was pleased to accept his said yong *Nephewes* homage.

(53) This was done, and the Prince sent ouer for that purpose to his mother, to the vtter vndoing of the King his Father, and of all his fauourites. For the heire of *England* being in forraigne parts, among the contrary faction, all the consultation was (vnder colour of raising the *Spensers*), to accomplish farther matters. The Prince, hauing (at *Boys de Vincens*) done his homage for that *Duchie* and County to his vncke *Charles de Valois* King of *France*, was (as also the *Queene* his mother) sent for backe by the King about *Michaelmas*; but the *Queenes* conspiracy being not yet ripe, shee deferred to obay, detaining her sonne still.

(54) There went ouer with the yong Prince, among many others, *Walter Stapleton*, Bishoppe of *Excester*, who perceiving into what familiarity the Lord *Roger Mortimer* was growne with the *Queene*, which * seemed greater then either stood with her honour or dutie, and seeing both him and other of the Kings enemies, and fugitiues enioy that priuacie in counsell, which was sufficient to himselfe, who was now (as being none of theirs) * excluded, returned secretly (though vnseen for) into *England*, faithfully (as it became a good man) declaring his knowledge.

(55) The King now clearly beholding his error in his dangers * solicited the King of *France* to send home his wife and sonne, but that not succeeding, hee caused them * openly in *London* to be proclaimed enemies of the Kingdome, banishing them with all their adherents out of the same. For his more assurance also hee caused the Ports to be most narrowly watcht. Finally, to draw all his dangers to a short dispatch, there was (as was supposed) a plot laid for * making away the *Queene* and Prince, but Gods will was to frustrate it.

(56) The *Queen*, on the other side, fearing that the * *Spensers* gold had laid traines to blow her whole proceedings vp in *France*, kept her selfe out of the way, till with the Prince, the Lord *Roger Mortimer*, and other their adherents, they were safely gotten into *Hennault*: There might bee some other reason also and necessary to moue *Queene Isabel* to depart out of *France*, beside the doubt of that kind of corruption in the Peeres thereof: as to turne off a warre from thence being her native Country, which for her cause was afflicted in the Sea-strengthes thereof; for Sir *John Oturwin*, Sir *Nicholas Kiriad*, and Sir *John de Felton*, with the Nauie of the Ports, and of other places, had by commission from the King so scowred the narrow Seas, that they within a short time brought into *England* as lawfull prize, * an hundred and twenty *Norman* shippes or vessels. Moreover, whereas those two Bishoppes which the Pope had sent, were returned sorrowfull out of *England*, not onely without doing any good on her behalfe, but also without hope of doing any, shee might easily be perswaded that the sword must doe it, or nothing.

(57) But in *Hennault* shee found most honourable and louing welcome of the Earle, where, therefore (without the consent or aduise of the Peeres of *England*) shee ensured (saith our * Author) that delight and terror of the whole world, her sonne, being then about foureteen yeeres old, to *Philippa* the said Earles daughter, and with the money of her portion waged souldiers out of *Hennault* and *Germany*, so transported

Polyd. Verg. lib. 8.

* Th. Wals.

* Th. de la Mo.

* Polyd. Verg. lib. 18
The Queene and Prince proclaimed Traitors.
Th. Wals.
Polyd. Verg. lib. 8.
Fabian.
Their death plotted by the King.

* M. Fox. All. & Mon. p. 64. col. 1.

* Tpd. Neuf.

The English scowre the narrow seas.

* Th. Wals.

An. D. 1326.
A. reg. 19.

* Th. de la Mo.

sport into England. There her friends expected her arrival daily, of which the Bishops of Hereford and Lincoln were not meanest: Her men and Naue being now ready, hee with her sonne the Prince, the Lord Edmund Earle of Kent his vnle, * Aimeric de Valence Earle of Pembroke, the Lord John de Hault, the Earle of Henaults brother (a valiant Gentleman) the Lord Roger Mortimer, and many other Englishmen of name and note, with about two thousand and feuen hundred Henowages and Germans, vnder the leading of the said Lord John, arrived at Ormwell in Suffolke vpon the Friday before Saint Michaels day.

(58) Her arrival being reported to the King (who was, poore Prince, not onely destitute of friends and meanes, but as it seemes, of courage, and counsell also) it did not at first seeme credible. The truth appearing, he demanded assistance of the City of London, whose answer was, *That they would honour with all dutie, the King, the Queene, and Prince, but would shut their gates against forreiners, and traitors to the Realme, and with all their powers withstand them.* In this answer the King and his few friends repoling no assurance, he committed an error worse then that former of sending his sonne out of England, by retiring himselfe into the West, with his inseparable fauourites the *Spensers, Baldock* and others there, to raise a force against the Queene: but before hee went, hee left his other sonne, the Lord John (called of *Eltham*) in the Tower of London with the Countesse of Gloucester, the Kings Nece, wife to the younger *Spenser* Earle of Gloucester, committing the Tower to selfe to Sir John de Weston, who was well provided of men and victuals. Hee commanded all men also to destroy and kill the Queenes partakers, none excepted but her selfe, her sonne, and Edmund Earle of Kent, the Kings brother by the Father, and that none, vpon paine of death, and losse of all that they might leefe, should aid or assist them: and that hee should haue a thousand pound, who did bring the Lord Mortimers head. Thus tooke hee his last leaue of London, and in a manner also of his Rule or Domination.

(59) On the contrary part, there repaired to the Queene the Earle Marshall, and Henry Earle of Leicester, the Bishops of Lincoln, Hereford, Ely, and of Barons, Knights, and armed Souldiers no small multitude, whom aswell to retain, as to draw more, letters and rumors flew about, declaring (though falsely) that the King of France had in the aide of his sister sent so many Dukes, Earles, and others, that England could scarce suffice to feed them. This, for such whom the opinion of warlike strength would winne: but those whom shew of Religion might moue, it was as cunningly, and as falsely spread, that the Pope had excommunicated all such as did take armes against the Queene, and (the more to countenance the fiction) that two Cardinals imployed about the Premises, were seen in the Queens Campe. Then was it proclaimed that the causes of her committing were to deliuer the Realme from the misleaders of the King, which were named to be the *Spensers, Roger Baldock* Bishoppe of Norwich, Lord Chancellor and their Fautors; all others to be safe, and that nothing should be taken from any other subiect without true payment; but finally, that he who brought the younger *Spenser* head should haue two thousand pounds. These things first thus ordered, the Queen with her sonne and whole power pursues the King (as it had beene agreed by the Council of warre) taking first her way to Oxford: where the whole Vniuersity being called together, in the presence of the Queene, the Prince, Roger Mortimer and the rest of that troope, the Bishop of Hereford (the Queenes boosome Counsellor) preaching to them on this Text, *My head, my head aketh*, deliuered to them the reasons of the Queens coming with her Army, concluding (more like a Butcher then a Diuine) that an aking & sick head of a kingdom, was

of necessity to be taken off, and not to be tampered with by any other physick.

(60) The Londoners in fauour of the Queene, and hatred of the *Spensers* committed sundry outrages, besides bloody sacrilege in cutting off the Bishop of Exeters head, and some others (whom the King had made Guardian of London) in their popular fury, among the which one of them was a Citizen of their owne *Iohanne Marshal*, who had bene of the younger *Spensers* acquaintance. The Tower of London they got into their possession, placing and displacing the Garrison and Officers therein at their pleasure, vnder the name of the Lord John of Eltham, the Kings second sonne, whom they proclaimed *Custos* of the City, and of the Land. They also set at liberty all prisoners, which by the popular Queenes commandement was done through the whole Realme: and all banished men and fugitiues were reuoked; who all flocking vnto London, brought no small encrease to her forces.

(61) Whether in the meane space doth wofull Edward lie? what force, what course, what way takes hee poore Prince? O fearefull condition of so great a Monarches State, when a Wife, a Sonne, a Kingdome are not trusted, and those onely are trusted who had nothing strong, but a will to lue and die with him. The Queene passing from Oxford to Gloucester (onward to the siege of Bristol Castle) grew all the while in her strengths like a rowled snow-ball, or as a River which spreads itself broader from the fountain to the Ocean, * *vires acquirit cundo*. For either repaired to her (for the loue of the young Prince) the Lord Percy, the Lord Wake, and others aswell out of the North, as Marches of Wales. But Edward (having left the Earle of Winchester, the elder Lord *Spenser*, in the Castell of Bristol for the keeping thereof) meditates flight with a few into the Isle of Lunade in Seuerne Sea, or into Ireland, & while hee wandreth about not finding where to rest safe, his roiall credite, name, and power, (like a Cliffe which falling from the toppe of some huge rocke, breakes into the more pieces, the farther it rolles) are daylie more and more diminisht as they scatter, till now at last they are come vnto a very nothing. After a weeke therefore spent vnto the Sea, Sir Thomas Blunt forsaking him, and coming to the Queene, he came on shore in Glamorganshire, where with his few friends hee entrusted himselfe to God, and the faith of the *VVels* (who indeed still loued him) lying hidden among them in the Abbey of *Neath*.

(62) Now had the Queene and her sonne (for his name was abused to all sorts of turne-serings) taken the elder Lord *Spenser* at the Castell of Bristol, who (without any forme of trial) was cruelly cut vp aliue and quartered (saith de la Moere our Knight) being first at the clamours of the people, drawne and hanged in his proper Armouries vpon the common Gallows without the City: but his grandchild *Hugolin* stood so valiantly in defence of himself within the Castell of *Kershill*, that hee had his life and the lues of all his assistants saved.

(63) The King not appearing, Proclamations were every day made in the Queenes Armie, declaring, * That it was the common consent of the realm that hee should returne, and * receive the gouernement thereof, so as he would conforme himselfe to his people. This (whether Stratageme or Truth) not prevailing, Henry Earle of Lancaster the late Earles Brother, Sir William la Zouch, and *Rhes ap Howell* a *Welshman*, who all of them had Lands in those parts where the King concealed himselfe, were sent with coine, and forces to discouer and take him: The Queene and her people lay in the City of Hereford, the Episcopall See of that great Arch-bishop of the courties *Adam de Orton*, where by aduise and consent of the Lords, her sonne the Duke of *Aquitaine* was made *High-keeper* of England, and they as to the *Custos* of the same, did sweare him fealty. And here also the Bishoppe of Norwich was made Chancellor of

of the Realme, and the Bishoppe of Winchester Treasurer.

(65) What will not money, diligence and faire words doe; with corrupt dispositions, euen to euering of all bands of either religious or ciuill duties? By such meanes therefore the desolate, sad, and vnfortunate King, * came into his cofen of *Lancasters* hands, and with him the younger Lord *Spenser* Earle of Gloucester, Robert Baldock Lord Chancellor and *Simon de Reding*, there being no regard had to the detention of any other. The King was conueied by the Earle from the place of his surpris to *Monmouth*, to *Ledburie*, and so to the Castell of *Kenelworth* belonging to the Earle of Leicester, who was appointed to attend him, that is, to keepe him safe. The other three, *Spenser, Baldock* and *Reding* were strongly guarded to Hereford, there to be disposed of at the pleasure of their most capital enemies.

(66) Before whose coming to facisfic Roger Mortimer, the Lord Edmund Earle of Arundel, and two Gentlemen *Daniel* and *Micheldene* were beheaded at Hereford: The Lord Mortimer was so high in the Queens fauour, that hee could doe no lesse (as wee may suppose) then gratifie him with a few hated heads. But (Mortimer) there will bee a time, when the cry of this, and other blood sacrificed to thy priuate reuenge (while thou abusest the publike trust) will neuer giue ouer the pursiue, till it hath deferuently drawne thine in lieu thereof.

(67) The Lord *Spenser* and the rest, * on whom *VVilliam Trussell* the Iudge gaue sentence of death, being now drawne to Hereford, the said Lord being clad in his coat-armour, was most despitely dragged to the place of execution, where being first hung vpon a gallows fifty foot high, hee was afterward headed, and cut into quarters: they who brought him to the Queene, hauing the promised summe of two thousand pounds distributed among them for reward. His head was set vp at London, and his quarters in foure parts of the Kingdome. *Simon de Reding* was hanged ten foot lower then hee in the same place.

(68) This Execution (saith *Walsingham*) was done vpon a Munday in reuenge of the death of Thomas Earle of Lancaster, whose blood was likewise shed vpon a Munday. Robert Baldock late Lord Chancellor was committed to the keeping of the Bishop of Hereford, who after a time caused him to bee brought vp to Hereford-house in London, where the tumultuous people (not without the Bishoppe of Herefords secret approuement as was said) tooke him violently away, and (though he were a Priest) thrust him into *Newgate*, where they vsed him so vnhandfomly, that albeit they had no accusation, but onely for being faithfull to his Soueraigne, where-with to charge him, hee not long after died in prison; to whom (saith *De la Moere*) might be applied that of *Quintilian*, *Torquentem vinctis quisquis occidit*.

(69) The mournfull King being at Kenelworth Castle, there repaired thither the Bishops of Winchester, Hereford, and Lincoln, * two Earles, two Abbots, foure Barons, * two Iustices, three Knights for euery County, and for London, and other principall places (chiefly for the five Ports) a certaine chosen number, selected by the Parliament, which then the Queene and her Sonne held at London. The Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln (as it was agreed vpon) came thither before any of the rest, to giue the King to vnderstand what kind of Embassage was approaching, as to prepare him by the best Arguments they could to satisfy the desire, and expectation of their new moulded common-weale, which could onely be by resignation of the Crowne, that his Sonne (whom the body of the then confuted State had elected) might raigine in his stead.

(70) When they were admitted to his presence, (the Earle of Leicester being by) they together so wrought him, partly with shewing a necessity, partly

with other reasons drawne out of common places, thoroughly studied for that purpose, that (though not without many sobbs and teares) hee finally did not dissent, if his answer were truly reported (which * som doubt vnto the Parliament. * For they tolde him that the Common-weale had conceiued to irreconcilable dislikes of his gouernment, the particulars whereof had beene opened in the general assembly at London, that it was resolu'd neuer to endure him as King any longer. That notwithstanding, those dislikes had not extended themselves so farre as his faketo exclude his issue, but that with vniuersall applause, and loy, the Common-weale had in Parliament elected his eldest sonne the Lord Edward for King. That it would be a very acceptable thing to God, willingly to giue o- uer an earthly Kingdome for the common-good and quiet of his Country, which they said could not otherwise be secured. That yet his honour should be no lesse after the resignation, then it was before, onely him the common-weale would neuer suffer to raigine any longer. They finally durst tell him, that vniuersally hee did of himselfe renounce his Crowne and Scepter, the people would neither endure him, nor any of his Children as their Soueraigne, but disclaiming all homage and fealty, would elect some other for King, who should not bee of the blood.

(71) The whole Company sent by the body of State (if it may be called a body which then had no Head there) from London, where it attended their returne, being placed by the Bishoppe of Hereford, according to their degrees, in the Presence Chamber at Kenelworth Castle, the King gown'd in blacke came forth at last out of an inward room, and presented himselfe to his vassals, where (as being Priuie to their errand) sorrow broke such a chille into him, that hee fell to the earth, lying stretched forth in a deadly swoon; The Earle of Leicester, and the Bishoppe of Winchester beholding this, ranne vnto him, and with much labour recovered the half-dead king, setting him vpon his feet. As rusll & heauy as this sight was, we read not yet of any acts or effects of compassion exprest towards him at this present, so settled (as it seemed) was the hatred and auersion. The King being now (we cannot say) come to himselfe, but to the sense of his misery, the Bishoppe of Hereford declares the cause of their present Embassie, and running ouer the former points, concludes as before, saying, (as in the person of the common-wealth) *That the King must resigne his Diademe to his eldest sonne, or after the refusal suffer them to elect such a person as themselves should indige to be most fit and able to defend the Kingdome.*

(72) The dolorous King hauing heard this speech, brake forth into sighes and teares, and being (saith his * most fauourable reporter) more ready to sacrifice his body for Christs cause, then once to behold the disinherison of his sonnes, or (through his occasion) the perpetuall disturbance of the Kingdome, (as knowing, saith he, that a good hepard should giue his life for his flocke,) made at the last his answer to this effect. * That hee knew that for his many sinnes hee was false into this calamity, and therefore had the lesse cause to take it grieuously: * That much hee sorrowed for * this that the people of the Kingdome were so exasperated against him, as that they thought vnto utterly abhorre his any longer rule and souerainety: and therefore he besought all that were there present to * forgive and spare him being so afflicted. That neuertheless it was * greatly to his good pleasure and liking, (seeing it * could none other be on his behalfe,) that his eldest sonne was so gracious in their sight, and therefore hee gaue them * thanks for choosling him to be their King.

(73) This being said, there was forthwith a proceeding to the short ceremonies of his resignation, which principally consisted in the surrender of his

T t t t Diademe

*Tb.de la Motte.

Diadem and Ensignes of Maicesty, to the use of his son the new King. Thereupon * Sir William Trussel (as being a Judge who could fit them with quirks of law to colour so lawlesse and treasonable a fact) on the behalfe of the whole Realme renounced all homage, and allegiance to the Lord Edward of Caermarthen late King.

*Polychr.lib 7.6.43

(74) The forme of that renunciation, as being obsolete, you shall haue in the like * obsolete words of Treuisa, which was this; I William Trussel, in name of all men of the land of England, and of all the Parliament Procurator, resigne to the Lord Edward, the homage that was made to thee sometime; and from this time forward now following, I desist thee, and proue thee of all yoyall power, so I shall neuer be tendant to thee as for King after this time. Which being done, Sir Thomas Blunt Knight, Steward of the houthold, by breaking his staffe, resigned his office, and declared that the late Kings family was discharged.

*Tbo.VValf.

(75) Edward being thus dekinged, the Embassie rode ioyfully backe to London to the Parliament, with the resigned * Ensignes, and dispatch of their employment. Here (for that this seems the last houre of his raigne and kingly state) wee will make a stop, referring you for the rest to the next Kings life, vnder whose name and abused authority they were acted.

*Tbo.Walsfingb.

(76) Notwithstanding, wee may not forget in all these doings to call to mind, who it was that fate at the helme of State, murtherlooking, and ouerthrowing Queene, Prince and all; to wit, the most ambitious and vindicative man liuing, Roger Lord Mortimer of Wigmore: for, as for the * Queene, when shee was (God knows how farre guilty,) aduertised of her husbands dethronization, she outwardly exprest so great extremity of passion (notwithstanding that at the same time shee was tolde of her sonnes surrogation) as if shee had beene distraught in her wities: which the Prince her sonne (then about fifteen yeeres of age) beholding, hee made an oath, neuer to accept of the Crowne against his fathers good will; and thereupon it was (saith Walsingham a Writer worthe of beliete) that the said Embassie was sent to Kenelworth Castle, (where the now no more a King remained) to worke his assent, whose answer therunto (saith * another) was by those Messengers related at full, and fuller then in truth it was sent by the King, but the Peeres then in Parliament made their vse thereof, in procuring such a Prince to take the rule of the, whom they hoped, by reason of his tender yeeres, themselves should be able to rule and ouermaster.

*Hist.Brutl. MS.

His Wife.

(77) Isabel, daughter to Philip the Faire, King of France (sister to Lodowicke Hutin, Philip the Long, and Charles the Faire, all Kings of France) was married to Edward the second, at twelve yeeres of age, in our Lady Church of Bulloigne, the 22. of Ianuary, 1308.



EDWARD

Shee was his wife twenty yeeres, and his widow thirty, and liued threescore and three yeeres. Shee died at Kiffings near London, the two & twentieth of August 1357. and was buried in the middest of the Gray-Friers Chure in London, the 27. of September following.

His Issue.

(78) Edward (surnamed of Windsor) the eldest son of King Edward and Queene Isabel his wife, was borne at the Castle of Windsor, the thirteenth of October, the yeere of Christ, 1312. and the sixt of his fathers raigne: hee was created Prince of Wales, and Duke of Aquitaine, in a Parliament holden at Turke, Anno 1322. and in the troubles of the Realme and absence of his Father, in an assembly of Lords met at Hereford, and in presence of the Queene, was made L. Warden of England by a common decree: vnto whom all the Lords made their fealty, in receiuing an Oath of Allegiance to be faithfull and loyall vnto him as to the Lord Warden of the Realm: and shortly after, the Father deposed, hee was crowned King of England, by the name of Edward the third.

(79) John (surnamed of Eltham) the second sonne of King Edward and Queene Isabel his wife, was borne at Eltham in Kent, the 15. of August, and yeere of Christ, 1315. and at twelve yeeres of age was created Earle of Cornwall in a Parliament, Anno 1327. and third yeere of the raign of King Edward his brother: hee died in Scotland vnmarrid, in the flower of his youth, the tenth of his brothers raigne, and yeere of Christ, 1324.

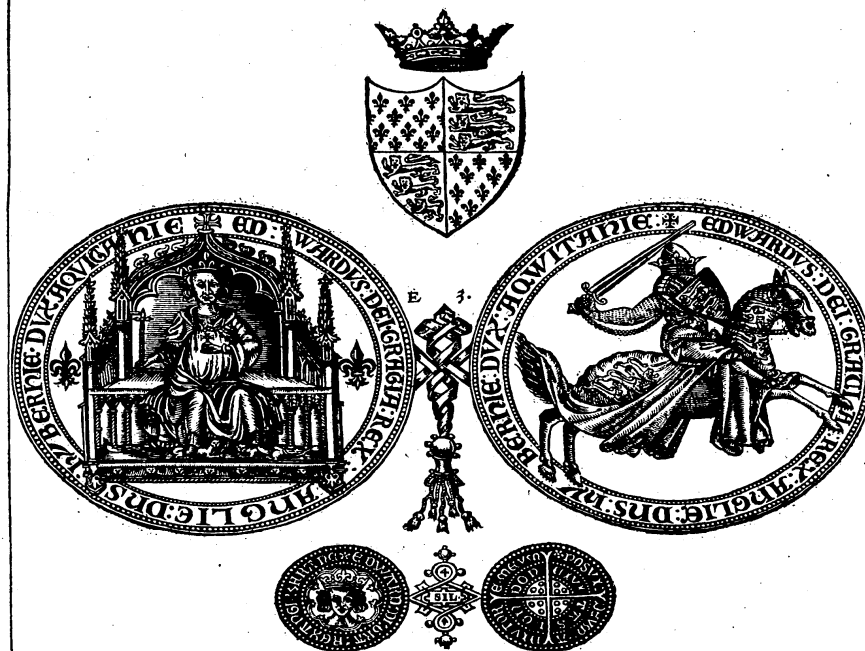
(80) Joan the eldest daughter, and third child of King Edward and Queene Isabel, was borne in the Tower of London: shee was married being a child at Barwicke the eighteenth day of Iuly, in the fourth yeere of the Raign of King Edward her brother, 1329 to David Prince of Scotland, sonne and heire apparent of King Robert Bruce, whom hee succeeded with in one yeere after in the kingdome, being but seven yeeres of age, and was the second King of Scotland of the name of David: shee was his wife twenty and eight yeeres, and being come into England to visite her brother, shee deccased here without Issue, in the two and thirtieth yeere of his Raigne, 1357. and was buried at the Gray-Friers in London.

(81) Eleanor, the second and yongest daughter, & fourth child of King Edward and Queene Isabel, was the second wife of Reynald the second, Earle of Gelder, married vnto him with a portion of fifteen thousand pounds 1332. being the sixt yeere of the raign of King Edward her brother, who being the Vicar generall of the Empire, to the Emperour Lewis of Bavar, created him first Duke of Gelder: shee had issue by him Reynald and Edward both Dukes successiuele after their Father without Issue; the later of them leaving his Duchie and his wife to his Nephew William Duke of Gulik his halfe sisters Sonne.



EDWARD THE THIRD. KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, &c. THE FORTIENINTH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSUE.

Monarch 49



CHAPTER XII.



He sicknesse and wounds which the commonwelth sustained by the raigne of the late deposed king, vpon the change of her Leach and Physitian, recovered not onely health and strength, but beaurtie also and ornament; and the elements themselves, grew * gracious and propitious to the vse of man, the Aire becoming more healthfull, the earth more fruitfull, as if Nature herself were priuie to the worth of the succeeding Prince. But this his worth did not display it selfe, vntill hee had plucked the sway of things out of the hands of the Queene his mother, and of that aspiring danger and tempest of England, Roger Mortimer who wholly possessed her.

(2) This Edward of Windsor, being not fiftene yeeres of age, when (without any guilty thought in him) his throne was thus established vpon his Fathers ruine, tooke the beginning of his raign by publicke sanction at the * twentieth day of Ianuarie, and by direction of such as sought to colour their treasons against their deposed Soueraigne, proclaimed "his peace in these words. Edward by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, to N.N. our Sheriffe of S. Greeting. Because the Lord Edward our Father, late King of England, by the common Councell and Assent of the Prelates, Earles, Barons, and other the chiefe men, and the whole Comminaltie of the Kingdome, did voluntarily remoue himselfe from the government thereof, willing and granting that we as his eldest sonne and heire, should take vpon vs the rule and regiment of the same, and we with the counsel & aduise of the Prelates, Earls & Barons before said, yielding therein to our fathers good pleasure

*Tbo.Walf.

"sure, and will, have taken upon vs the gouernance of the said Kingdom, and as the manner is, have receiued the Fealties and Homages of the said Prelates and Peeres. Wee therefore desire that our peace for the quiet and calme estate of our people should bee inuolublie obserued, do will and command you, that presently vpon sight of these presents, you cause our Peace to bee openly proclaimed through your whole Bailiwick, forbidding all and euery one on our behalf, vnder paine and perill of disinherition, and losse of life and limmes, not to presume to violate or infringe our said peace, but that euery one pursue or follow his actions, and complaints without any manner of outrage, according to the lawes & customes of our Kingdom: for we are ready & alwaies wilbe, to administer full right to all & singular complainants, as wel poor as rich in our Courts of Iustice. Witness our selfe, &c. in the Calends of February vpon Sunday being Candlemas Eue.

* 1 Febua.

King Edward provided for warres with Scotland.

Mortimers high practices. * Tied Neuf.

* Tho. de la More * Tho. de la More.

* Grafion.

* Grafion. * Tho. de la More.

The late King Edward unwarthered.

* Annals.

* Hester Betti. & annis.

(6) Neuer was the fallacie of pointings, or ambiguity of Phrase more mischieuously vied to the destruction of a King, or defence of the Contriuers, then in this hainous Parricide, for it is said that a bloody *Sophisme* conceived in these words was sent;

* Edwardum occidere nolite timere bonum est

To shed King Edwards blood
Refuse to feare I count it good.

Where the Comma or pause being put after *Nolite*, bid them not to make him away, but after *timere*, insinuates a plaine encouragement to the fact.

(7) The *Sphinx* who is said to be the Author of this ambiguous Riddle, sent by the Lord *Mortimer*, was *Adam de Torleton*, who * vtterly denied any such intention, when the Murthurers for their owne iustificatiion, produced the writing it selfe vnder Queene *Isabels* Scale, and the scales of the other Conspirators, and therefore the said *Bishoppe Adam* was the cause, why *Gorney* and *Mattreuer* was with terrible menaces shaken vp, pursued and outlawed, who more pursued with the memory and conscience of so hainous a Tragedie, fled out of England, *Gorney* after three yeres banishment, being discovered at *Maffels* in France, and apprehended, was conuaited backe, but had his head taken off at Sea, in his passage, * left he should reucale too much at his arrival, but *Mattreuer* lay hidden in *Germanie* a long time, doing penance.

(8) This Parricide was committed about *S. Matthews* day, and (that you may note what confidence they had in their Art of secret murder, as also an ordinary mockage of the people in like cases) the noble body was laide forth, and * many Abbots, Priors, Knights, and Burgesses of *Bristol* and *Glocester* were sent for to see the same; vpon which, although there appeared no manifest outward sign of violent death, but the skinne all ouer whole and vnbroken, yet the cry of murthre could not so bee smothered, but the meanes and manner came to light. This happinesse certainly the poore Prince had, that after his imprisonment hee reformed his life in so pious & Christian sort, that it gaue occasion when hee was dead of disputation, whether * hee were not to bee reputed a *Saint*, euenas (say our Authors) there was the like Question concerning *Thomas Earle of Lancaster*, though beheaded for apparant * reasons. His body * without any funeral pompe was buried among the *Benedictines* in their Abbey at *Glocester*, and so (saith * our passionate author) the * acely height of the Angels Kingdom receiued this Scholler, and Disciple of Christ, thus rest and spoiled of his English Kingdom.

(9) The young King was now vpon the borders of Scotland with a puissant Armie, where also the Queene mother, and *Mortimer*, with many other Nobles were present, and hauing enuironed the Scots (who had pierced into England with inuasiue armes) in the woods of *Pyridale* and *Stanhope* Parke, made sure account of a certaine victorie; but by the treason of the said Lord *Mortimer* (as afterward was laid to his charge) they were suffered to escape out of that mischiefe, and the young King with griefe returned inglorious after an huge waste of treasure, and perill of his owne person.

(10) For while the English heart thus held the Scots, as it were beleaged *Sir James Douglas* in the dead of night, with about * two hundred swift horse assailed the Kings owne Paililion, and missed so little of killing him, that a Priest his Chaplaine stout and loyal man was slaine in his defence, and *Sir James* escaped backe without hurt, but not without honor for his bold attempt. In the Scots Campe * one note, that the English found five hundred great Oxen and Kine ready killed, a thousand spits full of flesh, ready to be roasted, five hundred Cawdrons made of beastes skins, full of flesh, ouer the fire seething, and about

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about * ten thousand paire of raw leather shoes, the haire fill vpon them. In King Edwards Armie were (as * some write) thirty thousand Archers, and five hundred good men of Arms, which perhaps is one of the greatest boasts that you shall lightly reade to haue been of our Nation, and the reason was, for that the world conceived such hope of the young King, that many more went * voluntary then constrained. All which puissance was notwithstanding thus eluded.

(12) About this time died stricken with leprosie, *Robert Bruce* King, and recouerer of Scotland, and the most approved Warriour of the world in that age, by whose losse it was soone found, how much the vertue and fortune of one man are worth in any Nation. But before hee died, that peace was made with the Scots by the meanes of the Queene and the Lord *Mortimer*, which is so much dispraised by our Writers, and in the end proued capital to the principal Actor *Mortimer*.

(13) For at this treaty it was that the King (then in his Minority) sealed Charters to the Scots at *Northampton*, whose contents were contriued by the Queene, the said Lord *Mortimer*, and *Sir James Douglas*, without the priuie of the English. There was also deliuered to them that famous Euidence called the * *Ragman Roll*, and the King acquited them of all * claime and pretence of right to the Superiority of Scotland, rendering backe fundrie Jewels taken by the English from the Scots, among the which was one speciall, called the *Blacke Crosse* of Scotland. There was it also granted, that * all Englishmen should leese their lands in Scotland, vntil they would inhabit vpon them, and become Liege-men to the King thereof, besides many other things to the high discontentation (as was the humor of those times) of the English Subjects. Moreover, vnder the specious colour of restitution of damages, King *Robert* was to pay to King *Edward* thirty thousand Marks sterling, with which (as the meed of treason) the Lord *Mortimer* was afterward publicly charged, and for the same, and other his crimes was executed as a Traitor. Finally, vpon the tenth of Iuly, *David Bruce* Prince of Scotland, a child of seuen or eight yeeres old, and sonne and heire to King *Robert*, married *Joan*, siltter to *K. Edward* at *Berwick*: by which peace the English were made obnoxious to some reproaches, the Scottish Nation in scorne, calling the said Lady, *Jane Make-Peace*.

(14) And therefore saith one of this part of King Edwards raigne: that drawne aside with euill aduise, by reason of his age, hee committed many foule errors in State, at the beginning of his Gouvernement: which is also the generall opinion of all our Writers, whereunto this verbis by * some applied;

Vapores terra, sapiens sunt ibi guerra,

Where Children Rulers are,
There oft is woe and war.

(15) There died likewise about this time *Charles the Faire*, King of France, (to whom King *Edward* had not long before done homage for his Dutchie of *Gasconie*) the third and last sonne of *Philip the Faire*, King of France, by whose decess the Crown of that noble Kingdom, deuolued to this our *Edward* King of England in right of his mother Queene *Isabel*: And because vpon this * Title King *Edward* did afterward claime the said Crowne, wee will here once for all instruct you in the iustice thereof.

(16) Three fonnethere were of King *Philip the Faire*, (to wit, *Lewis Hutin*, *Philip le long*, and *Charles the Faire*) who all successiuey raigned in France one after the other, and none of them leauing any Issue, at such time as King *Edward* made his claime, the whole right seemed to be in *Isabel* the onely Child of the said *Philip* which had any issue, for an other sister which shee had died an Infant.

(17) The case thus seeming plaine, was not for such accepted by the French, who receiued to the Crowne *Philip of Valois*, whose father *Charles of Valois* was younger Brother to *Philip the Faire*, aduancing the Brothers sonne before the daughters son, not following the propinquity or descent of blood, but the meliority of sexe, vpon which ground the young had also freshly put by *Joan* daughter of *Lewis Hutin*, preferring *Philip le long* her vnle. The French in barre to her interest, pretended a fundamentall law or entaile, by which * no woman was inheritable to the Crown of France, and in defence of that opinion withstood King *Edward* afterward with so much losse and calamity, though that very law made *Edwards* title the stronger (* as himselfe truly pleaded) hee being the Male, albeit his right defended by the Female.

(18) This Title to so glorious a Monarchy though it accrewed to the English, by this match with Queene *Isabel*, yet doth *Walshingham* * freely pronounce, that neither that affinity, nor any other contract with the French, was euer available or brought any benefite to England: which opinion as it may seeme strange, so will it answere a wise Readers paine in the fruit, to obserue through the course of our stories, whether the said graue Writer had iust occasion so to speake or no. Another conceit there was of this Edwards marriage with *Philippa* the Earle of *Hennaults* daughter, which about this time was consummated, though *Philip de Valois* (king of France by intrusion as our Annals repute him) was her vnle, her mother being his owne sister.

(19) There stood now at home against the stream of the Queene, and her Lord *Mortimer* absolute sway, some great personages, who did not wholly allow their doings, among which was the Kings vnle, *Edmund Earle of Kent*, whose death they shortly procured. Meane while the more to despise and dare their ouerlookers, *Roger Mortimer* was created Earle of the Marches of Wales, at a Parliament holden at *Salisbury*: at which time also *John of Eltham* the Kings Brother was made Earle of *Cornwall*, and the Lord *Butler* of Ireland Earle of *Ormond*. From whence the Lord *Henry Earle of Lancaster*, and sundry other of the Peeres, seeing the King * troden (as it seemed to them) vnder foot, did absent themselves, meditating ciuill armes for redresse, who notwithstanding (by the labour of *Simon de Mepeham* Archbishop of Canterbury) was reconciled: This Archbishoppe very worthily also excommunicated all such as had any hand in the sacrilegious parricide of that * noble and loiall Prelate *Walter Bishoppe of Excester*, or any waies violated him, their aiders, complices or abettors whoeuer. But after the Coronation of *Philip* the young Queene, in another Parliament at *Winchester*, the said Earle *Edmund* was condemned for conspiring to deliuer his brother, late King of England, whom (likely inough by *Mortimers* practise) hee was drawne into an absurd beliefe to be still aliue. Thus, for deuiuing to set a dead man at liberty, this noble Earle *Edmund* the kings half vnle had his head stricken off, though from * Noone till siue at night, hee stood at the place of death without the Caltigates, none being found to behead him, till a base wretch of the Marhal-sea was sent, and did it: so little conscience did the malice and ambition of his potent aduersaries make of shedding the Roiall blood, which by Gods iust iudgement was not long vnreueged.

(20) To supply which losse to the regal stamme, with a very large amends, the young Queene *Philip* at *Woodstocke* in *Oxfordshire*, vpon 15. Iune, being Friday, brought forth her first begotten sonne, the amiable and famous *Edward*, by-named (not of his colour, but of his dreaded Actes in battell) the *Blacke Prince*. King *Edward* not long after with a small companie went into France, and did homage to *Philip de Valois* for his Dutchie of *Gasconie*.

(21) Nemesis, or rather Gods vengeance with swift

* Lex Salica, which law, as their greatest Lawyers since acknowledge, no while concerneth the French Crowne. *Hottelani* *Francia* cap. 8. * *Charl. Origin.* Ed. de iure suo in Reg. Gal. * *Tied Neuf.* & in *Edw.*

King Edward marries Philip the Earle of Hennaults daughter.

* *Tho. Walshingham* in *his* *Edw.*

* This worthy Prelate founded Excester Colledge, and also Harthall in Oxford.

Edmund Earle of Kent the Kings vnle put to death by practise

* *Tho. Walshingham*.

An. D. 1329. The Blacke Prince borne. *Adam Mirin.*

The fall of Mortimer.

* Bedford faith Adam Mortimour Bedford faith Holinshed Burford faith Stow.

* Adam Merim. Tpod. Neust. Holinshed.

The manner of Mortimers furprile at Nottinghams.

* Wile Is. Stowes Annals.

* Mirr. of Mag.

pace did now approach and summon Mortimer to a bloudie account; for the yong King addicting himselfe to serious thoughts, and putting on the Man before his yeeres required, easily saw his owne perill in the others potencie. The Queene his mother (to the common dishonour and griefe of the Kingdome) being generally bruted to be with child by Mortimer, hee vpon ripe aduise sodainely and aduenturously furprised the proud man at Parliament holden in Nottingham, with whom were taken the L. Geoffrey Mortimer his sonne, and Sir Simon de Bedford, who all three were fent prisoners to the Tower of London, vnder a strong guard. Which done, the king by common content of the Parliament tooke into his hands his mothers excessive Dower, & put her to a narrow penion of * one thousand pounds by yeer, circumscribing her within as narrow * limits for her abode, but doing her yeerely the honour and comfort of once or twice visiting her, though otherwise scarce thinking her worthy of life, in regard of her priuacie with Mortimer, and his many heinous practices.

(22) Oh, what enchantments are Honour and Power to the minds of men! how sodainely, and how strangely doe they blow vp the fame with the contempt of others, and forgetfulness of themselves? Certainly the fraile estate of mans constitution is clearelye scene in this high Lord, who drunken with felicitie, and fearing neither God nor man, fell into vtter confusion when least hee feared. The probable manner whereof is worthy the relating. There was in the Castle of Nottingham (and at this day is) a certaine secret way or Mine cut through a rocke, vpon which the said Castle is built, one issue whereof openeth toward the riuer of Trent, which runnes vnder it, and the other venteth it selfe farre within vpon the surface, and is (at this present) called Mortimers hole; through this, the yong King well armed, and stronglie seconded, was conducted with drawne swordes, by some his trustie and iworne seruants, (among which was that braue Montacute, whom his vertues vnder this King raised to the Earldome of Salisbury, &c.) vp to the Queenes Chamber, whose dore (so fearelesly is blinded affection) was vnshut, and with her was Mortimer (the kings Master as the rumor spread him) readie to go to bed, whom with the slaughter of a Knight, and one or two that resisted) they laid hold vpon. This was not reputed a slender enterprife, in regard that in Mortimers retinue were not fewer (they say) then one hundredth and fourescore Knights, besides Esquiers and Gentlemen.

(23) The causes for which hee was condemned in open Parliament at Westminster, these ragged * verses following comprehend, which without any disparagement to their makers iudgement, might verie well haue bene in Prose, but for breuitie and change wee haue here inserted them.

- Fine heinous crimes against him soone were had,*
 1 *First that he caused the King to yield the Scot*
(To make a peace) townes that were from him got.
And therewithall the Charter called Ragman;
 2 *That of the Scots hee had bribed priuy game.*
That through his means Sir Edward of Carnaruan,
In Barkeley Castle most traitorously was slaine.
 4 *That with his Princes mother hee had lain,*
 5 *And finally with polling at his pleasure,*
Had robbed the King and Commons of their treasure.

But the most barbarous murder of the kings father, and speciallie the dishonourable peace and contract with the then professed enemies of England, were principallie insisted vpon as hainous treason. He was after sentence ignominiously drawne to Tyburne, the common place of execution, then called the Elms, and there vpon the common Gallows was as ignominiously executed, hanging (by the kings commandement) two daies and two nights, a publike & glad some spectacle. There died with him Sir Si-

mon de Bedford Knight, & John Dowerel Esquier, as well for expiation of the late King Edwards death, as in complement, as it were of so great a mans fall, whose liues doe feldome, or neuer perish single.

(24) Now came Scotland turne about to suffer a gainie most grieuous losses and afflictions, an ordinarie effect of Childrens government, whether Children in age, or in discretion: for the Lord Edward Balliol hearing of King Roberts death, and the tender age of King David as son and heire of that Balliol, to whom king Edward the first had adjudged the Scots crown, with such voluntaries as hee could raise (though his Father the Lord John had * released his claime to king Robert, and though King Edward in fauour of his sister Ioan Queen of Scotland, would not openly at first support him) embark himselfe in Yorkshire, and inuaded that Realme, where, vpon his landing, he flew Alexander Setoun at Kingorn, and about nine hundred others, putting the rest to flight. Not long after (that no mischief might come alone) neere to the water of Erne, at a place called Dupline, where the Earles of Mar and March, with two puissant armies of Scots, for the defence of their yong King David lay encamped, the said Lord Edward (whose small numbers, not exceeding three thousand English, the Earles as securely and as fatally contemned, as the English vnder Edward the second had contemned the Bruce and his Scots) obtained of them a wonderfull victorie. Boetius (who neuer, or rarely, leaues any ouerthrow purely to the manhood of the English) will needs haue this discomfiture effected by a Camifado, the Balliol and his English with others passing the water of Erne by a Foord in the night, when the enemy little suspected it.

(25) The slaughter euen by his report was miserable: for there were slaine (saith he) the Earles of Marre and Carricke, and three thousand of the Noble, beside Commons. Our * Writers agree that this Foord was passed in the night, but that the fight endured from Sunne-rising till three of the Clocke afternoon, and that, besides the Earles of Marre, and Carricke, three other Earles, Meneth, Athol, and Murray, twelue Barons, eight hundred knights and men of Armes, beside about thirteene thousand other, lost there their liues. Of the English there were onelie slaine thirty and three * Esquiers: so that not without cause this victory was attributed rather to power diuine then humane.

(26) Yet this was but the beginning of farther calamities to the Scottish Nation, which was in it selfe diuided into factions, the one for Bruce, the other for Balliol. The Lord Edward making vse of his good fortune, got himselfe to be crowned King of Scotland at * cone. But king David Bruce with his Queen fled into France to Philip de Valois, who reigned there, & entertained them with much compassion and honor, giuing them Castle Galliard for the place of their abode, till fairer fortune shone. Meane-time the Scots sustained new dammages; for a prime man among them, the Lord William Douglas, was taken prisoner by the English, not without losse of many his men. Before which time by * no honourable means the new King of Scotland was driuen to seeke his safety by flight into England.

(27) King Edward considering those foiles which his father had endured, and the oportunitie of the time, neither holding himselfe lyable in honour to that contract made on his behalfe by the predominant way of his mother and her Paramour Mortimer, as wherein hee tooke both himselfe, and the rights of his Crowne to haue bene wronged in his minority, which in point of gouernment hee was more bound to respect then his Sisters estate, and for that hee was informed that the Towne and Castle of Berwick belonged to the Crowne of his Realme; hee raised his power, and hauing with him Edward the new-crowned of Scotland, hee laid siege to that Towne and Castel in May. But before hee did this, there is who writes, that he summoned his bro-

brother in law King David to doe homage and fealty vnto him, which when David would not yeeld to doe, nor confesse hee ought, no more then his father King Robert, hee made that a ground for the iudice of his warre, as reputing the Acts and releases at Northampton void.

(28) To the rescue of Berwicke, Archibald Douglas Earle of Angus, Gouernour of Scotland for King David, came with a puissant Army, and gaue King Edward battell at Halidon-hill, where with a lamentable slaughter of his people he was vanquished and slaine. This battell deuoured in a manner all the remainders of the Scottish Nobles which preferred it selfe at Dupline by retreat, or by absence from that field. There * perished besides Archibald, the Earles of Ros, Sutherland, and Carricke, three sonnes of the Lord Walter Stewart (whose issue afterward reigned in Scotland, when warre and death had made way to that line, by extirpation of the Male-Competitors in the races of Bruce and Balliol) and at least foureteene thousand others, with the losse (say some) of one Knight, and ten other Englishmen. Our * Writers affirm that the Scots were at this battell, threecore thousand strong, and that there * were slaine eight Earles, 1500. horsemen, and of the common Souldiers five and thirty thousand; which is not improbable, for so much as Heffor confesseth they were stopped in their flight, and put to the sword vpon all sides without mercy.

(29) Hereupon Berwicke was rendred, which the King of England detained as a supposed parcel of his Patrimony, and dismissed the Balliol to the gouernment of the Scottish Kingdome, with sundrie Lords and others of the English. And now the bloudie battles and cruell scores seemed euen betweene the two puissant (though then vnkind) neighbour-Nations, and Edward throughly redeemed the dishonour sustained at Banocksburn by his late father, deliuering his younger yeeres from that contempt, in which his enemies might otherwise haue holden him, as they had done at the entrance of his reign, playing vpon the English with Truffles and Rounds; of which this one is euerie where noted;

Long beards heartlesse, painted hoods witleffe,
Gay coates gracelesse, make England thriflesse.

(30) As for the subornation of poisoning Earle Thomas Randal, and the hanging of Sir Alexander Setons two sonnes, contrarie to faith and law of Arms, at Berwicke with the like fauours which * one would fauour leaue vpon this victorious Prince, wee haue found no colour of warrant but his owne liberty of auouching, which therefore our freedome of nor believing him shall as easily take away and cancell. Neither would wee so farre haue touched this inraring string of discord betweene these two Nations, but that each out of their owne harms of old, may haue the more true sense of their felicity, by their new harmonical concordance.

(31) After that the * Nobles of Scotland had vnanimously confirmed Balliol in the kingdome thereof, and sworne vnto him faith and allegiance at Perth, hee repaired to the King of England at Newcastle upon Tyne, where hee * submitted to Edward King of England, as his Father had done to Edward the first, and with the like successe; for by occasion of such his submission, our Writers say, the Scots (as before they had done) fell off againe, which auersion, or defection was augmented vpon * priuate quarrels, and titles of inheritance to lands of great value, betwene powerful Competitors, and by other particular reuenges, to which a people so continually exercised in fight and battels were not slowlie prone.

(32) Notwithstanding all which (the Balliols party hauing once had all the Holds of Scotland at their commandement, * fue onely excepted, Dumbraine, Longbleym, Kildrummie, Fwuhart, and the

pile of London) Edward king of England hauing with him the Balliol, and a sufficient Army, preuailed so much, that there was no appearance of rebellion; whereupon hee tooke backe with him the Lord Edward Balliol late crowned king of Scotland (of whose steadfastnes hee was (saith Heffor) alwaies ialous, & returned, leauing * David Comin Earle of Athol, gouernour for the parts beyond the Scottish sea, with sufficient force and authority (as was iudged) to take in such strengthes as yet stood out, but needed not his royal power or preface for their expugnation.

(33) The King of England hoping now that all was well there, had newes brought vnto him not long after, at the Parliament at London, that the Scots were out in Armes againe; whereupon hee obtaines aid of money from his Subiects for reprefing their attempts, promising to goe against them in person. * The Lord Robert Stewart, sonne of the Lady Mariorie Bruce, daughter of King Robert (vpon whose line the remainder of the Crown of Scotland had bene eisted) was the man that first lifted vp the head of his Country in this dangerous, sad, and desolate condition (though put into action vpon a priuate iniurie done vnto him by the Earle of Athol) to whom diuers did adhere, though the quarrel seemed properly to be the said L. Roberts, for that if the Bruces were cut off, his hopes perished in them. The Earle of Murray and hee were then chosen gouernours for King Davids party, but by reason of the diligence and power of David Earle of Athol, they were not able as yet to conuene, or effect any thing against the English: neuertheless it was not long before they slew the said Earle David. At this Parliament the King of England purposed to * goe vpon his owne charge into the Holy-Land, and to send the Archbishoppe of Canterbury to deale with Philip de Valois King of France, for appointing a certaine time, wherein they two with their vnitied forces, might take their voyage thither, from which the desire of obtaining the Crowne of France, vpon the fore-mentioned title, did quickly diuert him.

(34) Mean-while, in accomplishment of the Parliaments expectation, King Edward after * Michaelmas marched againe into Scotland with an Armie, and sent his Nauie to the Forth: The Sea-Force whereof, spoyled the Coasts on both sides of the Forth, or Scottish Sea, and putting on land in Saint Colms, they spoyled the Abbey; which Sacrilege, * Heffor notes was severely punished, the whole Fleece being battered with tempest, and some of the ships perishing. At another time also the like sacrilege being perpetrated there, (hee saith) that the shippe wherein the vnlawfull prize was, sunke sodainely to the Seaground without any tempest. The King himselfe comming to * Perth, to order the Scottish affaires, whiles hee abode there, the Earle of Murray one of the Gouernours was taken Prisoner, who was after * deliuered vpon Exchange for the Earle of Namur, (who the Scots by like Art had taken) or as Heffor will haue it, for the Earle of Salisbury.

(35) By the mediation of the French, the Scots had a short truce granted them. But about the end of May, the King sent his cosen the Lord Henry, sonne to Henry Earle of Lancaster, with a great Army to the aid and seruice of the Lord Edward Balliol King of Scotland, which wasted all the Countries about Perth; where, while they lay, the King with a very small Company came sodainely vnto them, and from thence pierced farther oneway then euer his Grandfather Edward had done, suffering fire & death (the common furies of warre) to worke vpon all that might suffer destruction to establish a Conquest. Hee marcht vp as farre as * Elgin and Buquhan, and in his returne to Marre, * burnt the Towne of Aberdeen, in reuenge for * Sir Thomas Rosslyn, a Knight, whom the Towne-men thereof had slaine. The Lord Robert Stewart had great landes in those parts, for Murray and Buquhan were his, which also might

* Adam Merim.

The Lord Robert Stewart against the Balliol.

* Heff. Boet.

* Adam Merim, King Edwards courture for the Holy-Land.

The King of England once more with an Armie in Scotland. * Tpod. Neust.

* Lib. 1. Sacrilege punished.

* Heff. Boet.

* Fabian out of the French. Brookes. Grafson. Holinshed.

A.D. 1334. King Edward the fourth time in Scotland with an Armie.

* Adam Merim. * Heff. Boet.

Holinshed. trans. of Heff. Boet. Lib. 15. cap. 7.

*Notes of record taken by Sir Robert Cotton knight.

Creation of States.

* Adam Merim.

* Holinhead.

The French war in the yolk thereof or Embrion.

Froiland, Grafton.

* Lib. 15.

The matters of Scotland for 7 or 8 years sum- marily set down.

The L. Robert Stewart.
Hest. Becc.
Geo. Buchanan.
Fountain.

might the rather move this severe proceeding: which done, King Edward having repaired sundry Castles there, and leaving Scotland to the new King thereof with forces competent, came back into England. But at this and other times, the *Baliol*, in requital of this aide and friendship, granted to King Edward and his Successors sundry Castles, as *Edenbrough*, *Hedstone*, *Pebbles*, and two thousand pounds yearly rent for the Fee-farm of *Rockbrough*, *Tedworth*, and other places; last of all, his whole interest in amplest manner, reserving only to himselfe, a certaine yearly pension from the King of England.

(36) Who to enlarge the magnificence of his roial estate and amplitude, as meditating farre greater matters then those vnprofitable warres (the bodys and treasure which were employed and spent therein, being able to compasse farre more noble achievements) * created Prince Edward his eldest son Earle of *Chester*, and Duke of *Cornwall*, and at the same solemnity six other Earles, & twenty knights, one of which Knights was *Thomas de la Moore*, whose name hath bene often cited as an Author.

(37) There was in speciall credit with King Edward, one Sir *Robert de Artoys*, who being banished by the French King out of those parts, and made (by King Edward) Earle of *Richmond*, laboured earnestly (vpon hatred to the French King for his private discontentments) to draw him to claime the Crown of France as his most lawfull right, and as that which would indeed enrich his people with spoiles, and treble his owne greatness by the Conquest: The motion though by reason of the highnesse and difficultie of the enterprize, it did not at first preuaile; yet at last by the euill fate of France wrought out to it selfe a wonderfull allowance. Many consultations passing of the matter, it could not be so concluded, but that the smoke thereof discovered the breeding fire. This in the present was very happy for the state of Scotland, which (saith *Hector*) was in appearance so enfeebled, that if the King of England had continued his warres, it should haue come without any hope of reliefe to utter ruine. It was also a cause, why the French (who hitherto had supported the Scots, but not as if so neerely concerned themselves) put in the more fully and roundly, seeking by all means to weaken and annoy the English, as well in Scotland, as in *Gascogne*, and where else fouler.

(38) That wee may with the lesse confusion, and fewer interruptions, deliuer our selues of the French warre which now approached, wee will here in one view tender vnto you the Scottish affaires, from this time for seuen or eight yeeres, till about the siege of *Calis* by King Edward, who was scarce alighted in England from the former expedition, but the *Bruce* party (vnder their chiefe leader *Andrew Murray*) issued from the Loughes, Mountaines, and other their places of retreat and fastnesse, to readuance their cause. King Edward once or twice sent Armies, vnder valiant Generals to support the *Baliols* possession against their violence, whose successe was variable till the death of *Murray*. After whom the L. Stewart tooke charge for the *Bruce* side, and (vpon the aduantage of King Edwards slacknesse, to finish his Scottish affaires, the matter of France so far preponderating it) endeauoured to prepare a quiet entrance for King *David*. The aide of the Lord *William Douglas* to that purpose was very auailable, howbeit not alwayes fortunate, being ouerthrowne in a set battell by Sir *Thomas Berkeley* at *Blackbourne*, having there with him King Edwards power. To the vp-throt, and as it were deciding stroke of these late miseries, there arrived great store of munition out of France, at such time as the Lord *Robert Stewart* having lien ten weeks at the siege of *Perth*, was almost ready to haue abandoned the same in despair. *Perth* being rendered, the *Baliol* (whose the quarrell was) betooke himself into England, hauing small strength of his owne in the hearts and affections of the Scots,

who reuolted dayly from him. Vpon sure intelligence of all these matters, King *David*, his Queene, and many honourable French, and Scots, return, and till the quarrell of *Philip de Valois* put him into vnfortunate Armes against the English, the afflicted Realme of Scotland enioyed a kind of rest and quiet.

(39) It was not now the iustice of his Title to the Crowne of France, which onely made King Edward vnseath his conquering sword against the French; for *Philip de Valois* king of France iniuriously withheld sundry Townes and places in *Gascogne*. To remedy which violent wrongs the king of England had addrest * Ambassadors, though without any good successe.

(40) But, that the world might take true notice of his iust proceedings, the main causes for iustificatio of his design vpon France (whereby the common cause against the Turke was neglected) himselfe in a copious Epistle, directed to the Colledge of Cardinals, doth publicly declare to be these;

1 His Title to the Crowne of France, which *Philip de Valois* vniuilly detained, for that himselfe, of any * Male liuing, was the next in blood to the late King *Charles* his uncle.

2 That his Agents and Ambassadors desiring to put the cause to ciuill triall, were not onely not admitted to bee heard, but were driven away with feare of their liues.

3 That the Court of the Twelve Peeres, in giuing the Crowne from him, (who was then vnder age,) did therein leaue the office of Iudges, and were no better then robbers. And therefore their processe made to his prejudice during his minority, was by all lawes void and frustrate.

4 That *Philip de Valois* invaded the Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, which belonged to the Crowne of England, and added such places and lands as hee had so wrongfully gotten, to those which hee had as wrongfully withheld, detaining all alike.

5 That hee had aided and assisted the Scots in their risings against him, when as by reason of neare kindred he should rather haue holpen him; and finally declared by his doings, that his honour, power and life it selfe, were hated of him.

(41) King Edward neuertheless (knowing that words were little worth in such a case) to strengthen his quarrell with friends, by the aduise of his counsell, and of his Father in law, the Lord *William* Earle of *Hennault*, sought to confederate and vnite vnto him the *High* and *Low Dutch*, Princes and people, which lay most commodiously for his vses. But the better to hold them together, hee was aduised to seeke the amity of the Emperour *Lewis* of *Bauare*, with whom hee made (as by the cuent was manifested) but an * vnprofitable confederation, though for the present it seemed to serue his vses with the countenance: more to his aduantage were the singular endeuours of some other his priuate instruments, as chiefly of *James de Arteuille*, a wealthy Burger of *Gant*, one of a rare dexterity of witte, and so popularly acceptable among the *Flemings*, that he seemed to sway *Flanders* more by far then the Earle thereof, whom they had expelled. By the speciall diligence of this *Jaques van Arteuille*, and of one * *Siger de Courtray* a Nobleman of *Flanders*, there was prepared among the Artizans of those parts (whose chiefe enrichments depended vpon the handling of English wool, as Cloth-workers, Weauers, and the like) a mighty party for the English against the French. This amity with England (as most profitable for the common benefite, and weale of his Country) the said *James* most constantly supported to the death.

(42) Meane while King Edward (the life of this high affaire) proceeded in all things with ripe deliberation and iudgement. Therefore to let the *Flemings* know the want of his friendship, hee had for some yeeres before inhibited the transportation of his Wools; which, and for that the English were in

The first proceeding in the French affaire.

Ranely, c.

* Adam Merim. The first proceeding in the French affaire.

* In due time hee doth acknowledge the reason of some from some vnto in France, therefore that as the north Male.

waiting.

and lastly.

* Ordin.

* Tied. N.

* Jo. N.

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in

in a manner become all one with them, by king Edwards marriage with the Lady *Philipp*, not a little advanced the practice of *James* on his behalfe; which was sped at last, by occasion of * an overthrow giuen to the French *Flemings*, who vnder the conduct of *Guy* the Bastard of *Flanders*, brother to the Earle (both of them being wholly French) were placed in the Ile of *Calis* to empeach the arrival of the English, who tooke the said *Guy*, and slew the most part of his people. This victory was achieved in the quarrell of the king of England by the Earle of *Derbie*, the Lord *Beauchampe*, the Lord *Reynald Cobham*, the Lord *Walter de Manny* (an *Hennowald*) and other of the English Captaines: Of the fame and lucky fortune whereof the said D^r *Arteuill*, and other of the kings friends, made so wise and seasonable vse, by letting them see the English were able to protect them, that the *Flemings* (without any great stay) became his firme confederates, in preference of the Earle of *Gelder* at *Gant*, notwithstanding that at the same time the great K. of France, and their own naturall Lord, the Earle, laboured all they could to the contrary.

(43) But as king Edward was (in the mean space) wholly intent, vpon furnishing himselfe with all convenient things fite for his warre, (hauing Captaines and Souldiers, such as his owne noble heart could wish,) so when hee found that the industrious Dutch by their manuell labours, grew to so great strength and opulencie, that their friendship bred riuallitie in puissant Monarches, hee, like a father, regarding the publike weale of his Country, ordained that all Clothworkers, who would repaire hither out of foraine parts, and exercise their trades, should haue free access and sundry priuiledges. By which inuitation as very many were drawne, so was it the principall cause of aduancing that honest, best and most beneficiall Trade in the Kingdome, to the great enrichment, strength, and honor thereof. The English Nation was very desirous to set forward this warre, and therefore contributed plentifully, and the King made bold with Lombards, and the moueable goods of such Priories in England, as were Cels to Monasteries in France, thereby to make his coffers fuller.

(44) The warre which all this while seemed but to be talked of, did now beginne to blaze (and indeed a blazing starre of 30. dayes continuance, was supposed by some to foreshew it) whose first torch was lighted by the * French at *Southampton*, which they almost wholly consumed to ashes, but they with losse of their Captaine, (a younger sonne to the *Sicilian* King) and about three hundred others, * were driven away the next morrow. The French had sundry shippes of warre or Gallies, which vnder colour of passing to the *Holy-Land*, the king of France had (with purpose to assaile our Coasts) assembled, as the * King of England charged him: which losse, yet was not long vnrequited, either Nation grieuing over with mutual mischiefs.

(45) To appease and extinguish this deadly quarrell, there came from Pope *Benedict* the 12. two Cardinals hither, but one of them in a speech to the Clergie, seeming to fauour the French faction; *John* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* immediately stood vp, and protested, that the Cardinals Arguments were vaine and frivolous: whereupon they soone after departed, and it was euerie where published through England, that the King had right to the Crown of France, which also hee meant by honourable force to prosecute. Notwithstanding, King Edward for auoiding Christi-an blood-shed, gaue instructions to the Cardinals, that vpon certaine equal conditions, hee was willing to make an euerslasting peace with the French, & would haue bene verie glad (the hazards of warre considered) to haue taken any honest or proportionable offers; one impediment whereof was this, that the French would include the Scots within the Treatie, whom King Edward would not admit ther-

unto, as purposing (when hee had singled them from supplies) to make a full and absolute annexation of their obediences to the English Scepter: so the labour and hopes of the Cardinals proued vaine.

(46) *Philip de Valois* in possession King of France, had sundry great and high motives to embolden his standing-off. First, the regard of honour, and profit, and the abundant meanes which hee had, hauing the whole puissance of France (the fairest kingdome vnder heauen) at his commandement. Then a confidence which hee reasonably conceiued (so to diuert, or distract the English forces, by the assured aide of the Scots, as that it should finally ruine the whole enterprize, if not also the principall Actor Edward himselfe. Again, considering the vaines of the enterprize, hee iudged King Edwards wealth not to bee proportionable, but did well hope, that a short dalliance would consume his treasures. Moreover, hee iudged perhaps, that the very thought it selfe of conquering France, was no better in Edward then a young mans dream, considering the Realm of England was farre inferior in bignesse, and multitudes of Subiects, and that there was a Sea betwene, the crossing whereof must double the charge. Lastly, for the friends which King Edward had procured in *Dutchland* with wonderful largesse, hee knew, would not be held together but with infinite cost and expence, and that by some good meanes or other, hee should make them in whole, or in part vnprofitable.

(47) For iustification of his cause hee had no slender colours, or reasons. As the before alleged law or custome of France, which they call the *Salique*, by the which the French exclude * *Gyneocracie*, or *Womens Government* in chiefe. Then an Act of the whole French State, by which his right was acknowledged and established. Thirdly, King Edwards birth place, by which hee seemed to them a stranger, and for that cause was farre the lesse capable, or rather was directly incapable of popular goodwill among the French. Lastly, for that King Edward in the * beginning of his raigne (though when hee was as yet vnder age,) did in his owne person, both doe his homage to this very *Philip de Valois*, as to the king of France, for his Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, and also by his Letters-Patents vnder seale did testifie as much. This homage, (the more to bee remembered because * some attribute much of K. Edwards discontentment to the hauty manner of *Philip* in taking the same) was performed at *Amiens* in *Picardie*. It troubled King Edward greatly, to see himselfe making submission to the vsurper of that Soueraignitie, which hee thought belonged to himselfe; but to let the French see what kind of Prince hee was, hee came in so royall maner appointed, as if hee meant to haue stricken them with feare or admiration; Earles, Barons, and 1000. horse hee had in his retinue. At the day, his robe was of crimson veluet, powdered with golden Leopards, his crowne on his head, a sword by his side, and golden spurres on his heeles. To receiue this Duke for the Dutchie of *Guyen* and Earledome of *Ponthieu*, *Philip de Valois* late crowned with golden veluet, semed with golden fillies, with all the other Ensignes of royall maiestie, but the homage was done only by word (if * one say true) and not in that full manner which *Serres* mentioneth. Probable it is, that the haughty carriage of *Philip* did greatly incense the Spirit of King Edward, being one of the most gallant in the world.

(48) There is among *VVriters* much time, and labour spent in description of King Edwards iourney, stay and contracts of amity made in *Dutchland*, but in regard that no greater matter was effected thereby, then the purchase of an opinion of magnificence & noblenesse among the *Queenes* Country-men and *Dutch*-landers, few lines shall serue to comprehend the narration. The King (hauing first in * Parliament provided for the gouernance of his Kingdome) with the Queen (then great with Child) the

The French kings reasons for resistance.

Arguments for iustification of his resistance.

* *Reuind de Rep.*

* A.D. 1329, and An. reg. 3. Adam Merim.

* *For. An. & Mem. p. 474. Jean de Serres Inuicative de France, in 50. R.*

* *Froiland, Grafton*

* *Ac. S. Edmundsbury, Walsing.*

the young Prince Edward, many Earles and great Capitaines, with a gallant Company of men of war, failed to Antwerpe, whom Lewis the Emperour met at the City of Colein, where amity was confirmed, and King Edward was constituted his Lieutenant, with full authority to gouerne in his name on this side Colein. By reason of which Vicegerencie King Edward made out his commandements, and did many things to his advantage and profit. Howsoever it neither lasted long (for Lewis within a while dishonourably reuoked it,) and did vndoubtedly scarce quit the cost: for the brauery of that meeting was so exceeding great, as Edward easily won the general opinio of a very noble & puissant king. *Polydor writes, that Edward refused not the office, yet would not exercise the same, because he would not displease Pope Benedict, whose enemy the Bauiarian was.

(49) This Emperour (whom belike the Pope hated, for being as proud as himselfe) tooke it ill, (as report went) that the King of England humbled not himselfe (at their meeting) to the kisse of his foot. But it was answered; that the King of England was a King anointed, and had life and member in his power, and therefore ought not to submit himselfe, so much as an other King that was not anointed. After his returne to Antwerpe with his

* In July.

* Fabian

* Hist. lib. 19.

The King of England's pretor-garue. Ibo. 1. 1. m.



* 7. Gals. 1. 9.

The Armes of England for before the hole of France at the first. Sir Robert Cotton hath such a scale of Q. 1. 1. 1.

(51) Polydor * Virgil must haue a warie and fauourable Reader, or hee will bee thought to bee of opinion, that William the Conqueror bare his Leopards quartered, then which nothing is more vntrue, nor more vnlikely. Others againe may suppose, that we haue not here described them according to their right bearing, as certainly according to their present bearing wee haue not; but the truth is, the golden Lillies of France, which now are borne in triangle, were in those dayes borne, and aduanced Semi.

(52) And whereas the Armories of France are placed here in the dexter and more honorable quarter, yet there are probabilities, that it was not so at this their first coniunction. For in the * Seale of Queen Isabel (this King Edwards mother) the Armories of England, as being the Armories of the husbands line (and therefore to haue precedence) were marshalled where now the Flower de Luces shine. But whether to gratifie the French, or because that was the more ancient and greater Monarchie, they were in this Kings reigne disposed as here wee see.

(53) When King Edward had thus assumed the Title and Armes of that Realme, hee published the same vnder his seale, setting the name of England first, and sent his Letters Patents to the frontiers of the enemies Dominions, fixing them vpon the doores of Churches, as well to declare the right and reason of his doings, as to exempt such from the danger of the coming storme, who vpon this notice would

new power, hee seriously prosecuted his affaire of confederation with the Lords and people of Dutchland, among whom (with great loue and fauour) he and his royall family abode about an whole yeere. The principall Nobles which entered into this league against the French were these. The Archbishoppe of Colein Prince Elektor; The Duke of Brabant, The Duke of Gelderland, (who had married the Lady Isabel King Edwards yong sister, and about this season was of an Earle created a Duke; The Marquess of Gulick, &c. And finally, the Hanse townes.

(50) The Flemings, being the most necessary part of this association, in regard of their neerenes to the French, would not engage themselves in an offensive warre against the Crowne of France, vnlesse King Edward would first assume the Title and Armories of that Realme, as the onely lawful King thereof. This Proposition was thoroughly debated, and the law of Armes allowing it, hee with the common assent of the Flemings and others, tooke the Stile, and quartered the Flower de Lize with the Leopards, or Lions of England, as here wee see annexed; albeit wee see his former Seale also adorned with two Lize or Lillies, whether in token of his mothers French descent, or as a covert note of his own right to the French crown it is vncertaine.

acknowledge him their Lord and rightfull Soueraigne. These proclamations or admonishments thus diuulged, he burnt and spoiled the North parts of France vpon as farre as * Turwin, though the time of the yeere were very vnseasonable, and contenting himselfe therewith for a beginning, gaue place to the sharpnesse of Winter, returning to the Queen his wife at Antwerpe where he kept a royall Christmas. In which City this yeere was Lionel (afterward Duke of Clarence) borne.

(54) His affaires growing ripe in those parts, he leaues his Queene and Children in Brabant, as an assured pledge of his returne, and about Candlemas shippes himselfe for England, where in a Parliament at Westminster, he obtained liberall aids for supportation of his intended Conquest. In lieu of which louing assistances, hee granted a generall large pardon both for trespasses, and of all Aides for making his sonne Knight, and for marriage of his daughter during all his times; forgiving also all arrearages of Farmers and Accountants till the tenth year of his Raigne, and all old debts due to any of his Predecessors. Finally, hee confirmed that famous Magna Charta, and of the Forest with some other.

(55) There was no talke now but of conquering France; Mustres taken throughout the Kingdom, Armourers and trades of warre (to be cherished euen in the securest peace) were full of employment, and the desire of battell waxt feruent every where.

* 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

King Edward's seal.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

Meane while to hold the world in suspence of the success, God distributed the fortune of attempts diuersly. Burdeaux (the capitall City of Aquitaine, and then English) gaue an excellent testimony of her loyalty, nor lesse of martiall witte and valour. For the French Armie coming before her, she to abuse their hope, set open her gates, and displayed vpon her Towers the golden Lillies, as if shee were theirs; but the French which securely entered, found little good hospitality. Sir Olivier de Ingham was Captain and Lord Warden there for King Edward, who with his Garrison-Souldiers, and aide of the inhabitants, slew of them great multitudes, and preferred Burdeaux. But in the opposite parts, William Montacute Earle of Salisbury, and Robert Vfford Earle of Suffolke, after many honourable deedes performed for aduancement of King Edwards affaire, were by the French taken Prisoners, while presuming too much vpon their courages and fortune, they ran too far into their danger, at the Towne of Lile in Flanders.

(56) But King Edward being ready now to repasse the Seas, had certaine intelligence that the French lay in wait about Sluice in Flanders, to intercept him with a mighty Naue of 400. shippes; who therefore prepared accordingly, intending to open his way by force. He set saile from Harwich vpon Saint John Baptists Eue, toward the Coast where his enemies attended, strengthening himselfe with the Northerne Naue of England, which the L. Robert Morley brought vnto him, so as hee had in all about two or three hundred saile. His battels hauing the aduantages of windes and sunne, hee set on the French with incredible furie and force, in the very mouth of the Hauen of Sluice vpon Midsummer day, where beganne a most bloody and terrible fight, the end whereof set the Garland vpon King Edwards head. Himselfe was * wounded in that fight, and lost foure valiant Knights (Monthermer, Latimer, Boteler, Poynings) with sundrie other of his English laine therein. But the slaughter of the French party were lamentable, for thirty thousand are confesse to haue perished, not halfe of their shippes escaped vtaken or vnfuncke. A greater glory then this, the English are scarce found to haue achieved at any battell at sea.

(57) The Crowne of France seemed already to bee placed vpon King Edwards Temple, so much was attributed to this great victory, but such a Conquest was not the worke of one day. Which King Edward well vnderstanding, refreshed his victorior Armie, and augmenting it with his Confederates forces (which repaired to him on all sides) marched forth, hauing one of the most puissant hosts that euer any King of England led, as wherein were neere an hundred thousand Souldiers English, and Dutch. Hee had also in his Company the Dukes of Brabant and Gelder, and many other potent members of the Empire, and (as * some write) the imperiall Eagles displayed in the head of his Armie, as hee that was Vicegerent of the sacred Roman Empire. In this wise hee approached the Northerlie parts of France, where exposing all to spoile & fire, hee late downe with his whole Forces about Turney, meaning to take in the same, atwell to bee a seate of Warre, as place of sure retreat and refuge.

(58) Philip, though iustly grieved with his wofull losse sustained at Sea, yet to encounter, and cruell so great an euill in the first approaches thereof, had provided such an Armie, as befemed the Maiestie and greatnesse of that renowned Kingdom. Writers speake of an hundred thousand fighting men assembled vnder his command, and that besides Princes, Dukes, Earles, and other illustrious Persons, there was the cheualier old King of Bohemia, and * Lewis king of Nauarre. K. Edward hearing the same, drew forth his people into the open field with purpose to giue battell.

(59) It may seeme a thing greatly tending to

King Edwards glory, to remember the * offer which hee sent to King Philip before hee laid his siege to Turney. In which, without saluting him by any other title then of Philip of Valois, hee challengeth him, for auoiding the effusion of Christian blood; to fight with him hand to hand in single battell, or (if that misliked) then each to bring an hundred to the field, and trie the euent with so small an hazards or otherwise, within ten dayes to ioyne full battell with all their forces neere to Turney. Whereunto Philip made no direct answer, neither with his honour could, alledging that the letters were not sent to him, the King of France, but barely to Philip of Valois. Neuerthelesse, hee gaue him to vnderstand, that his meaning was to beat him out of France, hauing hope in Christ (from whom hee deriued his power) so to doe.

(60) The honour of the warre in those ages cannot bee enough commended, in which the noble old formes of hostility were put in practise, by defiances, Heraldes, and publike assignations of day and place of fight, and not by skulking surprisles and vnder-hand dealthes, more newly resembling high-way robberies, then lawfull battell.

(61) These two huge hoasts (which had they bene vnited for the good of Christendome, might haue worthily made the Turke looke pale) being now in fight, and the cloud of warre ready in a manner to dissolve it selfe into showers of blood, doe neuerthelesse without one stroke fall off, and returne to their feuerall Countries, not without the wonder and reioicement of peaceable men, but not of the English and German Souldiers, who propounded to themselves death with glory, or riches by Conquest and victory, who now had scarce their wages.

(62) It is not meet that the name of that person who did performe so blessed an office, should bee concealed. It was a woman of honour (but at that time a professed Nunne in the Abbey of Fontenelle) the Lady Iane of Valois, sister to this Philip, widow of William late Earle of Henault, and mother to King Edwards wife; her charitable endeauours were strongly holpen by * two Cardinals, who solicited peace together with her. Great interest of mediation she had in either respect, here a brother, there a sonne in law, and shee failed not to plic them both. The Truce was concluded; the rather for that King Philip was aduised from all parts, not to set his whole fortunes vpon the Die and chance of a Battell. And Edward (on the other side) meaning nothing lesse, then not to haue prosecuted the war vpon the encouragement of his late Sea-victorie, was so destitute of money through the fault of his Officers in England, as hee was the sooner drawne, if not enforced to embrace so honest a colour of returning from the siege of Turney; which neuerthelesse did but deferre the miseries of France, not determine them; & whereas that glory, which the vpper hand in this iourney would haue brought, could not haue bene pure and meere vnto him, because the Dutch (whose aide hee vied) would haue claimed no small share therein, the English Cheualrie onely had the name and burthen of such great Acts as after followed.

(63) The chiefe Articles of the truce were; That it should endure till Midsummer day then next ensuing, and that the Prisoners should bee set at liberty without any rancome on both sides, vpon condition to render themselves againe, or pay their feuerall rancomes, if peace were not in the meane time concluded. By vertue of this treaty and truce, the Earles of Salisbury and Suffolke were deliuered. Here it troubled our * Vfford, that King Edward should bee left so destitute, and neede by the auarice or fraud of his officers at home, as for that respect to giue ouer so faire an opportunity, by which hee might as it were by a continued line, and by insisting and pressing vpon the steppes of his late success.

* 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

* Some.

* 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

The chief points of the Truce.

* 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

The most noble
order of the
Garter instituted

A.D. 1350.
An. Reg. 24.
The Patent of
the foundation
bears date 25.
Reg. Edw. 3.
saith Stow, who
nevertheless
placeth the first
last thereof at
this year.
* Camd. Brit. in
Barkib.

* *Legis collatione*
nibus, *Polid. Veris*
1. apud Edw. 3.

* *Pent. D. Gulielm*
mum *Delhick*,
Equitem
auratum, alim
Garter, principem
Armorum
Regem.
Camden in Brit.

* *Camden.*

* *Præ militarium*
virtutem honoris-
um, præsens atque
splendore decoratur

* *Camd. ubi supra*
Stow in Edw. 3

friend to life, gave life notwithstanding about this time to an institution, which as for the present it served (he having so great use thereof for his French enterprises) as a vehement incentive to martiall valour, and a golden band of unity, so the same continued with likelihood of perpetuity, and multiplication of splendor in these our daies. It was the foundation of the English order, worthily called the most noble order of the Garter. The causes why our Edward erected it, are not evident, though there could none be greater or better, then those before recited; Honor expressed by external and illustrious ensignes, devised by a victorious Author, and appropriated to a fellowship of most exemplar and eminent persons, being in nature like a flame, to kindle in the apt and worthy, all heroicke affections. The vulgar opinion is, that whatsoever the remoter causes were which moved to this foundation, the neerer cause, or the occasion was, a Garter of his owne Queene (or as some say) of the Lady Ioan, Countesse of Salisbury (wonder of that age for shape and beauty) which slipping off in a dance, king Edward stooped and tooke vp. Such of the Nobles as were present, smiling, and playing in sport with that action of the Kings, as amorous, hee seriously said, it should not be long before there should *Sovereigne honour be done to that filken tie*. Whereupon hee afterward added the French Motte, or Symbolicall word *HONI SOIT QUI MALY PENSE*, as well in complement of the whole institution, as in retort or checke of his Courtiers sinister supposition. *Polydor Virgil* troubleth himselfe to make an Apologie for the courtesie of this Originall, if (without iniurie) an office of honorable loue in so renowned a Monarch, may vndergoe the note of courtesie; but the same *Polydor* among his other defences thereof truly saith;

Nobilitas sub amore iacet.

There want not some who coniecture, that he entailed it the Order of the Garter, for that in a battell wherein he was victorious, hee had giuen the word Garter, for the word or signe. But if credite may be attributed to the originall* Booke of the Institution, the institution is deduced from times more ancient, and that when *Richard* the first King of England, set forward against the Turks and Sarazens to Cyprus, and *Acon*, and waxed wearie of longer delay, while the siege of *Acon* was with wonderfull care protracted, courage at the length (by the comming of *S. George* among them as it was thought) quickning in him, it came into his mind to tie about the legs of certaine his choice Knights, a Garter or small thong of leather, the only fustie fite for such a purpose, which hee had then at hand, to the intent that they (as it were by ioint consent) being mindfull of future glory, if they were victorious, might bee stirred vp, to demean themselves nobly after the example of the Romans, with whom that varietie of Crownes or Garlands giuen for sundry causes as honourable Ensignes to the Soldier was in vye to the intent, that by such incitements, they might shake off sloath, and the spirite of courage might rise, and breake forth the more frequently.

(80) And into this opinion of stirring vp vertue thereby, the * Author of the *Britannia* seemeth to passe, where hee saith, that King *Edward* the third founded this Order, to * *adorn Martiall vertue with honors, rewards and splendor.*

(81) There was in the Castle of *Windsor* (the ordained seat of the Order now first to be consummated) before King *Edward* did accomplish his intention, in honour of God, our Lady, and *S. George*, a Chappell erected by King *Henry* the first, and other Progenitors of *Edward*, with an allowance for eight Canons, to whose Colledge this Prince added a Decane, fiftene Canons more, and twenty and foure poore impotent Knights, with other officers

and seruants, as appeareth by his Charter. These were to pray for the good estate of the Sovereigne and Brethren of the most noble Order. The Sovereigne and Knights themselves had their particular lawes and constitutions, which they were by solemn oath bound to observe, of which one * was, *That they should defend and assist one the other*: which afterward made *Alphonse* Duke of Calabria receive the habite of that Order with so exceeding reuerence at *Naples*, as erroneously thinking himselfe secured thereby from the French, who claimed that Kingdome. But that custome of mutuall assistance (saith * *Polydor*) was then worne out of vse, and discontinued every where; for those *Italian Potentates* who (within the memory of *Polydor*) being driven forth of their Country, and imploring aid of those orders, whereof themselves were companions, found no supporture, either from the French or *Burgundians*, who had formerly elected them. Besides laws and Officers, King *Edward* also deuised particular Ceremonies & distinctiue habites and ensignements, whereof the principall was the azure Garter, wherein the French Motte of the Order was wrought in letters of gold, and the Garter it selfe fastned a little vnder the left knee with a buckle of gold, in * token of Concord. There are speciall Manuscript Bookes of the Constitutions, and other things peculiar to this Order, to which (this place being not aptly capable of their recapitulation) wee must referre the curious. *Saint George* the * *esteemed patterne* of Christian fortitude, is intitled to the Patronage of this Order, & the beauteous Chappell in *Windsor* Castle (where his * *day* is yearly celebrated) consecrated by King *Edward* to his memory. The fortune of this institution hath bene such, that the most mighty Princes of the Christian world haue thought themselves most highly honoured, in being chosen thereunto, so that there haue bene about two and twenty forraine Emperors and Kings (besides many others of most noble quality) since the first institution thereof, elected and admitted Companions of the Garter. The Kings of England are in their seuerall times Sovereignes of the Order, and the whole number of Knights is circumscribed in twenty and six, whereof the Sovereigne is one. The names of the first twenty and six (who are also styled Founders of the Order) you shall finde intabed in our Mappe of *Barkshire*.

(82) Our *Edward* * having thus honoured *S. George* memory, assigned to his Image mounted in Armour vpon Horsebacke a silver Shield with a crosse Gules (* the deare remembrance of his dying Lord) and * appointed his Souldiers to wear white coats or lackets, with a red Crosse before and behind ouer their Armor, that it was not onely a comely, but a stately sight to behold the English battels, like the rising Sunne to glitter farre off in that pure hew; when the Souldiers of other Nations in their baser weedes could not bee discerned. The glory therefore of this Order seemed such to one, no * vnlearned Poet, that in an Apostrophe to *Windsor*, speaking of the Garter, hee breakes forth into these scarce Hyperbolicall verses.

- Cappadocis quoniam sis clara Georgi Militia, &c.

*Far spreads thy fame, wherewith S. Georges knights
Hath made thee glorious; where rich-rabed Peeres,
Whose many legs the golden garter dights,
Combine that light which through all landes appeares.
Thine now Burgundians, borne their Fleece of Gold;
The French, thy Escalopt Collar fit with grace;
Their Crosted weedes, Rhodes, Elba, Alcala, hold
As worthless: all made with thy George, are base.*

(83) Let vs not dwell too long in the lesser things: It was the moneth of Iulie, and King *Edward* was now vpon the Sea with about a thousand

* *Legis collatione*
nibus, *Polid. Veris*
1. apud Edw. 3.

* *Camd. Brit. in*
Barkib.

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* *Saile*. No man is said to know whether he bent his course, so well he could trust himselfe, and so wisely free his Councils from the possibility of discouerie. He went not to warre by rote, but by book; *widome* was *Herbenger* and marshall of his valour; who shall say he knew not how to conquer? It was not long but he came to anchor in the Hauens of *Holy Saint Vast*, in *Constantine*, a great cape of land or penile in *Normandy*. His land forces did muster twenty and five hundred horse, and thirty thousand foote, most of which were Archers. The lights, and glories of his Armie, were the *Prince of Wales* (then about sixteen years old, who was then by his father knighted) many braue Earles, Lords, Knights, and expert Cheifs, the English going cheerefullie, as hauing gotten such a King as answered their warlike dispositions. The Earle of *Huntington* had charge of his Navy; himselfe takes seuerer reuenge for the blood of his friends vpon the Norman Townes and people, protecing he sacrificed them * to *Cliffon, Baro, Perce*, and the rest. Their heads were set vpon the chiefe Gate of *Caentine*, for which cause hee slew all that could be found therein, and turning the whole town into Cinders gaue it to their funeral. He tooke the populous and rich City of *Caen*, & with his dreadfull host burning and spoiling round about, marched vp almost as farre as the very walles of *Paris*, brauing King *Philip* to neere.

(74) Who had not slept all this while, but was * purued of one of the fullest armies which euer were scene in France. King *Edward* people rich with spoile seemed not vnwilling to return. They were now in the enemies Country between the two good riuers of *Seine* and *Some*, for they had passed the *Seine* at *Poisse*, whose Bridge (as all other betweene *Rouen* and *Paris*) had bene broken downe by the French, and now (notwithstanding any opposition) in a short space repaired. It was thought fit to seeke passage out of these straights, which could not be by Bridges, for they were broken by the French. This search for passage, was by the enemy interpreted a kind of flight, and *Edward* could not but be willing to nourish their temerity, to draw them on securely to destruction by such a seeming feare.

(85) The riuers of *Some*, betweene *Albeville* and the Sea, at a low water hath a passable and grauellie foord, knowne by the name of *Blanch Tague*; this was discovered to him by one *Gobina* prisoner. But the French King (best acquainted in his owne Countrey) to empeach this passage, had before sent thither a Norman Baron of speciall note, one *Gadmar du Foy*, and a 1000. thousand horse with at least 6000. foot; but *Edward*, (whom as obstacles made impetuous, so nothing could dismay,) enters himselfe into the foord, * crying, *He that loues me let him follow me*, as one that resolved either to passe, or die. Who can tell the efficacy of such a *Generals* spirit, but they, who haue had the happinesse to follow vnder the conduct? The passage wan, and *Du Foy* defeated in a manner, before he was almost fought with, (the incomparable courage of his enemies appalling him,) he brought to King *Philip* fewer by a paire of thousands, then he carried forth; besides terrour, and an euill signe of that which followed. The English, who knew not what it meant to run away, but were before resolved to liue & die with such a Sovereigne, had reason now much more to resolve the same.

(86) King *Edward* was neere to *Cresie* in the County *Ponthieu*, lying betweene the riuers of *Some* and *Anthy* (which vnquestionably belonged vnto him in right of his mother,) there most vigilantly provided he for his defence. King *Philip*, set on fire with this disaster, precipitates to battell for accomplishment of Gods anger against France; being the rather drawne; by the vnruly vanity of his huge multitudes, (for by what other words doe * an hundred or six-score thousand men deserve to be called?) who neuer left ouer-taking one the other, till the view of the English banners and battels put

them to stand. We professe that the nature of our vndertakings will not brooke descriptions at large; you shall haue it as we may, that is, as remembering, that innumerable great achievements rest behind, somewhat impatiently attending their relation.

(87) Therefore, the holy name of God first intyocated, King *Edward*, without shewing the least signe of perturbation, but full of an Heroick asseurednesse, had ordered his people in three battels, with their wings and succours. The *Paradise* disposed into the forme of an Hearse, where the Archers stood in front, and the men of armes in the bottom, was vnder the yong Lyon of *Wales*, Prince *Edward*, and with him many of the prime and fagst Captaines: *Beauchamp Earle of warwick*, *Godfrey of Harcourt*, *The Lords, Stafford, Laxare, Bourchier, Clifford, Cobham, Holland, &c.* In the second battell were, The Earles of *Northampton*, and *Arundell*; the Lords, *Rosse, Willoughby, Basset, Saint Albine, Miltoun, &c.* The third and last battell was commanded in cheife by King *Edward* himselfe, with the residue of his Nobles and people. In euery one of these battels, beside the wings, were a iust proportion of men at armes and Archers, but nothing so thinne and few as some of our * writers alledge, who mention not about 9000. all together, who were at least thrice as many in their whole numbers, and not without need.

(88) King *Edward* closed his battels at their back, (as if he meant to barricado them from flying,) by selling and plashing of Trees, placing his carriages there and other impediments whatsoever, hauing commanded * all men to put from them their horses, which were left among the carriages. Thus all waies of safety by flight being preuented, the necessity did vndoubtedly double their courages. Thus placed to the best advantage, King *Edward* visiteth the rankes in person, riding vpon a pleasant * Hobby, (hauing onely a white rod in his hand, as if hee would chastise fortune,) betweene the two marshalls of his field; whose very presence, with a few seasonable and vnforced words on behalfe of God and his right, in feed of long Orations, did inspire the faintest hearts among them with fressest vigour and alacritie.

(89) Our writers describe not vnto vs the quality or face of the ground of *Cresie* where this battel was determined (though verie much doth depend vpon choise of place,) neither the exact figures, or seuerall numbers of euery seuerall battel, their distances, wings or other warlike formes, nor finally what *Pallisado*, trench, or other deuise was in this or that quarter vsed, to keepe off and breake the furious charge of men of Armes, before they came at the Archers, principall workmen at this bloody iourney. But thus lamely are things commended to Posterity, where the Actors themselves take no care to see the particulars orderly and according to the truth delineated; but either are vnlearned, or giue themselves to the bodily fruition of their passed trauels, rather then to exercise their minds in profiting themselves and others by such relations as are made with life and art. This we find, that the place of the Englishmens battels was the Towne of *Cresie*, and Forest, and therefore apt with small labour to be made inaccessible, or at leastwise difficult for horse to enter vpon; that also the English battels were marshalled to the most advantage for giuing succour one vnto the other; and that there were * Shields or Pavises to shelter our Archers from the Geno-waies shot.

(90) By this time King *Philip* (whose countenance is * said to haue changed thereat,) was in sight of the English. Hee had with him the two Kings of *Boheme* and *Moravia*, and almost innumerable other great Princes, Dukes, Earles, Barons and Gentlemen of inferior marke bearing Armes; nor those onlie French, but very many of them *Almain* and Dutch, lest you should suppose, he had drawne away *Lords* the

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land old Crowne. The Pope sending a Messenger from *Avignon*, with an ouerture to intercede for a peace, had answer, that the message must be sent to the King his father, for he could not meddle without commandement from him. Mean while hee disposed of things without impeachment, and returned laden with honor and spoiles to *Burdeaux*, where the winter being spent, he sets forth to new adventures. Hee had in his Armie about eight thousand braue, expert, and well disciplined Souldiers, and with them aduanceth through *Perigord*, & *Limousin* into the bowome of *France*, vp to the verie gates of *Burgess* in *Berie*; the terror of his name flying before to his great aduantage. Thus satisfied for the present, hee wheeles about with purpose to returne by *Remorantime* in *Blasius* (which hee tooke) and so through the Country of *Turain*, *Poitou*, and *Saintain* to his chiefe City *Burdeaux*. But *John* King of *France* (hating to goe beyond his father in misfortune) hauing assembled a compleat host, followed, & about the City of *Poitiers* ouertooke the inuincible Prince.

(115) When the Armies (with the ods of six to one against the *Englishs*) were embattell'd, two Cardinals sent from Pope *Clement*, laboured (as they had done before) to take vp the quarrell without stroke, whereunto the Prince was with reason yeelding enough, but King *John* fatally presuming on his aduantage, propounded such conditions, as if in a manner the Prince of *Wales* had already beene at his commaund; which with iust indignation were reiect'd. It came hereupon to a most bloody triall, where (if euer) the Prince and *Englishs* gaue full experiment of their valour; for after long conflict and absolute discomfiture of all the 3. *French* battels, (the least of which exceeded all the Princes numbers) the King himselfe valiantly fighting, and *Philip* his *youngest sonne (who with such boldnes and zeale defended his distressed father, as it purchased vnto him the Honourable surname of *Hardie*) were taken prisoners.

(116) The *Englishs* whose valiancy was most conspicuous, were the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Suffolke*, *Salisbury*, *Oxford*, and *Stafford*, the Lords *Cobham*, *Spenser*, *Audley*, *Berkley*, *Basset*, &c. of *Gascogne*, subiects to the Crowne of *England*, the Capitall de *Beuf*, the Lord *Punier*, *Chaumont*, with others of lower title, but not of vnquall valour. * *James* Lord *Audley* wanne immortall renoune at this bloody battell, where hee receiued many wounds, and shared the Princes gift of 500. Markes land in Fee simple, to his foure Elquiers, who had continued with him in all the brunt and fury of danger. It is the misfortune or glory of the *French* Nobles, that in all great battels the losse falls heauily vpon them. In this most disastrous ouerthrow, there fell *fifty and two Lords, & about seauenteen hundred Knights, Elquiers, and Gentlemen bearing coates of Armes: The chiefe Lords were *Peter* of *Bourbon* Duke of *Athens* high Constable of *France*, *John* Clermont *Marshall*, *George* of *Charney* Lord great Chamberlaine, &c. and as many others as made vp the former account. * *St. Regnold* Camian, who that day bare the *Oriflamb*, was likewise slaine: of the common Souldiers there died about fixe thousand: Great God of victories, how abundantly diddest thou in these dayes bleesse thine *Englishs*? The list of Prisoners comprehended these great names, *John* King of *France*; *Philip* his sonne, afterward Duke of *Burgoin*; The Archbishop of *Sens*; *James* of *Burbon* Earle of *Ponthieu*; *John* of *Artois* Earle of *Eus*; *Charles* his brother Earle of *Longueuille*; *Charles* Earle of *Vendome*; The Earles of *Tancarville*, *Salbrunck*, *Nassau*, *Dampmartine*, *La Roch*, and many other great Lords, and about *two thousand Knights, Elquiers, and Gentlemen bearing Armories. The *Englishs* at this journey tooke an *hundredth Enligens.

(117) Now albeit nothing wanted to the title of a perfect victory, yet in two points the incompara-

ble Prince out-went that fame and merite; for hauing vanquished the person of the *French* Monarch by force of battell, hee much more ouercame his heart with true and princely currellie, deliuering his mind in a stile and kind of eloquence so ponderous, proper, graue, and natural, and with that stately humililty, as onely the best soule with the best breeding could be capable of; and yet *hee spake not more officiously then he performed really. More then all this. The next day causing his Chapleins and the other Priests of the Armie, to celebrate diuine seruice, hee put off from himselfe the whole glory, and gaue it most deuoutly to *God; which being first done, he, in the sight and hearing of the Prisoners, highly commends, and most heartily thanks his Souldiers, with speeches full of sincerity and life, sealing his words to euerie one, as his present meanes would permit, with liberrall deeds & largesse.

(118) Then hauing fed all other things, hee marcheth with ioy and iust triumph to **Burdeaux*, the Archiepiscopall See, and chiefe Citie of his dominions in *France*. How the newes were entertained in all places of the *English* Empire, is not hard to coniecture, but specially by King *Edward*, who tooke speedy order by *Simon* Archbishoppe of *Canterburie*, that eight dayes together should be *spent in giuing God the thanks and glory. But the Prince hauing sufficiently refreshed, and rested his people, set saile for *England* with his Prisoners, where hee happily arrived in **Flimouth*, and was most ioufully welcome euery where. At his coming to *London* (where at that time a magnificent Citizen, *Henry Picard*, hee who afterward at one time so noblely feasted the 4. Kings of *England*, *France*, *Scotland* and *Cyprus*, was Lord Maior,) which receiued him with exquisite honour; the multitudes of people comming to see the victorious Prince, the *French* King, and his sonne the Lord *Philip*, and the rest, were such, that they could hardly get to *Westminster*, betwene three of the clock in the morning and noon: but who will thinke the humour of the gazing vulgar worth the noting?

(119) Great *Edward*, sauing that hee forgot not the Maiesty of a Conquerour, and of a King of *England*, omitted no kind of noble currellie towards the Prisoners: King *John* and his sonne were lodged vnder a sure guard at the *Sauoy*, being then a goodly Pallace belonging to *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*; the rest in other places: *David* King of *Scots* was at this time straitly kept at the Castle of **Odiham*, but not long after, when hee had endured about eleuen yeeres imprisonment, at the incessant suit of Queen *Joan* his wife (sister to King *Edward*), was deliuered: his *ransome was one hundred thousand Markes stricling, and a condition to raise certaine Castles.

(120) About this time *Isabel* Queene Dowager of *England*, and mother of King *Edward*, (hauing first scene her sonne the most respected King of all Christendome,) *deceased, and was interred at *London*, in the Church of the *Friers* *Minors* there. To her birth *France* was slenderly beholding, as being about this time in most wofull and broken state, through occasion of that title which the *English* challenged by her, it suffering more by farre vnder their puillance, then *euer it did since the times of the *Romans*. **Charles* the Dolphin, Duke of *Normandie*, who had escaped from the battell of *Poitiers*, gouerned during his fathers imprisonment; but by the dangerous praictises of *Charles* King of *Nauarre*, and bad disposition of the *Parisians*, toward the deliuey of their Soueraigne, hee was lamentably encumbered, and beset with mischietes, not being able to worke as yet his fathers liberty. Moreover, the *Englishs* vnder *Sir Robert Knollys*, *Sir James Pye*, and *Thomas* *Foulke*, and others, did commit great wailes, and heaped huge wealth by incurrings, ransomes, and other warlike licence, in *Britaine*, and *Norman-*

dy, vnder the title of seruing the *Nauarrais*. To bee briefe all *France* swarmed with dissolute souldiers of sundry Nations, which hauing no Generall, made hauckee at their pleasure. They were called people without an head, and by innumerable insolencies made the wretchednesse of *Nauarre* apparent. In *England* also swarmed another sort, no lesse burthenous to the common wealth and Church, which were the *four orders* of *Franciscan* *Friers*, whom the **English Clergy* found to be so pernicious to the regiment of the Church, that they selected that renowned Clerk, *Richard Fitz-Ralph* (who was *Chancelour* of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, Archbishop of *Armagh*, and Primate of *Ireland*) to appeare in person before the Pope, and there alleage the *intolerable harmes by them accrewing to the *Laiety*, the *Clergy*, and the *Vniuersities*, together with their disobedience to Gods word, their auarice, and pride. All which that noble Prelate learnedly performed, as appeareth by the handling of his 9. propositions against them, which are extant. In his second proposition, he sheweth, how ordinary a matter it was with them, to allure youth, without consent of their parents, to enter their Orders; which made men withdraw their sonnes from the Vniuersities, least the Fryars should so teale them away; whereby (saith he) it came to passe, that *whereas in his owne time there were thirty thousand Students in *Oxford*, some after there were left but fixe thousand. But how infinitely these Friarlike swarms encreased in all lands, may appeare by that *strange offer made by the Generall of this one Order, to Pope *Pius*, who promised to bring him (being then about a Turkish Expedition) thirty thousand cunning warriors, out of the number of *Saint Francis* Fryars, and yet enough should remaine at home to performe the deuotions. But the Pope had such vfe of those Fryars, that *Armachani* preuailed nor in the matter, *though hee promised the cause stoutly and manifestly against them, because (as for piety, saith our Authour,) the Clergy stucke not close as they promised, and the Fryars had great store of money to procure fauour in the Court of *Rome*. But here in the *English* Court, two Cardinals, (one of them, hee of *Pierrefort*, who had so diligently travelled for a conclusion at the battell of *Poitiers*) could not with two yeeres labour, draw any thing to such an head, as the *French* would, for their Kings deliuerance, performe; which put King *Edward* into a new resolution against *France*.

(121) King *Edward* (houlding himselfe deluded by the *French*) with a fleet of eleuen hundred Saile paffeth ouer from *Sandwich* to a new inuasion. Hee arrived at *Calais*, from whence hee set forward in three great battels, whereof the first, being least, was vnder *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, the second being greater, vnder the braue Prince of *Wales*, and the last which was greatest, was led by King *Edward* himselfe. They marched through **Artois* to the Citie of *Rheims* in *Champaign*, where the Kings of *France* vfe to be crowned and anointed. The City of **Sens* (an Archbishop See) and *Nemens* doe yeeld without resistance. The *Duke of *Burgundy*, for two *hundred thousand florens of gold, obtained that all *Burgundy* was spared from sackage or spoile. It was told the King, that the *Normans* had landed at *Winchelsea* in the time of diuine seruice, and among other their most impious outrages, a like execrable villanie, as that which *Gibeonites*, (sonnes of *Belial*) are recorded to haue committed vpon the **Leuites* wife, was more wickedly perpetrated by them in the Church it selfe, where the woman, being of singular beautie, was by their insatiable violations murdered; and they got backe to their Ships before the Countrey could rise vpon them to take due vengeance. Hereupon *King *Edward* presently raised his Standard, and set forth out of *Champaign*, (where not farre from the City of *Rheims* hee had *kept his Christmas) toward *Paris*.

(122) He came before it with his armie diuided into *nine Battalions, where hee honoured foure

hundred Esquires and Gentlemen with the Order of *Knighthood*. *Charles* the Dolphin, Regent of *France*, was within *Paris* with a great force, but could not by any meanes bee drawne to hazard battell. There were ample conditions in humble manner tendred to *Edward*, but he was yet inflexible and deaf against any other, then such as himselfe (like a Conquerour) propounded. *Paris* (vp to whose *very walls King *Edward* ranne) not being fessible, hee *retires into *Britaine* to refresh his Army, but vpon his returne finding it stronger then before, he turns his wrath into the very bowels of *France*, exercising hostile Actions vp as farre as **Chartres*, and **Orleans*, and as yet continued inexorable. God was displeased thereat, and to let *Edward* know so much, he caused the Minister of his wrath, a terrible tempest, to assaile his Host, and *to kill therein many both men and horses. King *Edward*'s said, vpon this occasion, to be so wounded with remorie, that repairing to our Lady-Church of *Chartres*, hee prostrated himselfe to God, and forrowing for the bloodshed and wailefull burning which hee had made, vowed to giue quiet to the Christian world vpon equal conditions. This, and the Duke of *Lancasters* perswasions, softened him so, that finally (by mediation of the Popes Legat one *Simon de Langres*) a peace was concluded at *Bretagne* necre to *Chartres* vpon the *eight of May; and in November following King *John* himselfe was transported to *Calets*, and there by King *Edward* (according to the Capitulations of the Treatie) set at liberty, after hee had been a prisoner about foure yeeres.

(123) Articles of this accord, so necessary for the distressed Estate of *France* were these. 1. That (to the intent these conditions which the *French* condescended vnto, should be more forceable, and not seeme to be extorted by aduantage, oar, or iniquite of the times) the two *Edwards*, *Eather* and *Sonne*, should for euer release to King *John* and to his heires, all the right and claime which they had to the Crowne of *France*, to the Dutchy and Estates of *Normandy*, *Anion*, *Turain*, and *Main*, as also to the homages of *Britain*, *Armorick*, and the Earldome of *Flanders*. 2. That King *John* and his sonne, for them and their heires, should by a day certaine restore, and release to King *Edward* and his heires, &c. the whole Countrey of *Aquitain*, enlarged with the bordering and spacious Countreys of *Saintain*, *Poitou*, *Pierrefort*, *Limousin*, *Quercie*, *Angoulesm*, *Rouergne*, &c. with all the Cities, Castles, and appurtenances, to be holden free, without any dependencie but of God. 3. That the *County of *Ponthieu* (the proper inheritance of *Isabel* late Queene Dowager of *England* mother of King *Edward*) the Townes, Countreys, and Lordships of *Calais*, *Guines*, *Mountvil*, *Haim*, *Wale*, *Oye*, *Mereck*, *S. Valary*, &c. and all the Islands which either the *English* then held, or which lay before any of the Premises, with only certaine limitations concerning priuate mens interest, should remaine in like freedome as the rest of the premises to the Crowne of *England*. 4. That King *John* should pay for his ransome (part thereof to be in hand, and part vpon daies) the summe of *thirty hundredth thousand scutes of Gold, euerie two of which should be *fixe shillings and eight pence sterling. And that for assurance there should be assigned certaine number of Ho. stages (by King *Edward* named) to remaine in *England*. 5. That the *French* should not aid, nor assist the *Scots* against the *Englishs*, nor the *Flemings* against the *French*. 6. That it should be lawfull for either King notwithstanding to aid the *Titlers* for the Dutchie of *Britaine* at their pleasures. There were sundry other Articles, as in cases of so transcendent qualitie must needs happen, but, as these were principall, so the most of them might haue beene well left out here, vnlesse they had more exactly beene observed by the *French*. Yet were they ratified with hands, seales, and Oathes at **Calais*, where the two Kings, in stead of kissing the Pax at masse (either hauing for honors sake refused to take it first) *saluted each the other with a most brotherlie embracement and louing kisse.

Yyyy The

The English before Paris. Four hundred Knights made at one time.

*Polyd. Verg. Serres and Polyd. Verg.

*Paul Amyl. The Walfing.

*Serres Paul Amyl. The Walf. Ran. Cest.

*Fabian.

*Tillam.

Articles of peace.

*Paul. Amylin. Ioan. Serres Fabian. Helms. Paul. Amyl.

*The Walfing.

The huge ransom of John King of France. *Paul Amyl. Polyd. Verg. Froissard. The Walf. Fabian. The City of Paris gaue toward this ransom one hundred thousand rials. ad. Grimman his English Serres.

*24. O. Boder. 1360.

*Fabian. per. 7. Caxton.

The English victory at Poitiers, 19. Sep. 1356. *Serres. Polyd. Verg. saith his name was Innocentius.

*Serres. The French king taken prisoner.

*Froissard.

*Serres.

*Fabian out of the French Chronicles.

*Polyd. Newb.

*Serres.

The French king taken prisoner.

*Polyd.

*Polyd.

*Polyd.

*Polyd.

*Polyd.

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*Polyd.

*Polyd.

*Polyd.

*Polyd.

The French ho-
tages.
* This Duke of
Anjou dishon-
orably fled away
after he had giue
faith to be true
prisoner.
* Paul. Amyt.
Polyd. Vergi-
Serres.
Walpugham.
* Serres.
* Freiffard.
* Tpo. Neuf.
A.D. 1361.

King Edwards
Christian Tubile.
* Tpo. Neuf.

* Tho. V. Valsin.

W. D. L. Lambard.
in his Peramb.
A.D. 1362

Statute 36. Edw. 3.

* Hulin.

* Poly. Verg. lib.
19.
The first rule of
the number set by
our kings vpon
Maundy Thursday
day.

A.D. 1363.
A. reg. 36
Three kings visit
King Edward.

A.D. 1364

* Hugh of Luff-
man faith Platina
in Jun. 6.
Pier. faith
Aemylus in
Charles 5.
* In Rich. 1.
* Serres, Inuen. of
France.
John King of
France dyeth in
England.
This Pope P. than
faith V. Valsin
was an English-
man by birth.
meaning belike
that he was born
vnder the obedi-
ence of the King
of England, when
Limousin was Eng-
lish, of which
country, he was
faith Platina.

(124) The Hostages were absolutely of the great-
est Princes, and Lords of France. * Lewis Duke of
Anjou, and John Duke of Berry, sonnes to King John;
Philip Duke of Orleans, the Kings brother, and Philip
Duke of Burgoin: besides * nine principall Earles,
twelve great Lords, and certaine * Burgesses out of
euery good Towne; which were all to remaine in
England, and accordingly did remaine; and Ambassa-
dors were sent from both the Kings, to aduertise the
* Pope of the whole happy conclusion.

(125) Not long after the Prince of Wales was cre-
ated Duke of Aquitaine, and for the same did homage
and fealty to his Father: so that hee was Prince of
Wales, Duke of Aquitaine, and Cornwall, and Earle
of Chester and Kent; this last by Joane his wife, daugh-
ter and heire of Edmund Earle of Kent. Laden with
this new honour, he together with his dearest wife
and whole Court failed into Gascoigne, where at Bur-
deaux he remained.

(126) Now was this renowned Monarch Edward
the Great, King of England, vpon the day of Saint
Brice, (the day * on which King Etheldreds com-
mandement all the Danes in England were murder-
ed,) aged fifty yeeres; at which time a Parliament
(where * none were permitted to appeare by Proxie)
was holden at Westminster vpon prorogation. There-
fore to make the memory of his birth-day accepta-
ble by acts of gracious government, as in a yeere
of Tubile he granted his generall & speciall pardon to
offenders without fine or Fee-paying for the Seale,
set Prisoners at liberty, reuoked such as were in ba-
nishment. Moreover, vpon the grieuances of his
people, petted with the doublings of Lawyers, he
commanded, that * Pleas should from thenceforth
bee made in English, not in French, a necessary Law,
if it had beene as carefully obserued, especially, if
withall hee had ordered the same should not be writ-
ten also in French, that his people might know their
owne duties. It is obserued that the Law of Magna
Charta (confirmed also in this Parliament) was about
a dozen seuerall times confirmed by this King during
the yeeres of his reign. That which * another notes
by occasion of this Tubile, wee would not omit for
the famous custome of our Kings, who vpon Maun-
dy Thursday in imitation of Christ, wash, feede and
cloath as many poore, as themselves are yeeres old,
is referred to this celebration which King Edward
made of his fiftieth yeere, in regard of the number
fed, which number hee calls the Tubile of their ages:
but as hee imparted Grace to his people, so hee also
tooke order to replenish his purse. That seldome or
neuer the poore Commons haue any thing which
they pay not for.

(127) The estate of our great Edward thus flou-
rishing, hither (vpon sundry occasions) John King of
France, Dauid King of Scots, who had lately both of
them beene Prisoners in England, and Guy of Lusini-
an, King of Cyprus came in person. The French kings
affaire was, the more commodiously to transact for
the remaine of his ransom, the discharge of his pled-
ges, and other things. * Guy of Lusini-an King of Cy-
prus (by that right which as you haue heard before,
his Ancestor had by donation and inuestiture from
Richard the first, King of England) negotiated his own
reliefe, vnder the iust Title of the common cause of
Christianity, so fearfully by the preuailing Turkes
empaired in the Easterne world, and not long after
departed hence. John King of France * had promi-
sed to Pope Urban (at Aninion) his personall aide in
the holy warre, but was preuented by death, which
* scitied vpon him herein England at the Sauey. From
whence by the pictie of Charles his sonne, then king
of France, his body was in most royall manner con-
uained to Douer, at the King of Englands voluntarie
charge, and entombd among his forefathers at S.
Dennis with all funeral maiefty, not farre off from
the Soueraigne City Paris, feat of the French Mo-
narches, as the other their place of Sepulture. Like-
wise Jane Queene of Scots comming into England

(with her husband belike) * decaiced here.

(128) That King Edwards fortune was not
onely auailable to himselfe, or to his Lieutenants,
but also to his friends and fauourites, appeared in
the great quarrell about the title of Britaine Arma-
ricke, which about this time was determined by the
death of the Lord Charles Earle of Bloys, head of the
one faction, (but willing to haue ended it by word,
not by the sword, if hee could haue preuailed with
his wife) who was slaine in an encounter made a-
gainst the Lord John de Montford, head of the other
side, where the * Lord William Latimer, * Sir John
Chandos, Sir Hugh Caluerley with other of the Eng-
lish which stucke to Montford, wanne much honor.
This field was fought at Surry not far from Yarm-
es in low Britaine. After * which (hauing performed
certaine estates to the widow of the L. Charles,
a man of singular sanctimony and integrity of life)
he did homage to Charles king of France, and was
accepted Duke of Britaine, with consent of the
King of England, his speciall raiser and protectour.
The * losse was great vpon the enemies side; for
there were slaine besides the said Earle of Bloys,
(Montfords competitor) the Lord John his brother,
and sixe Lords with many other of speciall note,
* Wallingham faith about a thousand men of Armes &
Esquiers: and there were taken John and Guy the
Earles sonnes, and nine other Lords, and of those
whose fame for cheualricke counteruailed half the rest:
Sir Bertram de Gleghin Marshall of France, vnder the
banner of Sir John Chandoy.

(129) In the * mean space, from what part of the
World did not the English bring testimonies of their
valour: for such as had warred vnder the Cypriot
King against the Turkes, and taken a part of Alex-
andria in Egypt, returned with much riches in cloths
of gold, veluets, & precious stone. About these times
and long after also, Sir John * Haucot (or Hareskrap)
that valiant man of Armes, made his owne name, &
his Countreimans the English very honourable by
martiall vertue in sundry parts of Italie. And as
their valour was one way scene beyond the Alpes,
so there fell out occasions not long after, which
made it knowne another way beyond the moun-
taines Pyrennes.

(130) The family of the Lord Edward, Prince
of Wales who liued in Burdeaux, was now with great
honour encreased: for his dearely loued wife, who
the last yeere bare vnto him Edward his first borne,
(which liued but seven yeeres after) bare vnto him
a second sonne, for whom Richard King of Navarre,
and * James King of Maiorca vnderooke as Godfa-
thers, giuing him to name Richard. The companies
of Souldiers, most of whose Chiefes were English
by birth or obedience, hauing now no employment,
because the warres of Britaine were appealed for the
present, ranged desperately ouer France; but it was
not long before Sir Bertram de Gleghin (hauing paid
his ransom) had meanes to draw the more part of
that military Pestilence into another Coast: for, by
the assistance of Peter King of Arragon, the banished
Earles and the power of Gleguin, with the floting
Bands, called the Companions or Adventurers, Peter
King of Castile and Leon was driuen out of his
kingdome, his bastard brother Henry chosen and
crowned King of Spaine at Burgos.

(131) This Peter was * sonne to Alfonso the ele-
uenth King of Castile, and had to wife a French Lady
called Blanch, daughter to Peter Duke of Bourbon, who
was father also of Joane the French Kings wife. His
tyrannical cruelties by the Spanish Stories, are re-
ported so foule, and so many, that they * scarce suf-
fer Nero or Caligula to goe before him; though he
were otherwise a Prince, who had such parts of mind
(faith Rodericus) as doe set forth and adorne the
Owner, but cannot make him happy. His naturall
blood-thirstiness was encreased, and precipitated,
some say, by the magicall practises of Maria de Padil-
la his concubine, who (calumniously * charging the
Queene

* Hulin.
An. 116.
The Earle
of Bloys
battell by
English
the Duke
of Britaine

* Tho. V. Valsin.
* Serres.
Holinsh.

* Paul. Amyt.
Guil. Tilius.

* Inuented
by Serres.

* Tho. V. Valsin.
faith. Edw.
and 37. loc.

* Tpo. Neuf.
The French
kinge Engle
voluntarie
Egypt and
Italy.
A. D. 1363.
By which
he 1. Grg. 1.
died.

A. D. 1363.
Richard of
Burdeaux
King of Bur-
deaux.

* Tho. V. Valsin.
Holinsh.

A. D. 1367.

The Origin
of the Engle
in Spaine.
* Freac. To
Ptolomee de

* Rod. Sta.
Holinsh.

* Paul. Amyt.
in Cardin.

Queene with that which her selfe acted,) by meanes
of a few to enchanted a rich Girdle of King Peters;
which Queene Blanch had giuen him, that the next
time hee ware it, the flame * appeared to himselfe
and the beholders like a snake. This cursed disci-
ple of * Iannez and Iambrez hated the vertuous
Queene, for that hee had so preuailed with Don Pe-
dro her husband, that no few was suffered to beare
office, or enioy any fauours in Court, neither wanted
shee much of expelling them wholly out of Spaine.
But by this practise Maria de Padilla (who * some
erroneously say was a Jew) got all the king to her self,
and so persecuted the innocent Queene, that it
was not long before shee died, the Popes intercessi-
ons failing to effect any good with the Tyrant. The
Nobles of Spaine who laboured to haue brought
her againe into deserued grace, are by him pursued
as fautors of her supposed witchcrafts. Other
things also whetted him to sauage, and Turkish But-
cheries, as thirst of Gold, and somewhat which had
by diuclish arts beene fore-told him concerning his
end. His brothers, kinsfolke, Nobles, and others,
hee causeliesly massacred or forced to secke their
safeguard by flight, among which the Lord Henry,
his forsaide bastard brother was one. Peter not-
withstanding was in the truth and right of blood
King of Spaine, but his faide brother (a Gentleman
in whom nothing was to bee taxed, but that which
he was not to be blamed for, his birth) being wor-
thy popular and potent, had now obtained both the
Title of King and possession of the Crowne.

(132) Peter, before this hapned, so soon as his wife
Queene Blanch was dead childlesse, * married his late
Concubine Maria de padilla a woman of a noble
house, though not so rarely honest, as to refuse the
vnlawfull loue of a King: who hauing issue by her
Alfonso a sonne (who dyed young) and three daugh-
ters * Constance, Beatrice, and Isabel, made to her and
them the best amends he could for what was passed.
It is the fitter this truth should appeare, for that
within a few yeeres after John Duke of Lancaster,
one of the sonnes of England, married Constance the
eldest sister, claiming the Crowne of Castilia in her
right, as * the Earle of Cambridge had another, and
for that * some (either through hatred of a wicked
Tyrant, or through haist or misinformation) haue in
many points foulliered, and in particular, vntu-
lue leauing vpon the Lady the Title of a Strumpet,
who was honest by lawfull marriage. Diuers
notwithstanding of * the Spanish Lords, like good
subiects acknowledged their duty to Peter (though a
most violent Prince) nor could the vlturper Henrie,
but by deeply impairing the reuenues of the
Crowne of Spaine with immoderate gifts, winne anie
of them. Peter thus driuen from his kingdome,
with his wife, children, and (if * some say true) but
one seruant, repaires to the Prince of Wales (* at Bay-
on) that is, to honour and humanity it selfe: who see-
ing a dangerous president against all lawfull Kings,
that any one should be so dethroned, and not look-
ing into his vices but his right; signified the same to
his father: who enioines him to aid Don Peter, so that
now the Prince, (burning with desire of renowne)
(vpon trust of pay for his Armie and of other com-
modities by King Peter, when hee should be reesta-
blished in his throne) is ready to passe into Spaine.

(133) Hee makes his way through the famous
straits of Roncevaux in Navarre by permission
of the King thereof, who * yet suffered himselfe (as
most men write) to be taken prisoner by the French,
and carried into Castile, that he might not in person
seeme to crosse the French Kings designs on the
behalf of the vlturper Henrie. The Prince of Wales
had with him an armie of about thirtie thousand
men, and in his company besides most of all the
prime Captaines of the English, there were in person
two Kings, Peter of Castile, whose the quarrell was,
and the King of Maiorca and John Duke of Lancaster
who some while after Don Pedro his death writ him-

selfe King of Castile and Leon. On the other side K.
Henry, for defence of his new Diadem, had assem-
bled a very great number of French (vnder
Gleguin their famous Capraine) as of Castilians and o-
ther both Christians and Saracens, not fewer then
foure score, or an hundred thousand. Vpon the
Borders of Castile it came to a battell: where the
Prince of Wales obtained a verie great victorie, kil-
ling many thousands of his enemies. Henrie himselfe
* was wounded in the groine but escaped. There
were taken the Earle of Dene, * Bertram de Gleguin
himselfe (who shortly after by paying a great ran-
some had liberty) the Marshall Dandreden and manie
others. Neither was it lesse worth to King Peter
then a kingdome; for the most noble Edward left
him not, till he had set him in Burgu vpon his throne
againe.

(134) But his falldown and ingratitude were
monstrous: For the Prince notwithstanding his so
great goodnes extended towards him, was enforced
to returne to Burdeaux without mony wherewith to
pay his armie, which was the cause of exceeding
great mischief to himselfe, and to the English do-
minions beyond the Seas, as if God had bene dis-
pleased for succouring such a Tyrant. The Prince to
pay his souldiers (who were not able to carry King
Peters leasure) coined euery his plate, and when all
would not serue, sought to lay vpon his Subiects in
Gascoigne and thereabout, a new taxation, which
bred a most dangerous reuolt. God notwithstanding
found out Peter, for it was not long but his bas-
tard brother Henry returned with new forces, and by
the aid of Gleguin and the French, hee both thrust
him againe from the Throne, and * murdered him
also with his owne hand. The Prince of Wales him-
selfe was in this iourney so poisoned (as was thought)
he neuer after had his health. Duke John his bro-
ther is not freed from the suspicion of hauing hap-
pened the Princes end, but whether it is meant of anie
practise at this time or no, appeares not. Now not-
withstanding he is safe as yet within Burdeaux.

(135) Now beganne the peace between England
and France to vnsettle and vntwine. For while King
Edward reioyced in the excellent vertues and ac-
tions of his sonnes and peoples Charles the fifth, king
of France, warned by so manifold calamities, as his
Dominions had sustained by the English in faire
warre, & yet most earnestly coueting to recouer the
honour of his Nation, betakes himselfe wholly to o-
ther arts and traines; neuer aduenturing his owne
person, but executing all his designs by Deputie,
wherein the seruice of Bertram de Gleguin Constable of
France stood him most in steed: neither neglected
he before hand to lay vp colours wherewith to
ouer-paint his * collusions and deuises for sauing
his honour; in so much that when it came to scan-
ning, the losse was clearely vpon King Edwards
side, and the cause of the breach made at leastwise
doubtfull. His practises notwithstanding were pal-
pable, and it must bee confessed that our truly noble
King (without suspicion of craft) reposing himselfe
vpon the rules of * magnanimitie, did not reape the
stable effects of so great and important victories, nor
of a peace so ceremoniously made, that (in the
worlds opinion) it might neuer bee infringed with-
out the manifest breach vpon one side of all bonds
both diuine and humane. The Prince of Wales by
letters aduised his father not to trust to any faire
words, nor ouertures of farther amity made by the
French, because he said they entertained practises vn-
derhand, in euery place against him. But the Prince
was * iudged to speake out of a restless humour de-
lighting in warre, and therefore preuailed not. The
effects disclosed that his words were true.

(136) For now king Charles surnamed the wise,
hauing by quick payments and by one meanes or
other gotte hom all the hostages which had bin em-
pledged for performance of the Articles of peace
before mentioned, sets all his wits on worke to a-
buse

* Tho. Valsin.
in Edward 3.
* Paul Amyt.
John Tilius.

King Peters fal-
hood and
death.

* Fran. Trarapha
de regibus Hisp.
& omnes.
Tho. Valsin.
in Edward 3.
and Tpo. Neuf.
* Fran. Tpo. and
Holinsh in Ed-
ward 6 pag. 770.

* Thom. V. Valsin.
in Edward 3.

* Rap. Platina in
Innocent. 6.

* Tho. Valsin.
in Edward 3.

The English Em-
pire vn-
dermined by
practises of the
French.

buse the King of *Englands* credulitie, till hee had gotten before hand as farre as diffimulation could advance: hee Courts the good old Prince with loving letters and presents, while in the mean time his plots ripen abroad, and the County of *Pontieu* (the king of *Englands* vendible inheritance) was first surprised before King *Edward* heard thereof. And whereas the Prince of *Wales* had at a Parliament in *Gascogne* propounded a demand for fowage, or of money to be leuied by the chimney, the Earles of *Armignac* and *Cominges*, and other Lords the Princes subiects, bearing no sound affections toward the English Empire (the lesse for that by the pollicy of *Glequin*, and the Chancellor of *France* * *Dourmauns*, all or most of the Countries and Townes (which by vertue of the peace made at *Bretigny*) were annexed thereunto, were cunningly wrought to return to their old Lords) repaire to the French Court at *Paris*, there to pursue an appeale for redresse of this oppression against the Prince (who was not so happy as to follow the counsell of Sir *Robert Knols* and other wisest Captaines who dissuaded this impolitic), pretending that hee was to answer before King *Charles* as before his superiour Lord, of whom (they said) he held by homage and fealtie. This practise of the disloyall Lords (for what could they bee else? seeing King *Edward* and his heires were absolutely freed (by vertue of the said Treatie) from all manner of seruice for any of their Dominions in *France*) King *Charles* did openly at last entertaine, and (vpon hope to recover by surpris, and plot, what the English had won by dint of sword and perfect manhood) proceeded to summon the Prince of *Wales* to *Paris*, there to answer such accusations as his subiects made against him.

(137) To encrease the indignitie of these deuises, you should hear the French Kings Orators before the Pope and Emperour, to whom King *Edward* had feuerally sent Ambassadors, full of complaints against King *Charles*, laying wholly vpon the French, the blame of the new warre, as vpon open breakers of faith, and violators of the league, most confidently on the contrary part charge the English.

"We had suffered the French hostages to visit their friends at home vpon the French Kings word, that they should come backe by a day, contrary to which word, they, nor any of them, either were or are returned. That not so much as the Law of Nations was kept with vs, which ties Princes to demand restitution by their Officers of Armes, or vpon denial to defie them, but where (say we) are the * *Heralds* which King *Charles* did send? We say, that without notice hee surpriseth by stealth the Earldome of *Ponthieu*, King *Edward* vnquestionable right, and hath disseised vs in *Aquitaine*, which doth no lesse belong vnto vs then *Ponthieu*. That * *Margaret* the Inheritrice of *Flanders*, which had bene promised to the Lord *Edmund*, one of our Kings sonnes, was by their iniurious practise wonne away, and bestowed in marriage vpon *Philip* Duke of *Burgundie*. Finally, we say, that *Leu* Duke of *Antion*, one of the pledges, making an escape by that, contrary to honour, and the league, was by them received, and not returned, which points being all of transcendent qualitie, are (say we) directly contrarie to the Treatie and iworne agreement at *Bretigny*.

The French hereunto answer, and charge vpon vs, to shew the fault of first breach, not theirs, but ours.

"That we by vertue of the said Treaty were bound immediately to withdraw our Armie out of *France*, which yet (they said) we did not during all the reign of *John* their King.

"That the peace was made thereby more noyons, and hurtfull then the warre, and that they were faine to purchase the departure of our Souldiers with a greater charge then would haue maintained a very gallant Armie: That this breach was ours,

"because the Souldiers were ours. That King *Edward* was bound in an open assembly of the States of both Realmes, to renounce his right in the Crowne of *France*: when (say they) was this done?

Thus they, and *Serres* ads that the Estates of those Countries which had bene assigned by the Treatie to the English assured, that it was against the fundamentall laws of *France* to alien anie part, & that they neither could, nor would cease to be members of that Crowne.

(138) So ye behold that the fortune of the great is neuer to want friends to speake for them, nor occasions to slip out or in, whensoever profit and advantage doe inuite. Memorable (if true) is that part of the *Frenchmens* defense, in that polite and learned Italian, *P. Amylius*, where it being objected with what honour and clemencie King *John* was vsed by vs, they breake out and affirme, that wee (being their Beneficiaries or Free-holders for such Countries as wee held in *France*) tooke more gold for the only ransom of King *John*, then they paid to redeeme *S. Lewis* their king, & his brother, the Peeres, and whole French Army captiuized in the Christi an warres by the barbarous Soldan. But (good *Amylius*) say that were so, yet cannot you say, that the summe wee tooke was worth the least Countie in *France*, and when all *France* was ours, was it not great bountie to take so small a pittance? If you relie that we had many Countries besides, wee reioice and trulie say, that wee quit more then we acquired. But let vs proceed: for now all claims & quarrels were as open, as if no obstacle had euer bene interposed: the ignominie of their late terrible foiles wounded all true French hearts, and they desire (King *Edward* growne aged) not to seeme by sitting still vpon so many thornes of disgrace, and losse, to haue bene outwarred, though ouer-warred, and though in two or three battels inferior, yet not to haue bene clearly debellated.

(139) What doth our King *Edward* now? Hee * calls a Parliament, declares the breach, praises aid, obtains it, and claims the crowne of *France* afresh. *John* Duke of *Lancaster* and *Humfrey* de *Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* ascend ouer to *Calais* with a great force to inuade *France*. No great matter as then ensued.

* *Thomas Beauchamp* Earle of *Warwicke* comming ouer in hope to haue worke for his Curtelax, for the French affronted our armie vnder the conduct of Duke *Philip le Hardy* (though at this time scarce shewing himselfe worthy that surname) but rose vpon the Earles arriuall, and retired, accused the Lords for sloath, and sware he would abroad among them to find fighting, while *English* bread was yet vndigested in his souldiers stomacks. Somewhat he did, but death by a pestilentiall dart prevented the rest. This Earle had with him a learned man (as *Scipio* had *Polybius*) to register the acts which hee saw done: A worthy example ill followed by posterity. The Duke of *Lancaster* peirced vp with his armie so farre as *Roan*. The same *Polydor* wondering why they of *Ponthieu* hauing for an hundred and twelue yeeres (that is, euer since King *Edward* the first had it giuen to him with his wife) been ours, should reuolt, only daring the greatnesse of the *English*, can find no other reason for their doings but this pleasant one, that as dispersed cattell gather to their owne heard, so Frenchmen flocke to the French, and *English* follow *English*.

(140) Stirring Princes cannot containe themselves within their owne quietly possessed rights: Otherwise, who sees not how much better it is for the people, that their Princes should manage well that which they haue, rather then graipe at more? For King *Edward* (notwithstanding his continual manifold victories) comes back to the Subiect (who yet had gained hugely by the warres, and therefore might the better doe it) for supportation: and they yeeld it, but his age was abused, for the money was not expended as the pretences were made. Priuate

* Inuentorie of France in Charles the 5. Serret

* Paul. Amyl. in Car. 5.

* Strutt rashly affirmes the aid.

* Pol. Virg. in E. 3.

The points charged vpon the English.

In Charles Serret.

The dealing the English fondly did P. Amyl.

An. D. 1373. John Duke of Lancaster from * Polyd. Verg. lib. 19.

* Polyd. Verg. lib. 19.

An. D. 1373. Sir Robert Knolls in general and particular Brittain.

turns

turnes were serued with publicke loanes. Neuertheless, * after Midsummer day, that renowned Captain Sir *Robert Knolls*, whom martiall vertue had raised from the lowest rancke to the highest reputation (though some also affirme him * borne noble) was sent by King *Edward* into *France* with an Armie, where (while obedience lasted to his direction) all things prospered. But by the infatigation of one Sir *John Menesterworth* the young Lords *Grandsonne*, and *Fitzwalter*, and other vaineie scornful to be vnder *Knolls*, for that they held themselves his betters, and thereupon diuiding themselves after they had done sundry exploits, marching vpon cuen to *Paris*, were beaten and foild by the French vnder *Glequins* conduct, but *Knolls* wintred safe in *Britaine*. *Menesterworth* comes into *England*, and knowing accusers haue the vantage, complains to King *Edward* of *Knolls*: but not altogether beleued: he ads treason to vnt ruth, and turning French becomes a wicked enemy to his King and Countrey, * promising the French to procure the *Castilian* Nauie to inuade *England*, for which being in the last yeere of King *Edward* raigne taken, hee by due course was condemned and cut in pieces, dying the death he had deserued. He was laid hould vpon in the City of *Pampelune* in *Nauarre*, and from thence conueighed to *London*, vpon whose bridge his wicked head stood Sentinell.

(141) * Pope *Vrbane* the fifth, comming from *Rome* to *Aninion* with purpose to visite these two mighty Kings, their wills, and mights against the common enemy of Christendome, put off mortality at *Marills*, and so that holy intention ceased for the present: but the same being * continued by his next successor *Gregory* 11. yet tooke no effect, no more then that which the Emperour to like cause would haue vndergone: which the French impute to King *Edward*, who confident by reason of his former achievements, would trie it out by the sword. Wherein he seemed to forget the mutable condition of warre, the farnesse of his bodie, and the greenesse of his Grand-Child young *Richard*, who was to succeed, if the Prince of *Wales* died, as shortly after he did. Neither did God seeme to approue his opinion herein, for that crosses came fast vpon him, both at home and abroad. There is no greater wisdom nor happinesse then to know when we are well, and then to preferre without hazard or empairment, that honour wealth or quiet which we already haue.

(142) Among the States and Townes (assigned to the English by vertue of the treatie at *Bretigny*) which had reuolted to the French, was the Citie of *Limoges* in *Limosin*, whither the Prince marcheth, & sits down with his armie before it. Thither * came vnto him out of *England* his brethren the D. of *Lancaster* & the Earle of *Cambridge*, with a fresh supplie of valiant Chiefs and Souldiers. The City stood it out to the vttermost, and was forcibly entred, where mercy had nothing to saue nor spare, the sword and fire fortteror to other killing and defacing in a manner all. Hee * who writes that the Prince flew vp neere to *Paris*, and fearfully, by reason of *Glequins* valour, got backe to *Burdeaux*, seems to haue mistaken therein, as in many other things concerning vs of great importance. After this seruice, the Prince, (health failing him more & more) leaues his Brethren in *Aquitaine*, and sailes into *England*.

(143) The French in the meane time wonne towns and places in *Aquitaine*, gathering new hopes after so long and perpetual infelicities. The losse of that expert Captain Sir *John Chandoy* (vnfortunatly slaine) was a great aduantage to their desires, whose whole care for warre rested vpon *Glequin* (not long before aduanced for his military vertue from low estate to so great eminencie, as to bee Constable of *France*, the chiefe officer for warre which that Kingdome hath) and he a man of much

proofe, in good and euill fortune, To tempered his courage with discretion, that he onely first bad his Country rise againe, and endeauro in despite of euill fortune to re flourish.

(144) The Prince of *Wales* (wanting health) vpon comming to his fathers light, rendered vp the Dutchie of *Aquitaine*, to bee disposed of as to his roial pleasure seemed good. While King *Edward* was at *Clarendon*, there repaired to him the factious king of *Nauarre*, whose errand was to make an ouerture of association against the French, but as his offers were acceptable, so his cautions not seeming sufficient, hee returned (after great entertainment) without concluding.

(145) John Duke of *Lancaster*, and his brother the Earle of *Cambridge*, doe now returne out of *Aquitaine*, with the Ladies *Constance* and *Isabel* daughters of *Don Pedro* late King of *Spaine*, whom they married: The Duke thereupon inflitting himselfe King, and his wife Queene of *Castile* and *Leon*. Nor was the English name once encreased in titularie honours: for about this time, the *Flemings* (who had prouoked vs) were vanquished by the * Earle of *Hereford* at sea in a sharpe fight, about twentie and five of their shippes being taken, and all the men slain. The sweete of this victory was lowred not long after with a grievous losse: for the French haue besieged the strong Citie of *Rochel* in *Saintain*, with the aide by sea of *Henry* King of *Castile*, to relieue the English, John Earle of *Pembroke* was sent with about forty shippes, men, victuals, munition, and money, to the value of twenty thousand marks, for the vses of the warre; but being suddenly assailed with the Spanish Armado, which consisted of many great shippes, vnder the command of *Ambrose Buceaniga* and others, the English after a long and cruell conflict were vtterly distressed, the Earle taken prisoner, and almost all the rest either taken, or put to the sword. * *Rochel* held out notwithstanding, to whose reliefe while King *Edward* himselfe in person, with an extraordinary force saille, the wind (always till that time fauourable to his voyages for *France*) came Easterly, and draue him backe into *England* with great griefe, and the waste (they write) of * nine hundred thousand pounds sterling. Neither did hee so giue ouer the care of that strong Pecee, which the English most manfully made good against the enemy.

(146) * *Rochel* thus persisting in loyall resolution, John Duke of *Britaine* (who had married the Lady *Marie* daughter of King *Edward*) a Gentleman of much gratitude toward the English, the authors of his fortunes, resolves to aduenture his state in their quarrell: ships away for *England*: hath aide ministred vnto him: hee returns, and warres with various euent. But John Duke of *Lancaster* with a very great Armie comes to *Calais*, and from thence marcheth ouer the whole face of *France*, and (though with losse of many thousand * horse in the desert countries of *Auergne* through famine) came safe, but with an almost-hunger-starued Army to *Burdeaux*. Not long after hee drew into the field, and a day was appointed betweene him and the Duke of *Aniou* the French Kings brother, to haue tried the quarrell of their Nations by set battell, before the City of *Tholoz* in *Languedoc*, but by an vntimely & pernicious short truce (to which K. *Edward* yeilded because his son the Prince lay dangerously sick) the hoped victory nor onlie slept out of the English mens hands, but almost all aduantage also of doing any thing else seasonably. The French boasted * themselves as of a Conquest, who notwithstanding did helpe out their valiancy with policie. *Glequin* makes his vie of all occasions, and workes much harme to the English party in *Guien* and *Britaine*. But in *Britaine* * Sir *Robert Knolls* doe so nobly acquit himselfe on the behalfe of his Soueraignes ionne in law the Duke, that he onely seemed a fit parallel to *Glequin*, like as hee stood the current of his fortune.

Y y y 2 Neuer

An. D. 1372

The Flemish Nauie distressed by the English. * Holinshed. * 2^o ed. New.

Rochel besieged by the French.

The English Nauie distressed by the Castilian.

* Polyd. Verg. lib. 19

King Edward at sea to relieue Rochel is blown backe.

* Tho. Walsin.

A. D. 1373. Rochel consumed with English. * Polyd. Verg. lib. 19.

* Tho. Walsin.

* Tho. Wals. lib. 19.

* J. Tillam Chron.

Neuertheleffe the doings of *Glequin* are so extolled by the French, that *Tillius* enters them into his Chronology with these words, *Victoria, &c. the victories, fortunes and triumphes of Bertrand Glequin in Aquitaine and Britaine*, though their owne selves make no mention of any defeat of the English, which afforded them matter for the shadow of such gloriations.

An.D. 1374.

*Surry.

(147) The next yeere the Duke of *Lancaster* returned into *England*, after whose departure all *Aquitaine* almost revolted, and fell to the French, who by the advantage of King *Edwards* age, the Princes pining malady (which some say was not poison but a dropisie) and the successe of their practises more then of their valour, were growne braue againe: A treatie of peace was holden at *Bruges*, all was but painted: for euen then the French most of all prepared vnderhand for new attempts. Chiefe commissioners for the English at that conference was *John Duke of Lancaster*, and for the French the Duke of *Anjou*. The effects hatched nothing but a short truce for our euils to breed in.

A.D. 1375.

*Ypod. Neuf.

(148) Among the parties which were preiudiced by this hurtfull truce, the Duke of *Britaine* was chiefe. He had obtained great assistance from King *Edward*, and was now with the Earles of *Cambridge*, *March*, *Warwicke*, and *Stafford*, with many other noble gentlemen and souldiers returned into *Britaine*, making to themselves a faire way for their maine enterprise, which was to settle the Duke, and by the commodity of his Dutchie situation to annoy the common enemy, and the better to recouer the English dominions in *Aquitaine*: But this treatie did that which *Glequin*, their indeed braue General, had not as yet in any fort effected; for the Duke of *Britaine* had driuen the French Kings army out of his territories. But who wonders at this truce? The Prince of *Wales* was likely to die; plots one foot at home; the Duke of *Lancaster* had an eye to the Succession; things grew troubled: the Kings age was abused by dame *Alice Peirs* (a most busie Court-sle) who (after *Queene Philips* death) kept the old man warme, and the French law all these matters and slept not.

A.D. 1376.

*Tho. V. Palsin.
in Edward 3.
Alice Peirs the
old Kings Con-
cubine a most in-
solent woman.

(149) King *Edward* calling a Parliament, vnfolding his estate, and wants, with demand of supplies, the bodie of the assembly in stead of contributions exhibits complaints, directly chargeth the Kings Officers with fraud, and humbly praiereth, that *John Duke of Lancaster*, the Lord *Lattimer*, then Lord *Chamberlaine*, Dame *Alice Peirs* (whose) behaviours they painted forth as most intolerable, for that shee, respectlesse of her Sexes frailty, would in person, said they, come into all Courts of Iustice, and sometime sitting by the Judges or Doctors, would also after a most insolent manner perliwade or dissuade for her most advantage) and with these one Sir *Richard Sturmy* might be removed from the person of the King. Neuertheleffe the Parliament made offer, that if the King were indeed out of money, they would liberally aduance toward his vses. The Prince of *Wales* fauoured their free dealing, and all the said persons were removed, others more acceptable (such as the Prince and Peeres thought fitter) being furrogated in their places.

*Holins.

The Prince of
Wales dicth.

(150) While this Parliament (called the *Good*) lasted at *Westminster*, the noble soule of *Edward Prince of Wales* vpon *Trinity Sunday* (which euery yeere he vsed to celebrate with the greatest honour that might be in due veneration of so diuine a mystery) was presented to the holy and blessed Trinity, after he had liued therein about 46. yeeres. In stead of Epitaph or mention of obsequies, the words of *Walsingham* shall serue vs for the present, of whose death he writes thus. *Quo obiente, &c. With whom dying, died all the hope of Englishmen; during whose life, the English feared no invasion of the enemy, nor any encounter in Battell: For he assailed no Nation which he overcame not, he besieged no City which he took not. And when this lamp was put out, the effect of this Par-*

*Ypod. Neuf.
*Tho. V. Palsin.
in Edward 3.

liament was extinguished. His mortal parts were interred at *Canterbury*, where his monument standeth, but the renowne of his inimitable vertues haue as large an extent, and space to moue in, as the wide world. The King of *France* most recently celebrated his Exequies within the Chappell of his Palace at *Paris*. But in *England* there was a generall sorrow, as for one whose worth had begotten a iust hope that hee would out-goe* his Ancestors in glorie. Death preventing that experiment of him, he is notwithstanding in full possession of loue and praise among all men for that which was passed. The cause of this domestick mourning encreased with the effects of his losse, which forthwith disclosed themselves. The King recalls such persons as at the petition of the Lords and Commons had bene removed, and *Peter de la Mare* speaker of the last Parliament, who had eloquently exprest the minde of the house in the foresaid reformation, was, at the suite of the said bolde Dame *Alice Peirs*, condemned by the King to perpetuall imprisonment at *Nottingham*, though within two yeeres after by the importune suite of friends hee regained libertie. Meane while *John Duke of Lancaster** gets the gouernance of the kingdom to be intrusted to him by his father.

(151) *Richard* the eldest sonne of the late most noble Prince of *Wales*, for prevention of all debates about the right of succession to the Crowne of *England*, was by his Grand-father first made Earle of *Chester*, and not long after Prince of *Wales*: but for more assurance (least the sonnes deceale before the fathers should preiudice the Grand-Child) King *Edward** caused all the nobles of the Realme to take an Oath to accept and defend Prince *Richard*, as lawfull heire and King of *England*, after himselfe was dead: Neither did his vncles though famous Captaines, repugne. Finally, the good old King, to comfort himselfe in honouring the liuing image of his noblest Child, the late Prince *Edward*, and to giue the minde of his Grand-Child a feeling of future maiestic, that by the fodeine insolvency of the splendor, it might not afterward too much abuse his tender iudgement, and to make his vncles acquainted with respect of his person, he caused him to sit openly at his Table about all his owne Children in Christmas.

(152) About this time the famous Doctor *Iohn Wilef* a man of sharpe wit, profound learning, and great iudgement, did in the Vniuersitie of *Oxford* publicly maintaine sundry propositions and dogmatical points against the Church of *Rome*, of which the Pope (foreseeing the hazard hanging ouer his triple Crowne) condemned * three and twenty as hereticall; whereupon the Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Bishop of *London* hauing attached the body of the said *Wilef*, did in the presence of the Duke of *Lancaster* and the Lord *Henry Peirce* (*his great fauourers,) declare the iudgement of the Pope concerning *Wilefs* doctrine, which had then taken deepe roote both in the vniuersity, Court, and Countrey. So for a while all was quiet. But (vpon some feerer encouragements) he held no peace long. His followers were, in the phrase of those darke daies, called * *Lollards*, whereas, in truth, they endeauoured to extirpate all pernicious weeds, which through time, sloth, and fraude, had crept into the field of Gods Church. The Duke of *Lancaster* (the rather, some thinke, vpon priuate emulations against *Courteney* Bishop of *London*) was engaged so farre in his protection, that he and the Lord *Percy* hardly escaped the fury of the *Londoners*, who would without question haue hewed them in pieces in reuenge of some disgracefull speech vttered by him against their Bishop. He notwithstanding dissuaded all violence, and kept them from firing his palace of the *Sauoy*, but they neuertheleffe did in most despitfull manner reuerse his Armories in the open Market: A dishonour not to be borne, as that in which the digni-

*Holins.
Hollins.

*Ypod.

*Surry.

*Tho. V.

*Holins.

*Fraser.

*Fraser.

*Fraser.

*Fraser.

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nity of his royall blood was empaired. By this outrage the people (a most dangerous and heady water when once it is out) made known, what he, and the Lord *Percy* were to haue hoped, if they could haue fingered them; before they had gotten to *Kingston* to Prince *Richard*, who there remained with his mother. The Duke for this bare the *Londoners* much euill will; neither rested till for a commencement of reuenge hee had procured the Maior and Aldermen to be thrust from their places, and substituted others in their stead.

(153) *France* in the meane time erected with new hopes, breathes nothing but warre. Prouisions in that respect were not neglected here. One of the last publike acts of the old kings life, was the triumphall celebration of Saint *Georges* feast at *Wind-sor*, where himselfe had founded the order of the Garter; and who had solemnly bestowed vpon his dearest Grandchild Prince *Richard* the dignity of Knighthood, which only thing in all the patrimony of honour could not descend vnto him.

(154) Not long after ensued the sentence of diuorce which God pronounced betwixt the soule and body of this mighty and martial king, who left the world in the month of Iune at his Manour of *Shene* in *Surrey*: his Acts may giue you a perfect Character of his mind: few Princes that had so great and heroicke vertues, had fewer vices: therefore it was a fault of those times, which abounding in learned men, (and amongst them *Geffrey Chaucer* Prince of *Poets*) afforded no better an Epitaph then that which we are faine with pity to read vpon his Monument at *Westminster*: the stiffe neuertheleffe is worthy, though the forme bee rude.

*Hic decus Anglorum, flos regum prateritorum,
Formas futurorum, rex clementis, pax populorum.
Terminis Edwardus, regni complens iubilaeum.
Inuictus Parnasus, pollens bellis Machabaum.*

*Here Englands grace the flower of Princes past,
Patterne of future, Edward the third is paste,
Milde Monarch, Subjects peace, warres Machabee,
Victorious * Pard, his raigne a Iubilae.*

No man of his time could by better experience teach, what a vaine thing worldly glory (to the height whereof hee had aspired) ought to seeme. His mind (by sundry great checkes of Gods prouidence) recalled to consider of the foure last things, Death, Iudgement, Heauen and Hell, made him betake himselfe to Acts of benignity and deuotion. The Chappell at the end of the Abbey Church at *Westminster* (since most magnificently enlarged by King *Henry* the seuenth) was of his building. The holy quiet of studies, and aduancement of good Arts, hee so prosperously fauoured, that besides other great priuileges granted to the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, (*where himselfe had in his youth bene trained vpon the learned *Walter Burley**) he conferred the chiefe rule of that whole City vpon the Chancellor of the Vniuersity, subordinating the Maior and Citizens to his gouernment, in regard of their iniuries offered to the Students. This most mighty Monarch that euer ware the Crowne of *England*, in many other felicities excelled his Ancestors, as in the victorious valour of his Children, their obedience to him, and loue among themselves. A Lady to his wife (their mother) of such excellent vertue and gouernment, as that the *K. Edwards* fortunes seemed to fall into Eclipse when hee was hidden in her Sepulchre. Such and greater was this *Edward*, whose name among the suruiuing spendors of his actions, is iustly transmitted with honour to all posterity. Hee reigned almost one and fifty yeeres, and* liued about threescore and five.

His Wife.

(155) *Philip*, wife of King *Edward*, was daughter

of *William* Earle of *Hennault* and *Holland*, sister of Earle *William* the last of that house, and of *Margaret* the Emperesse that succeeded him; her mother was * *Isabel*, sister of *Philip* of *Flanders* king of *France*, daughter of *Charles* Earle of *Flanders*, who was sonne to King *Philip the Hardy*. Shee was married vnto him at *Turke*, January 24. crowned at *Westminster* the first Sunday of *Lent* following, 1327. Shee was a Lady of great vertue, and a constant true hearted louer of our Nation, was his wife two and forty yeeres, died August 15. Anno 1369 of her husbands raigne, 43. and was buried at *Westminster*, where shee hath a faire Tombe, at the foote of her husband, of blacke Touchstone with the garnishing about it, and the portraiture ouer top of Alabaster: but hee built to her selfe a Monument of more glory and durability, by founding, and richly endowing the Colledge, called of her the *Queenes in Oxford*, which, if it had bene finished according to the proiect, had been a foundation of mutuallous state and magnificence.

*Mary I.
Oakes.

His Issue.

(156) *Edward*, their eldest sonne and first child, borne at *Woodstocke*, July 15. in the third yeere of his Fathers raigne, Anno 1329, was created Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Aquitaine* and *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester*; hee was also Earle of *Kent* in right of his wife *Isabel* (the most admired Ladie of that age) daughter of *Edmond* Earle of *Kent*, brother, by the fathers side, to King *Edward* the second. Shee had bene twice married, before, first to the valiant Earle of *Salisbury*, from whom shee was diuorced, next to the Lord *Thomas Holland*, after whose deceale, this Prince passionately louing her, did marrie her: by her hee had Issue two sonnes, *Edward* the eldest, borne at *Anglewme*, who died at seven yeeres of age, and *Richard* borne at *Burdeaux*, who, after his fathers was Prince of *Wales*, and after his Grandfather King of *England*. This Prince had also naturall Issue, Sir *John Soudrey*, and Sir *Roger Clarendon* Knights; the latter being attainted in the raigne of *Henry 4.* is thought to haue been ancestor to the house of *Smythes* in *Essex*. Hee died at *Canterbury* on Trinity Sunday, Iune 8. 1376. of his fathers raigne 49. and was buried at *Christ-church* there, 1376.

(157) *William* their second sonne, and fourth child, was borne 1335.9. of his fathers raigne, at *Hatfield* in the Countrey of *Herford*, taking his Christian name from *William* Earle of *Hennault* his Grandfather, and his surname from the place of his Natiuitie; is reported to haue decessed in his childhood, & to bee buried at *Turke*.

(158) *Lionel*, their third sonne and fifth child, was borne at the City of *Antwerp*, 29. Nouemb. 12. of his fathers raigne, Anno 1338. hee married first *Elizabeth*, the daughter & heire of *William* Burgh Earle of *Ulster* in *Ireland*, in whose right hee was first created Earle of *Ulster*, and because hee had with her the honour of *Clare* in the Counties of *Townsend*, as parcell of the inheritance of her Grand-mother *Elizabeth*, (the sister and coheire of the last Earle *Gilbert Clare*, hee was in a Parliament, Anno 1362. created Duke of *Clarence*, as it were of the Countrey about the Towne *Castle* and honour of *Clare*: from which Dutchie the name of *Clarentines* (being the Title of the King of *Armes* for the South parts of *England*) is deriued. This Duke had Issue by her one onely daughter named *Philip*, afterward wife of *Edmond Mortimer* Earle of *March*, mother of Earle *Roger*, Father of *Anne* Countesse of *Cambridge*, and shee was the mother of *Richard* Duke of *York*, Father of King *Edward* the 4. the second marriage of this Duke was in *Lumbardie* at *Millayne*, with the Lady * *Yolanta* daughter of *Galeacio* the second Duke thereof, but through intemperance, he liued not long after.

*Yolanta
Lords.(159) *Iohn*, their fourth sonne and sixth Child

was borne at *Gains* the chiefe Towne of *Flaunders*, Anno 1340. and 14. of his fathers raigne. In his Childhood he was created Earle of *Richmond*, which title was afterward recalled in, and bestowed upon *John Duke of Britanny*, who married his sister, to whose Dutchy it had formerly belonged. Hee had three wiues; the first, *Blanch*, daughter and Coheire, and in the end the sole heire, of *Henry Duke of Lancaster* (sonne of *Edmund* surnamed *Crouch-back*) in whose right he was at the first Earle, and after Duke of the same, and with that Dutchy also Earle of *Leicester*, *Derby*, and *Lincolne*, and high Steward of *England*. He had issue by her, *Henry of Bullingbrooke* Earle of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly King of *England*, named *Henry the fourth*, who first placed the Crowne in the house of *Lancaster*; *Philip*, wife of *John* the first, King of *Portugall*; and *Elizabeth*, married first to *John Holland* Earle of *Huntingdon*, (brother of *Thomas Duke of Surrey*) and after him, to Sir *John Cornwall* Baron of *Fanhope*. His second wife was *Constance*, the eldest daughter of *Peter King of Castile and Leon*, in whose right for the time he entituled himself King of both these realmes; by her he had issue one onely daughter, named *Katherine*, married to *Henry* the third, sonne of King *John*, in possession before, and in her right, after, King of both the said realmes. His third wife was *Katherine* the widow of Sir *Hugh Swinford*, a Knight of *Lincolne*, eldest daughter and Coheire of *Payn Roet* a *Gascogne* called *Guien* King of *Armes*, for that Countrey, * his younger daughter being married to Sir *Geoffrey Chaucer*, our Laureat Poet. By her hee had issue (borne before matrimony, and made legitimate afterward by Parliament holden in the twentieth yeere of King *Richard* the second), *John* Earle of *Somerset*, *Thomas Duke of Excester*, *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester* and Cardinals and *Isane*, who was first married to *Robert Ferrers* (Baron of *Wemme* and *Ouseley*, in the Counties of *Salop* and *VVarrwicke*) and secondly to *Raph Neuil* the first, Earle of *Westmerland*. Shee and all her brethren were surnamed *Beaufort*, of a Castle which the Duke had in *France* * where they were all borne, in regard thereof bearing the *Portcullis* of a Castle for the cognizance of their family. This Duke in the thirteenth yeere of his Nephew King *Richard*, at a parliament holden at *London*, was created Duke of *Aquitaine*, but in the sixt yeere after, hee was called home, and this Title recalled in, and in the third yeere after, the sixtieth of his age, Anno 1399. he dyed at *Ely house* in *Holborne*, and lyeth honourably entombed in the Quire of *Saint Paul*.

Edmond, their sonne, surnamed *Langley*, was created Earle of *Cambridge* Anno 1362. in the same Parliament, wherein *Lionel* was created Duke of *Clarence*. Hee was afterward made Duke of *York*, Anno 1386. and married *Isabel* daughter and Coheire to *Peter*, King of *Castile and Leon*. His sonne *Richard Plantagenet* Duke of *York*, took to wife *Anne* Mortimer heire of the foresaid *Lionel* elder brother to *Edmond Langley*.

William another of their sonnes, surnamed *Wyndesore*, where he was borne dyed young, and is buried at *Westminster*.

Thomas the youngest sonne of King *Edward* and Queene *Philip* surnamed of *Woodstocke* (where hee was borne) was first Earle of *Buckingham*, created by his Nephew King *Richard* the second on his Corona-

tion day, Anno 1377. by whom, after also he was made Duke of *Glocester*, 1385. The Earledomes also of *Essex* and *Norhampton* and the Constablie of *England*, fell to him by right of his wife *Eleanor*, the only daughter and heire of *Humphrey de Bohun* Earle of *Hereford* and *Essex*. Hee was a man of valour, wildome, and vigilancy for the behoofe of the King his Nephew and the State, but those noble vertues (dis tempered with too much wilfulness & stroward obstinacy) bred him, first Enuy, and after ruine. For the King furnishing him to bee a too seuerer observer of his doings, consulted with *Thomas Mowbray* Duke of *Norfolke* how to make him away; whom *Mowbray* vnawares surprizing, conuained secretly to *Calis* where he was strangled 1397. 20. of his Nephewes raigne. Himselfe in his life had prouided a goodlie tombe at *Playste* in *Essex* (his owne Towne, and * the vsuall seat of the great Constables of *England*) * where hee founded a Colledge; whither his body was brought, and laid with all funerall pompe, but afterward it was translated to *Westminster*, where also lyeth *Eleanor* his wife, who dyed 1399. Their issue was *Humphrey* Earle of *Buckingham*, * who dyed at *Chester* of the pestilence Anno 1400. *Anne* (married first to *Edmund* Earle of *Stafford*, by whom shee had *Humphrey* Duke of *Buckingham*, secondly to *William Bourchier* Earle of *Eure*, by whom shee had *Henry* Earle of *Essex*) *Philippa*, *Isane*, *Isabel*, who died all issuelesse.

Isabel, the eldest daughter and second child of *K. Edward* and Queene *Philip* was married at *Windsore* with great pompe to *Ingelram* of *Guines*, Lord of *Coucy*, Earle of *Soysons* and after Arch-Duke of *Austria*, whom *K. Edward* (his father in law) created also Earle of *Bedford* 1365. by whom shee was mother of * two daughters, *Mary*, (married to *Henry* of *Barre*, to whom shee bare *Robert de Barre*, and *Isane*, the wife of *Lewis* of *Luxemburg*, Earle of *S. Paul*) and *Philip*, the wife of *Robert de Vere* Earle of *Oxford*, Duke of *Ireland* and Marquess of *Dublyn*; this *Robert* in the height of his fortunes forsooke his noble Ladie, and married one * *Lanceron* a loyners daughter (by report) which came with King *Richard* the seconds wife out of *Beleme*; and being, for his pride and abusing the Kings ear to the hurt of the State, driven out of the land by the nobles, hee dyed at *Louain*, in great vexation of mind, and extreme penury, Anno 1392. *Isabel* his wiues mother was buried in the Church of *Fryars Minorites* neer *Algate* in *London*.

Isane their second daughter and third child was borne 9. of her fathers raigne Anno 1335. Being 14. yeres of age, shee was desired in marriage by *Solenne* Embassage, from *Alphonse* the eleventh King of *Castile and Leon*, sonne of King *Ferdinando* the 4. was espoused by *Proxie*, intituled Queene of *Spaine*, and conueyed into that Countrey, where shee presentlie deceased of a great plague that then raigne; so as the King comming to meete her to solemnize the espousals, with great griefe accompanied her to Church only at her funerall 22. of her fathers raigne. Anno 1348.

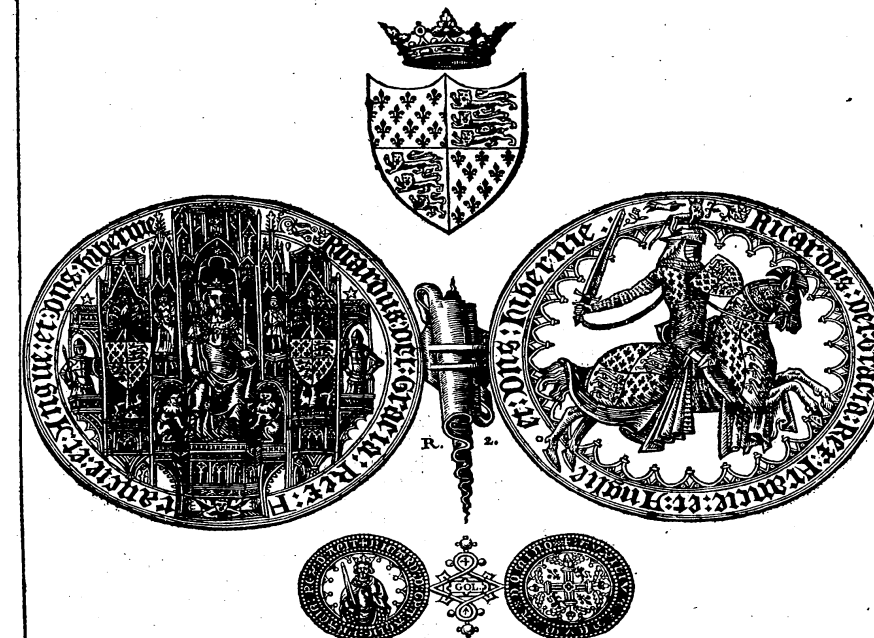
Blanch the 3. daughter, died yong, and lieth buried at *Westminster*.

Mary, their 4. daughter was married to *John Montford* Duke of *Britaine*.

Margaret their youngest daughter was the first wife of *John de Hastings* Earle of *Pembroke*, but shee dyed without issue.

RICHARD

RICHARD THE SECOND. KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND. THE FIFTIETH MONARCH, OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND TROVBLES.



CHAPTER XIII.



Richard of *Burdeaux*, sonne to that Great Star of *Engliss* *Cheualric*, *Edward*, by-named the *Blacke Prince*, and grand-child to the most renowned *Edward the third* (both of them lately deceased) was crowned in the eleventh yeere of his age, and vpon the sixteenth day of *Iuly*. Seldome hath been seen so magnificent a Coronation, as that of this young King, but the thing which gaue a better lustre of hope at his beginning; then the shine and maiesty of that publike Act, was the wise course which in this his childhood was taken; to wit, the reconciliation of the Lord *John Duke of Lancaster*, and the Citizens of *London*, with the restitution of Sir *Peter de la Mare* Knight, Speaker in the late Parliament, (whom King *Edward* had committed to prison, at the instigation of Dame *Alice Peeres* now banisht,

and confiscated) not onely to former liberty, but likewise to fauour and honor extraordinary.

(2) At this Coronation, (which, as matters not vnworthie to bee kept alieue, wee following the immethodical order of the Record, haue here for perpetuall memory thought good to abridge out of authentike Monuments) *John* the Kings eldest vn-cle, vnder the stile of *John King of Castile and Leon*, and *Duke of Lancaster*, by humble petition to the King, claimed to bee now Steward of *England*, in right of his Earledome of *Leicester*; and as he was Duke of *Lancaster*, to beare the Kings chiefe sword called *Curtana*; and as Earle of *Lincolne*, to cutte and carue at the royall Table before the King. His petitions being found iust, were confirmed to him, and to his Assignes, the two Earles of *Derby* and *Stafford*, the first to beare the *Sword*, while the Duke should be busied about other offices as Steward, and the other to cut and carue. The Duke then in great estate, held this the Kings high Court of *Stewardship* in the *White-hall* of the Kings Pallace at *Westminster*, XXXX 2

Monarch 50

Ex. MS. apud Dr. Rob. Cotton.

Services by reason of re-nures at the Coronation found and allowed in that Court. The Court of high Stewardship.

The Lord high
Constable of
England.

The Lord high
Marshall of
England.

The f. high
Chamberlaine
of England.

The Earle of
Kent Deputie to
a Citizen of
London at the
Coronation.

The Earle of
Warwicke ser-
uice.

Sir Iohn de Ar-
genthem (or Ar-
genton) his seruice

* This name
bare three cups
Argent
in a field gules,
that you may
know that an-
cient Coat-armors
had their causes
of bearing.
The E. Furnials
honourable
seruice.
* Honors'd.
The Countesse
Dowager of
Pembroke her
claime to ser-
uice.

The Earle of
March.
The seruices of
Hastings Earle of
Pembroke.

Lord Chief
Butler.

The seruices of
the L. Maior of
London and the
selected Citizens

neere to the Chappell of the said Palace, vpon the Thursday, before the Coronation, which was also vpon a Thursday. There *Thomas of Woodstocke* the Kings vnclie, was admitted to exercise the office of *Constable of England*, in right of his wife, one of the daughters and heires of *Humphrey de Bohun*, late Earle of *Hereford*, and *Constable of England*. *Henrie de Perce* (Lord *Perce*) was by the Kings consent and writ authorised to exercise the place of *Marshall of England* for that time, fauing to curie one their right, for that by reason of the times shortness, the claime, which *Margaret* daughter & heire to *Thomas of Brotherton*, late Earle of *Norfolk*, and *Marshall of England*, laid thereunto, could not bee discussed. *Robert de Perce* Earle of *Oxford*, though then in minority, being notwithstanding found to haue right in Fee, was by the Kings speciall consent allowed to haue, and vnto the office of *Chamberlaine*. Hee was also admitted to his right of pouring out water for the King to wash with, when hee went to meate, at the Coronation. *Iohn Wiltshire* Citizen of *London*, by reason of certain reuerences (heretofore the possession of *Iohn Picot*) being a Moitie of the Mannour of *Heydon*, and holden in Sericantie, had his right, to hold a *Towell* for the King to wipe with, when hee went to meate, found and allowed, and *Edmund* Earle of *Kent* appointed to serue as his Deputie. *Thomas Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke* was found to haue right, and admitted thereupon to beare the third sword of estate before the King at the Coronation, as also to exercise the office of *Panler*, and to enioy all such fees as to the same appertained. Sir *Iohn de Argenhem* knight, by reason of the tenure of his Mannour of *Wimondley* in the County of *Hertford*, was admitted to serue the King at his Cuppe, vpon the day of the Coronation, and for his Fee to haue that * Cuppe of silver wherewith hee then serued the King in his royaltie. *William Lord Furniall* for his Mannour of *Farnham* and *Hamlet of Cere*, was proued to haue right to support the Kings right arme, when it held the *Scepter* royall therein at the day of Coronation; which seruice beeing first * honourably knighted by the King at *Kenington*, hee was admitted accordingly to performe. *Annelate* wife of *Iohn de Hastings* Earle of *Pembroke* for her Mannour of *Aspleie* in *Norfolk*, was admitted by her Deputie Sir *Thomas Blunt* Knight, to vnto the office of *Naperer*, and to enioy the fees thereof. *Edmund*, Earle of *March*, was assigned to carry the Kings great gilt *Spurs*, fauing to curie one their right; for *Iohn*, the sonne of *Iohn de Hastings* late Earle of *Pembroke*, claimed that office to bee his, as *William le Marshall* his Ancestor held the same at the Coronation of King *Edward* the second; but by reason hee was vnder age, and in Wardshippe, the King for that time disposed it to the Earle of *March*. Who also, with the said *Spurres* was assigned to beare the second sword before the King; for which, the said young Earle of *Pembroke*, and the Earle of *Arundel* (in the right of his Ancestor the Earle of *Surrey*) contending, it was adiudged to *Pembroke*, for his Castles and Townes of *Pembroke* and *Tenby*, &c. but the execution of that honourable place was assigned by the King as before. *Richard* Earle of *Arundel*, for the Mannour of *B. in Kent*, was admitted to bee chief Butler at the Coronation, for that (after the sale thereof) the Earles Ancestors had exercised that office at Coronations, and the claime of *Edmund Staplegate*, who then had that manour as sonne and heire of *Edmund Staplegate* (ward to *Jeffrey Chaucer*, who had freed him for one hundredth and foure pounds) for that time put off his right to him in the meane time faued notwithstanding. The Lord Maior and Citizens of *London* (such as were chosen for that high dayes seruice among themselves) were found by good Record to haue their feuerall rights. The Maior to attend in his owne person as chief Cuppe-waiter, (charged with the Cupbord-roy-

ally aswell in the hall at dinner, to serue the king in a cuppe of gold with spices, and for his Fees to haue the said Cuppe, and a Water-spout-potte of gold thereunto belonging, when he tooke his leaue at night. The Citizens, to helpe their Lord Maior in his office of chief *Pincern* or Cup-waiter, and to minister or serue the Lords aswell at Dinner in the Hall, as in the Chamber after dinner. Whereupon the King (faith the Record) *perpendens gratitudinem magnam & subsidium que Progenitores sui, &c. weighing with himselfe the great gratitude and aide, which his Progenitors had heretofore abundantly found in the Citizens aforesaid, and hoping himselfe to finde in them the like gratitude and aide hereafter, and to the intent that they might with the more ioyfull hearts performe loyall obedience to the King, and more earnestly helpe him in his occasions, he being heartily desirous to content them, did will and ordaine that the selected Citizens should exercise their said attendance.* Sir *John Dymmocke* Knight, in the right of *Margaret* his wife, for the Mannour of *Seruelly*, and Sir *Baldwyne de Erville* Knight, as cofen and next heire to *Philip Marmion*, by *Lionnesse* daughter of the said *Philip*, for the Castle of *Tamworth* in the Countie of *Warwicke*, contended each of them to haue the office, & fees belonging to the Kings *Champion* vpon that roiall day; but because the said *Iohn* shewed better Records then *Baldwin*, and for that King *Edward* and the late Prince of *Wales*, were often heard to say that *Iohn* ought to doe that seruice for the said manour of *Seruelly*, hee was admitted for that time, and day was giuen to *Baldwyne* to shew farther cause of his claime within three weekes after the feast of *S. Hilarie* next, or else for euer to bee vnterlie excluded.

This *Champion* is to haue for accomplishment of that seruice (and the same also for his fees) one of the best hories of warre and caparions, which the king hath, one saddle plated with Iron, and one complete armour with the whole furniture, in such sort as the King himselfe vltim, when hee is to goe into a mortall battell (saith the Record, *en une bataille mortelle*) in which fort being mounted, he is to ride before the King in procession to his Coronation, and to crie thrice to the people before all the world. That there is no man of high or low estate, who will say, that our liege Lord *Richard*, Cousen and heire of *Edward*, late King of *England*, ought not to bee crowned King of *England*, against whome hee the *Champion* is not ready with his body to maintaine, and will maintaine that hee doth fully lie as a Traitor. *William de Latimer*, and *Iohn* the sonne and heire of *Iohn Mowbray* of *Axholm*, the Kings Ward, iointlie petitioned at the same Court, to bee admitted in the right of *William Beauchampe* of *Bedford* (whose lands the king held in right of the said Wardshippe, and *William de Latimer* in his owne right,) to haue the office of *Almoner* at the Coronation, and to enioy the Fees thereof. And because in the redde Booke of the Exchequer it appeared, that the said *William Beauchampe* (late deceased) vied the said office, *William de Latimer* was there admitted, aswell for himselfe, as for the said heire to exercise the same, and for his Fee to haue the silver platter of Almes which stood before the King as hee sat at the Table vpon that day and if afterward it should reasonably appeare, that they likewise ought to haue an * Hoghead of wine, they should haue it.

William Bardolf shewed by petition (as all the rest did) to the right noble, and right redoubted Lord, the King of *Castile* and *Leon*, Duke of *Lancaster*, and *Steward of England*, that certaine of the said *William* his Fee-simple lands in his towne of *A.* were holden of the King in chief by Sericantie. The words of the petition, shewing the seruice, which we (feare to erre) leaue for other to interpret, are these. *De trouver le iour due Coronement nostre tresredoubte Seigneur le Roy, vng homme de faire une mesme que appelle Diligrunt, & si apponatur sanguineum adomques il est appelle*

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appelle *Maalhygerynen la Cuisin de Roy*. And accordingly the said *William* was admitted to that seruice by his Deputie. *Richard Lyons*, as Tenant of the Mannour of *L.* which *Iohn de Lyffon* and his ancestors held by the seruice of making wafers for the King at the day of Coronation, was accordingly thereunto admitted. The Barons of the *Cinque Ports*, vpon their petition and claime, the matter being euident, were admitted to beare (and to haue for their Fees) the Kings Canapie of cloth of Gold (or of what other stuffe else it pleased the King) vpon foure staves of silver over the kings head vpon the day of Coronation, and also to sit at meat in the hall at the highest Table on the kings right hand. *Iohn Fitz-Iohn*, in right of his wife, shewed, that the Mannour of *S. in Norfolk* was holden of the King by the seruice of Chief *Larderer* at his Coronation, and that *Gregory Burdeles* did exercise the same at the Coronation of King *Edward* the third; whereupon *Iohn Fitz-Iohn* was admitted to exercise that office by himselfe and his Deputies. *Richard Hering* for the Mannour of *C.* in the County of *Surrey*, in the right of *Ayres* his wife, claimed to be vther of the Kings Chamber; but because that claime did no way concerne the Coronation of the King, hee was left otherwise to pursue his interest if he so thought good. These are the seruices which were then claimed before the D. of *Lancaster*, *Steward of England*, which he with his * owne hands deliuered into the Kings Chancery there to bee enrolled. At the same Coronation also *Thomas of Woodstocke* youngest sonne of the late king was created Earle of *Buckingham*, *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham*, *Guy-chard d'Angoulem* Earle of *Huntington*, and *Henry Perce* Earle of *Northumberland*. Thus the bounty of the young Monarch imparted large rayes of his imperiall Splendor to these eminent persons of his Kingdome. Howseuer, these and the like honours haue not in our Common-wealth either alwayes bene fortunate to the Recievers, or without repentance to the Donors.

(3) But the general State of the kingdome being implicated, before the late king *Edwards* decease, by reason of that opportunity and aduantage to their designs, which the neighbour enemies of the Crowne of *England* found in the old age of that victorious Monarch, was now no lesse entangled through the contempt of King *Richards* youth. For before his Coronation, the French with fifty ships (as *Walsingham* calls them) thrust into the Haven of *Rie*, the towne whereof they rifled, and consumed with fire. The Crowne of *England* was scarce fetled on his head, when the Scots at the other end of *England* fire vpon the Town of *Rockesburgh*; but the French (encouraged by their late exploit at *Rie*) arriued in their Gallies, and rooke the whole Ile of *Wight*, the Castle (which Sir *Hugh Tyrell* manfully defended,) only excepted, leuying vpon the inhabitants one thousand Marks in lieu of sparing their houses from the rage of warre, and flame. Neither was it long before they landed at *Wincheley*, though being from thence repulled, they burnt the Town of *Hastings* at that present.

(4) These petty braues thus giuen to the king, were farther fortunated with a little victory. For they, emboldened with such successes (dishonourable and dangerous to King *Richard*, who seemed to haue lost the souerainity of the *English* Ocean, where *Pirates* durst so recull, and also to haue had as little counfell, courage or forces left about him vpon the land) come on Shore at *Rottingdene* in *Suffex*. The Prior of *Lewis* with some slight tumultuarie Forces, rashly adventures himselfe against them, where he with two knights, & some few others were taken prisoners, and about 100. *English* slaine, but of the French many more, who returned with their Pri-foners to their Nauie.

(5) The chief charge of affaires lay vpon the Duke of *Lancaster*, the Kings vnclie, or vpon some

such as he did put about him, through whose want of care, things declining to a shameful change, and the glorious achievements of the two late *Edwards* falling vnder *Eclipse*, there was onlie found one private Citizen of *London*, that (without regard to the enuie of the slothfull Lords, or his owne hazards, or of any thing else, so much as the good of his neglected Country) put his whole strengths to support the same. This was the worthy *Iohn Philpot*, who at his owne charges mans out a Fleet to the Sea, raigues by them therein, and guardes both water and land from their intollerable violences. Nor did his so great pietie faile of happy euent, for God (who fauours all vertuous actions) had put into his hands within a short space 15. Spanish Ships fraught with rich merchandize, which the right of warre made his, whereby his great charges were abundantly repayed. Let vs see his Statue erected now at last, with the Statues of *Walworth*, and other honourable Citizens in *London*.

(6) What therefore the loue of their Prince and Country could not stirre vp in the Lords, that very shame and indignation doe. There is consultation had, and the King of *Nauarre* (an vnquiet subiect of the Crowne of *France*) morgageth the Haven Towne of *Cheirbourg* in *Normandy* to King *Richard*. The occasion was the rather not omitted, for that, by thrusting into it a good Garrison (which was forthwith done, and first Sir *Robert Ross*, then Sir *Iohn de Harleston*, both worthy Knights, made Captaines there) the same would at all times serue to giue quiet entrance to an inuasion of *France* which now was meditated.

(7) How loosely, the meane while, the affaires of the State and Iustice were managed, by reason of the vnripe yeeres of the King, may appeare by a bloody outrage then perpetrated and vnreueged. The occasion this. In the warres of *spaine*, (which *Edward* the late Prince of *Wales* made for restoring *Peter* to the Crowne,) the Earle of *Dean* was taken and adiudged Prisoner (from all others clayming that honour) to two valiant Equires *Robert Haule* and *Iohn Shakell*, who both of them belonged to that martiall Knight Sir *Iohn Chandos*. They free the Earle, taking his sonne and heire for assurance of performances. This young Gentleman (vnterly neglected hitherto by his dishonourable Father,) was now demanded of them in the Kings name, by the Duke of *Lancaster*, with a purpose (as was thought) the rather either to aduance thereby his (the said Dukes) title to the Crowne of *spaine*, or to make a peace there, with the better conditions. The Equires refuse, and thift their Hostage out of the way; are thrust therefore into the Tower of *London*; but escaping from thence, take Sanctuary in *Westminster*. Thither with fifty armed men doth Sir *Alan de Bruchull* secretlie repaire, drawes *Shakell* by a wile out of the priuiledge of the Church, and expostulates the matter with *Haule* in the Kings name, vpon whom (protesting against the abuse offered to that Maiestie in his tender yeeres, and freely taxing his Counsellours with iniustice, auarice, and euill aduice,) while they fought to lay hands, he with his short sword valiantly made them all flie off, but in the end they most wickedly murdered him in the Chancell, commending himselfe, in his last words, to God *revengeur of such iniuries*, and to the liberty of our holy mother the Church. With him was murdered a seruant of his thrust in with a Iauelin at the backe. This is that *Haule* whose body lies buried vnder a brasie-plated stone in the Abbey Church at *Westminster*, whose blood (by the violence of the said Duke) found not that fulnesse of legall vengeance, which so hainous an homicide required.

(8) The North parts of *England* were about this time greuously visited with the stroke of pestilence, and their lamentable affliction encreased by the inroads and outrages of the Scots; who had now surprized *Berwicke* killing Sir *Robert Boynton* Knight

The immortal
dejects of Sir
Iohn Philpot Child
zen of London.

The facelious
murder of Sir
Robert Haule.

Berwick surprized
and recon-
ced within nine
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A.D. 1379.

The Britons
dislike of the
French Govern-
ment matter of
new troubles.The commons
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subsidie.* Simplex Capella-
ria, Walsing.A memorable
example of a no-
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Britaine drown-
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purchased Brit-
aine from Calles
by land.
An.D. 1380.

Knight the Constable thereof, which yet the Earle of Northumberland vpon the ninth day after recovered by force, putting those, who had surprised it, to the sword.

(9) Neither was the spirit of the English (after it began to requicken) idle elsewhere; for as Sir Robert Ross had diuers wayes vexed the French, and taken Oliver (the brother of that renowned Bertrand de Glequin) prisoner, so Sir John de Harleston, Capitaine of Cherbrough after him, flew and took diuers French in a skirmish. These few foregoing drops of greater approaching showers. For Sir Hugh Calverlee and Sir Thomas Percy, made admirals of the narrow Seas, tooke many rich prizes, and exploited sundry other things very praiseworthy, bringing home the acceptable newes of the dislike which the Britons had conceived against the French Kings Government; for he commanded them to render vp to him all their strengths, Castles, and walled Townes, and many of them, who refused to obey, hee put to death.

(10) These employments, and fresh designs for other like, found need of pecuniary supplies; whereupon, in a Parliament holden at London, it was agreed, that for supply of the Kings wants, the Commons should be spared, and the burthen be wholely vndergone by the able. The rates then of that tax were these, Dukes, Archbishops, Earles and Bishops at ten marks each, mitred Abbots as much, besides forty pence for every Monke vnder their subjection. Briefly (saith Thomas Walsingham) there was no religious person, man or woman, Iusticiar, Sheriffe, Knight, Esquire, Parson, Vicar, or Chauntry Priest free from this tax rated according to the value of their yearly receipts.

(11) We formerlie mentioned, how John Shakell (the other companion of Robert Hauleto) executed murdered in Gods-house) was taken. He now vpon condition that the King (besides 500. marks in money) should giue him lands to the yearly value of one hundredth markes, and should also found and sufficiently endow, at the Kings costs, a Chantrie with five Priests for their souls, whom the kings Officers had wickedly murdered, he rendered vp his Hostage, the eldest (but naturall) sonne of the said Earle of Deuon. At the discovery and bringing forth of whom, all men were stricken with wonderfull loue and admiration: for the young Gentleman (having giuen his faith not to disclose himselfe, appeared in the shape of a baselgroom, in which (vnnowne to all the world but his Master) hee had of his owne accord lurked. An example of such a point of perfect honesty as cannot be forgotten without iniurie.

(12) The same yeere, the Lord John Mountford, whom the French had driuen out, being invited home by his Barons, returned into his Duchy of Britaine, accompanied with the valiant Knights Calverlee and Percy aforesaid, where he, his friends, and followers were received with singular honor. Soone after Sir John of Arundell, brother to the Earle of Arundell, being sent into Britaine to aid the Duke, was with many other valiant Knights and Esquires drowned. It is imputed by our Author to a iust effect of Gods anger against the said Sir John, and his household, for their manifold vices and outrages, practised by him and them, before they set out from England, for which they had the bitter curses of the people; and the Angell of destruction to execute those imprecations vpon the delinquents.

(13) But the action of aiding did more deeply import, then that it should be abandoned for the losse of that vnfortunate fellowship, and the exceeding riches which were with them: therefore the Lord Thomas of Woodstock Earle of Buckingham, with Calverlee, Percy, Knols, Winderlores (or Windsor) verie valiant knights, & other competent forces, was sent to assist the Duke of Britaine. But because the French Gallies howered vpon the narrow Seas, they landed at Calles, and from thence march through France,

spoiling Countries, burning townes, the French not daring to empeach them, and killing people, till they and their whole equipage came safe into Britaine.

(14) There were about these times ciuill diuisions in France, for the Duke of Burgundie, younger brother of King Charles (lately dead) being made Guardian of the person and dominions of his Nephew Charles then in minority, had the Duke of Aniou (being an elder brother to the Duke of Burgundie) a mortal enemy. Their bloody quarrels fell out luckily for the English aides in the Duchie of Britaine, out of which as Duke John had beene driuen for adhering to his father in law the late king Edward, so the English did their best to uphold him in it, as there was cause.

(15) The French in these extremes are releued by their ancient diuision: for the Scots entering about that time with fire and sword into Cumberland and Westmerland, and the forest of Inglenow, draue away much Cattle, slew the Inhabitants, rifled the booths and houses of Perith in the Faire time, killing and taking many, and driving away the rest. The Earle of Northumberland preparing a bloody reuenge, was (not without wonder) prohibited so to doe by letters from the King, that is, from such as were about the King.

(16) But how coldly fouer the publike affaires were followed, the want of money for supplies was still pretended. And therefore in a Parliament holden at Northampton, was granted to the King a general supply of money; the pretended occasion of monstrous mischief which followed, by reason of a clause in that grant of Subsidie, that every one of each sexe, being about a certain age, should pay by the head, or per Pollas they call it, twelue pence.

(17) The English Cheualry began now againe to display it selfe farre off, to gratifie the private ends of John Duke of Lancaster, who claimed the Crown of Castile and Leon, in right of Constance his wife: For John King of Portugal had a defendiue warre against John then King of Castile, who challenged the Crowne of Portugal in right of Beatrix his wife, (by whom hee had no issue) the onely daughter of Ferdinand King of Portugal, which this other John (a bastard sonne of Ferdinands) had by faction vrpured. There were sent to his aide the Lord Edmund de Langley Earle of Cambridge the Kings vnkle, and sundry Knights and others of good experience with an Armie. These arriving in Portugal valiantly defended the same for about two yeeres, and were the chiefe cause of giuing the Spaniards an ouerthrow in battell, where they lost 10. thousand men. At last the two Kings agreeing together bare the charges of conueighing home the English in common, that their Countries might be freed from them, being both alike ialous of their puissance. In this time Edward sonne to the Earle of Cambridge vnkle to Richard King of England, married the daughter of the king of Portugal, but afterward neither would the Earle leave his sonne behind, as suspecting the Portugals faith, nor the other entrust his daughter to the Earle, so as they remained disioined in body, howsoever visited by Ceremonie.

(18) Not long after the time of that Earles employment into Spaine, there fell out accidents which doe plainly conuince their error to bee great, who thinke that any madnesse is like that of an armed & vngoverned multitude, whereof these times (by a kind of Fate proper to childrens raigues) gave a most dangerous document. The extreme hatred borne by the people to John Duke of Lancaster, calling himselfe King of Castile and Leon, and the discontent taken at an extraordinary tax, leuied per Poll, vpon all sorts of people, who were about sixteen yeeres of age, which (as all other the evils of the time) they imputed to the Duke (the manner being to count them the authors of evils, who are supposed to haue the greatest power of doing them) moued the enrag-

* Per Pollas
Chren.Frenchmen
persecuted in
England.The Earle of
Northumberland
countenanced
from pursuing
the Scots.The Palace
at NorthamptonA.D. 1380
The Earle of
Cambridge
went into Portugal* Radix
per Pollas
12p. 12.* Pollas
12p. 12.The danger
relieved
Wat. Tyn.
Straw &c.

ged multitudes vpon slight and small beginnings to runne together in so fearefull a Torrent, that it seemed the King and kingdom were suddenly false vnder their most wicked fury. There were in this most rebellious insurrection, the Commons and Bondmen (who aspiring by force to a free manumission) principally those of Kent and Essex, whose example was followed in the Neighbour Shires of Surrey, Suffolke, Norfolke, Cambridge, and other places by incredible heards and droues of like qualified people: who (specially in Norfolke) forced sundry principall Gentlemen to attend them in their madding.

(19) They of Kent embattelled themselves vnder two Banners of Saint George, and about threescore and tenne Penons vpon Blacke-heath by Greenwich, and from thence came to London, where, the generality of people inclining to them, they are masters. The Priory of S. Johns without Smithfield they kept burning for about seven dayes, and the goodlie Palace of the Sauey, belonging to the Duke, with all the riches therein, they consumed by fire, in a kind of holy outrage, for they threw one of their fellows into the flame, who had thrust a peece of stolne plate into his bosome. The Rebels of Essex came to Lambeth, burnt all the Archbishops goods, and defaced all the Writings, Records, and Monuments of the Chancery, as hauing a speciall hatred to the Lawyers, little to their disgrace, for that they shared herein with good men also, whom they hated. But their desperate wickednesse extended it selfe beyond the spoile of houses and substance, laying bloody hands vpon the most eminent and worthy men in the kingdom, for that they had disuaded the King to put himselfe into their hands at Greenwich, where hee talked with them out of his Barge, and thereby had their maine designe disappointed. Simon Tibald Archbishoppe of Canterbury, and Chancellour of England, a right worthy Prelate, and Sir Robert Hales a Knight of high courage, Lord Prior of Saint Johns, and Treasurer of England, with others, they without respect to the Maiestie of the King, or priuiledge of their most honourable dignities, most barbarously murdered by beheading them vpon Tower-Hill, among infernall howtes & diuelish yeis. For the Tower it selfe (from whence they had haled them, the young King being there in person) was open to their execrable infolencies. Neither doth the authority of * Polyd. Vergil, affirming that they were not haled forth, but onely stayed by the Rebels, to whom (hee saith) they were lent, induce vs rather to credit him, then Authors liuing about those very times. There was no little store of other innocent blood shed by them in these tumules. Nor was the Kings own person without manifest perill, against whose life they had damnablely conspired. It were long to reckon vpon the kinds of such villanies as they wrought, but endlesse to recount the particulars. The common * Annals set forth this whole Tragical businesse very diligently.

(20) They had many Captaines of mischief, but two principall, Wat Tyler of Maidstone in Kent, (whom Walsingham pretily calls the Idoll of Clownes) and Jacke Straw, who together had followers to the number (as they were estimated) of about one hundred thousand, and at one Sermon made to them by John Ball, Walsingham saith, there were about twice as many. Their Petitions were full of pride and malice, but easily granted by the King, the necessity of the times extorting them. They had a Chaplain as gracelesse as themselves, one John Ball an excommunicated Priest, who with his wicked doctrine nourished in them their seditious furies to his own iust destruction in the end: but when a great multitude accepting the Kings mercy were gone, Wat Tyler and his Campe departed not, but vpon pretence of disliking the Articles of peace, fought to winne time till he might put into full execution his

incredible Treasons, which (as Jacke Straw at the time of his execution confessed) were vpon that very night of the day, wherein Wat Tyler was slain, to murder the King, and chiefe men, and to erect petty Tyrannies to themselves in euery shire: and already one John Littlestar a Dyer in Norwich, had taken vpon him at Northwalsingham in Norfolke, the name of the King of the Commons, and Robert Westbroke in Suffolke, to whom John Wraw another lewd Priest had assigned it.

(21) Neuer was the kingly race and commonweale so neere to an vtter extirpation, as at this present, which was (wee may truly say) miraculously prevented. The young king in these feares and dangers repairing to Westminster, most devoutly commended his Crowne, Life, and whole estate to God, nor that in vaine. For Wat Tyler with his Campe of Rascals seemed to bee ten or twenty thousand (according to the Kings Proclamation, attending in Smithfield, but cauiling of purpose vpon the conditions of peace, as hee that meant a farther mischief, though they of Essex were returned) was entreated to ride to the king, who also fate on horsebacke before Saint Bartholomews, in whose company was that renowned Lord Maior of London, William Walworth, with many other men of birth and place.

(22) Wat Tyler scarce at the last coming behaued himselfe so insolentlie, offering to murder one of the Kings knights, Sir John Newton, for omission of some punts of respect, which he arrogated to himselfe in more then a kingly manner, was (vpon leaue giuen him by the king) boldly arrested with a drawn weapon by the Lord Maior, a man (say Writers) of incomparable courage, which blow was seconded by the said Lord, and others so speedily, that there this prodigie of a Traitor was felde and slaine. A death too worthy, for that he died by the swords of honourable persons, for whom the axe of an Hangman had beene far too good.

(23) The Commons perceiving the fall of their Capitaine, prepared to vse extreme reuenge, when the most hopefull young king with a present witte and courage (it being for his life and kingdom) spurred forth his horse, and bad them follow him, without being grieved for the losse of a ribauld and traitour, for now hee himselfe would be their Capitaine. Hereupon they thronged after him into the field, there to haue whatsoever they desired. But the most worthy of all Londoners, Walworth, speeds with one man onely into the City, raiseth a thousand Citizens in armour, brings them (being led in good array by Sir Robert Knolles and others) with Wat Tylers head (which the Lord Maior had commanded to bee chopt off from his dead carcase) borne before him vpon a Spere to the king. That verie head, the cursed tongue whereof had dared to say, That all the Lawes of England should come out of his mouth.

(24) This act restored the Crown (as it were) and Realme to King Richard, for the Rebels seeing themselves gitt-in with armed men, partly fed, partly fel vpon their knees, and (throwing away all hope in weapon) they answerably to their basenesse, begged their liues, who but euen now reputed themselves masters of the field, and of the king. And albeir there was a general desire in the hearts of loyall men to expiate so many villanies with the blood of the Actors, yet things abroad in the Realme being as yet vnscited, they had a general Charter of pardon sealed, and were so sent home into their Countries.

(25) Certainly although the Citie of London (the most noble and able part of the English Empire) hath otherwise deferred of the Kings of this land very well, yet the honour of this seruice worthily stands highest in the many great praises thereof. Which the King did thankfully and publicly reitifie by knighting Walworth, and by bestowing vpon him (when hee modestly excused his vnworthines

A a a a and

and inability) one hundred pounds land by the yeere in fee simple. Hee also at the same time bestowed the same honour vpon that right worthy Citizen and Patriot, *Sir John Philpot*, and two other Aldermen, *Sir Nicholas Brember*, & *Sir Robert Laund*, to each of which hee gaue a like estate of 40. pounds. There be who write that hee then also knighted *Nicholas Twisford*, and *Robert Gayton* Citizens. The memories of these and other such, deserve and ought to be honoured with statues, advanced in the most conspicuous place of that great City, least otherwise these be holden ingratefull to them, from whom shee derives so honourable splendor. That the beauteous Armories of London were at this time augmented with that weapon which wee see in the *dexter Canton* thereof, in remembrance of this service done by *Walworth* is affirmed by some, but with what warrant let themselves see.

* Holingshead in Richard 1.

* Survey of London.

(26) The young King, after this fortunate conclusion given to so hellish uproars about his principall City, repaired in good array to *Tower Roiall* or the *Queens ward-robe*, a palace then in the bosome of London. There the *Queene mother* had remained in very great feare and griefe for the space of three daies, and two nights; but the sight of her sonne, and relation of his good speed, blotted out of her memory the sorrows formerly sustained.

(27) It was not long, but that the King (surprised before with that popular inundation) had sure notice that the diuident rebels were in all other places dispersed, but neither till themselves had done much mischief, and suffered iust punishment. Memorable was the service of *Henry le Spencer* the stout Bishop of *Norwich* against the Bondmen and Peasants of *Norfolk*, whom hee draue out of their Trenches, slew diuers, and caused their mustrom King *John Littlestar* to be hanged, drawne and headed. But that which vniuersally most of all preuailed by the reduction of these audacious wretches to due obedience, was the death of *Wat Tyler*, and the certaine newes of their dispersion, who were assembled about *London*, where for a few daies they had most barbarously tyrannized. In *Hertfordshire* at *Saint Albans*, *Barnet*, &c. in *Suffolk*, *Cambridgeshire*, and the Ile of *Elye* the popular outrages were now in a manner appeased. Yet wonderfull is it, that all these execrable furies, being in so many several places, with so great forces in each, (for at *Bury*, where *John Westbroome* kinged it, they are reported to haue bene about fifty thousand, making it their favage sport, to cause the heads of great persons, which they had cut off and fixed on Poles to kisse and whisper as it were one in the others eare) lasted not in the high speed and full rage thereof the space of eight daies, (being not long before Midsummer, as if it had been a fyderall infection or generall Lunacy) and the whole time thereof from the beginning to the end, is accounted, by Act of Parliament, but from the first of May till Midsummer the Feast of *Saint John Baptiste*.

Statut. An. 6. Ric. 1. c. 13. The royall power like the Sunne after a long darkness pur forth it selfe againe.

Forty thousand English horsemen in field together.

(28) The royall power which had thus bene foilde, and trodden vnderfoote, could nor longer brooke so intollerable debasement, but to repaire and establish it selfe, there was proclamation made, that all men who had horse and armour, and loued the King, should forthwith come to London in their best manner. There were neuer seene together so great a multitude of horsemen in England. The musters were taken vpon *Black-heath*, where the king himselfe, being mounted on a goodly courser among the armed men, and hauing his Standard royall aduanced before him, daily rode forth to view his people, reioicing to see seene among them, and acknowledged their Lord. It is said, that within three daies space there appeared vpon that heath for the Kings service, not fewer then forty thousand horsemen most brauely appointed.

(29) This force had bene employed against the Kentish-men, euen to the vtter rooting out of all

the guilty, who againe beganne to stirre, but that the King was periwaded by the Nobility and Gentlemen of that Countie, to proceed by ordinarie iustice; which was done. The Kings peace was also proclaimed in euerie place according to his letters dated at *London* 17. Iune, in the fourth yeere of his reigne, to the great encouragement of good subjects, and confusion of the wicked. There were executed about one thousand and five hundred in all places, besides five of a new forlorne Companie, which hauing desperatly dared to gather head againe in *Essex* about *Billerica*, had tendered to the King certaine insolent demands, which were iustly reiected, and they slaine. The Lord *Thomas of Woodstock* Earle of *Buckingham* the Kings vnkle, with *Sir Thomas Percy* brother to the Count *Northumberland*, were sent with force against them. The Rebels being manie in number, were notwithstanding broken at the verie first with a Charge made vpon them by a rank in front of ten men of Armes or Lances. There were taken eight hundred horses belonging to the Rebels. *Sir Robert Tresilian* was principall Actor in the matters of iustice, which hee rightly and seuerely administered. The King himselfe had so great a force of horsemen with him, that (as *Sir Walter at Lee* knight said in his speech to *Saint Albans-men*) there was neither grasse nor blade of Corne old or new left within five miles compasse of the kings person.

All gntes donatid vnto the king.

(30) And least the mischieuous multitude should to the kings dishonour and common hurt of the Church and kingdome, enioy any the least benefit by their late vspeakable villanies; the king, by aduise of his Councill, sent letters reuocatorie into the Shires about, by which he commands, that no man shall enioy anie freedome or profit by vertue of anie extorted grates, during the time of the Insurrections: but yet that his maiesties purpose was by the aduise of his Councill to grant to his subjects (notwithstanding their so heinous treasons) such mercie, as should be pleasing to God, and profitable to him, and to the kingdome. After which sundrie executions were done at *Saint Albans*, and elsewhere. And this end for the present had these infernall attempts of the baser people, in which we may cleerly behold the hideous face of *Anarchie* and *Plebeian* furie.

(31) Which fearefull convulsion in this State, some imputed to Gods wrath on this land for the generall coldnes and neglect of their duties in the chiefe Prelates of the kingdome; others to the great vices, and irreligious tyrannies of the great ones; other to the abounding sinnes of the common people. But our Author iudgeth, that the full heape of those causes of Gods vengeance, was made up by the begging Fryars, who (saith he) to purchase wealth contrary to their owne Oathes, did sooth the great men in their vices, and nursed the vulgar in their errors, feeding on the sinnes of both: calling good euill, and euill good, seducing Princes by flatteries, and the common sort with lies, carrying both headlong with themselves astray. For their outward profession of truth they haue so defiled with their wicked life, as that it is now in euery mans mouth a good Argument, holding in matter and formes: This is a Fryar, Ergo a liar; seen as true as to say: This is white, Ergo it is colourde.

* vryall 2. p. 44.

(32) The Duke of *Lancaster*, at the first breaking forth of these Rebellions, was vpon the borders, about feeling of a truce with the *Scots*, who therefore did shut vp the matter speedilie before the *Scots* had anie intelligence, feeling a two yeeres abstinence from Hostilitie. The *Scots* (though they were forie that by the peace so concluded, they had lost an opportunity of making a dangerous impression vpon the *English*), vnderstanding the Dukes perill, offered him twentie thousand men to defend his honor, but he loyally refusing that, they gaue him leaue to come and goe at his pleasure with all other rites of sacred Hospitallity.

(33) After

1382. Ric. 1. 4. p. 5. Ric. 1. 4. p. 5. Ric. 1. 4. p. 5.

* Holingshead in Richard 1.

All gntes donatid vnto the king.

* vryall 2. p. 44.

Humming Scots for John Duke of Lancaster great gntes.

* vryall 2. p. 44.

(33) After Christmas King *Richard* tooke to wife the Lady *Anne*, daughter to the Emperor *Charles* the fourth, and sister to *Wenceslaus* king of *Bohemia*, and called *Emperour*, which Lady by the Duke of *Tasill*, was in the name of her said Father, formerlie promised and assured vnto him, as one whom the King did specially affect, though the daughter of *Barnabas* Duke of *Millaine* was also offered with a farre greater summe of gold. Shee was with great pompe and glory at the same time crowned *Queene*, by the hand of *William Courtney* (a younger sonne of the Earle of *Deuonshire*) Bishoppe of *London*, lately promoted from *London* to the See of *Canterbury*. The Nuptials and Coronation of the beauteous *Queene* being, the Parliament (which by this great Ladies arriual was interrupted & prorogued) began againe. Where many things concerning the excess of apparrell, transportation of Coine, &c. were wholly enacted. *Sed quid iuuant Statuta Paris. amentoria, &c. but to what purpose* (saith *Waltingham*) "are Acts of Parliament, when after they are once past, they take no manner of effect? For the king with his priuate Councell, was wont (saith hee) to change, or abolish all things, which by the whole Commons and Nobility of the Kingdome had in former Parliaments bene agreed vpon.

(34) Neuertheless, it was then provided, that such as had done any thing in their owne defence against the Rebels, or to their suppression, without the ordinarie formes of process in law, should sustaine no damage thereby, but for euer bee as cleare as if they therefore had enioyed their particular pardons; and that all releases, forfeitures, and other acts done in the late rebellions, (during the *hurting times*, for so they were called) by way of constraint of duress, should be vtterly void.

(35) With the good liking of this Parliament, *Sir Richard Scrop* knight, was made Chancellor of the Realme, and *Sir Hugh Segraue* Treasurer; but it was not long before the Chancelour denying to passe such large gifts vnder the *Great Seale*, as the king in his youthful humor had imprudently granted, therewith to gratifie his still craving Courtiers, fell into the kings vnderfered displeasure. For albeit he alledged important causes of such his deniall, (as, that the King was greatly in debt) and therefore such largesses were fitter to bee employed in discharging some of his Creditors, that knowing how the King was intangled with Creditors, such crauers were not truly well affected to him, as regarding their own priuate auarice more then the kings profite, or the publike wants; that those selfe same crauers, had formerly receiued such gifts of his Maiesty, as were (at least) answerable to their desertings; and that himselfe, if he should seale those grants (made in the Kings childhood) was like to haue small thanks of him, when he should come to riper iudgement; yet thereupon he was twice or thrice willed to send the Seale to the King, who comming in person "surrendered the same, with such like words, That "hee would alwayes be loyall and true to his Maiestie, "but neuer beare any office vnder him againe. Not long after which surrender, *Robert Braybrooke* Bishoppe of *London* was made Chancellor in his place. This act of the Kings was displeasing to the whole Realme, and one of the first things by which hee fell into dislike, it being among the infelicities of King *Richard*, that those times were too full of fower and impatient censurs, for a Prince of so calme a temper, and as yet vnseasoned yeeres.

(36) *Henric le Spencer* the warlike Bishop of *Norwich*, being drawne on by Pope *Vrbane* to preach the *Crusade*, and to be Generall against *Clement* (whom sundry Cardinals and great Prelates had also elected Pope) hauing a Fifteenth granted to him for that purpose by Parliament, (after strong opposition of almost all the Nobles who resisted this business of the *Crosse*) went with Forces into *Flanders* to support the cause of *Vrbane* against the *Antipope*, from whence

after hee had performed sundry things very happily, taken *Craneling*, *Burrough*, *Dunkirk* by assault, and bene victor in a set battell against thirty thousand abettors of *Clements* claime, hee was enforced to returne, as destitute of those farther succours which were expected out of *England*. But the king vpon pretence that hee had not obeyed his royall mandate, by which hee required him, (before hee transported) to returne, for a while seised vpon all his temporalities.

(37) But *K. Richard* having before giuen the realm discontentment, by removing *Scrop* from the Chancellorship, encreased the same by some manifest signes of leuitie and prodigality toward Strangers, then which nothing makes a Prince lesse pleasing to the *English*: for, in the progresse which with his beloued *Queene* hee made to *Bury*, *Thersford*, *Norwich*, and other places, gifts were taken on all hands by the King, and they againe through the *Queene* were powred forth to enrich her Bohemians.

(38) *John Duke of Lancaster* embarkt himselfe for *France*, where hee concluded a truce to endure betweene the two Nations English and French, from the present Christmas till Midsummer. At his returne, he and his brother *Thomas of Woodstocke* Earle of *Buckingham*, went with an Armie into *Scotland*, to reuenge the breach of truce: but as it seems by some, the Duke had rather an host of men, then an hostile mind; for hee so ordered the matter (as not forgetfull perhaps of curtelies shewed to him in his late dangers, when the Commons were out in Armes,) that the *Scots* hauing had time enough to withdraw both their goods and persons, and his army suffering farre more losse by penurie and cold, then it could inflict vpon the enemy, returned "fruitlesse and inglorious.

(39) Not long after his returne, hee was encountered with a more capital and dangerous enemy, then those in Armes: for a certaine Carmelite Fryer, by birth an Irishman, deliuered to the King (in the time of Parliament at *Salisbury*) a writing which contained therein a heinous accusation of the Duke of *Lancaster*, that he had conspired to murder the King, and to crowne himselfe. The accuser discouered, the day, place, and other circumstances, to induce a beliefe of the pretended intention, and tooke his oath vpon the Sacrament, which that day hee had receiued, that no one word in that scroll was vntrue. The Dukes Apologie and fauour with the King, preuailed about the accusers confidence; whereupon the Fryer is committed, at the Dukes request, to the *L. John Holland* (the Kings halfe brother by his mother) and a day appointed, wherein the accuser was to shew a cause of his crimination.

(40) But in the night which next forewent the designed day, the said Lord *John Holland* (if a man may beleuee, that a thing so villanous could be done by men of honour) and one *Sir Henry Green* knight, are reported to haue trussed vp the Fryer in a cord by the necke, and parts of generation, laying vpon his breast a stone of great weight to breake the chine of his backe; and that they also forche the soles of his feet. By which miserable and quadruple manner of death, without trial or conuiction, (as also without "recantation of any thing which hee had vttered against the Duke) he is said to haue breathed his last. Neither was his death smothered, for the next day they caused his strangled carcase to bee dragged through the City; that it might not bee thought hee had perished vniuilly. But the Lord *Thomas of Woodstocke* (the same who was afterward Duke of *Glocester*) went farther, for hee rusteth into the Chamber where the King was, and bound his "words with a terrible oath, That hee would kill a "ny one liuing who durst lay treason to his brothers charge: neither did hee except the king himselfe. In which speeches, as piety and zeale for his brothers honor and safetie were not wanting, so certainly duty to his Prince was exceedingly forgotten.

(41) That

The kings enrichment of the Bohemians displeasing.

An. D. 1384.

* Job. 1. 10.

The Duke of Lancaster accused of highest Treason.

* Job. 1. 10.

(41) That which followed, may giue vs iust cause to suspect the truth of that Fryers accusation: for the Lord William la Zouch was also by the Fryer accused, of hauing been the Inuenter, broacher, and prouoker of him, to set downe all that which was comprehended in the accusation; who thereupon sent for to Salisbury (though then very sicke of the gowte) repaired thither in an horse-litter, where hee was compelled to answer to all such points as were objected, like a felon, or a traytour standing bare-headed: but the priuie, or least thought of any such matter as the Fryer affirmed against the Duke, hee confidently forswore, and was thereupon acquitted and dismissed. Howbeit (saith *Walsingham*) La Zouch was from that time forward a professed enemy, not only of Carmelites, but of all other orders of Fryers whatsoever. But these disgraces came vnfeinably vpon the Duke, whose head was vn-doubtedly full of designs, and of cares, how to achieve to himselfe the crowne of *Spain*.

(42) There were then sundry incursions made by the English and Scots, each into the others country, the Earle of Northumberland being leader to the English, with little aduantage to either. But to take away the very cause of this continuall bad neighbourhood, or to lessen it by an established peace with France, the Duke of Lancaster layed to Callis, about the beginning of August, there to treat with the Duke of Berrie, on behalfe of the young French King Charles 6. but after he had in that voyage expended (as was said) fifty thousand Marks, he brought into England nothing backe, except one a truce, to continue till the first day of May next. His desire to haue procured a surer peace both with the French and Scots, seemes to haue beene great, that so hee might the more freely pursue the conquest of *Spain* which he intended.

(43) Whiles hee was absent in this Ambassage, there ensued the arraignment of a great favourite of the Dukes, John Northampton, alias Comberton, whom his aduersaries by-named *Cumber-towne*. This man is by them reported to haue exceedingly troubled the City of London, during his late Maioraty there, nor lesse afterward; for that being followed with many abettors, hee publickly disturbed Sir Nicholas Bramble his successor, (but a* bloudy minded man by report,) and wrought other miseries, till Sir Robert Knowles caused one of the busiest companions to be drawne out of his house, and (as some say) thortned by the head. This Comberton was by his household Clerke accused, as priuie to some practices, in prejudice as well of the King, as the City, and when sentence was to be pronounced in the Kings presence (being then with great store of his Nobles at Reading,) hee durst (as is said) affirme, That such iudgement ought not to proceede against him in the absence of his Lord the Duke. This againe vnraked the burning coales of enuie, and suspicion against the said Lord Duke, and perhaps malice to the Duke procured this hatred against his fauourite. Whereupon hee was confined to the Castle of Tyntagel in Cornwall, and all his goods seized vpon by the Kings Seruants, whom *Walsingham* expresth, by calling them after the name of those Poeticall rauens Birds, *Harpyes*.

(44) That herewith *Polydor Vergil* (assigning causes to actions, not alwayes such as are, but such as seemed to him most probable, nor seldome confounding and changing persons, times, names, and things) telles vs concerning a combat within lists, betwene Sir John Aunsley Knight, and one Carton hath little ground, (so farre as wee can find) in historie. He saith they were *teterima capita*, both very wicked men, & that there was a real plot to murder the king. We can neither find the crime nor the me: there had beene a solemne combat long before betwene such a knight and one * *Katlington* an Esquire, in which the knight was Challenged an victor, but the crime was not treason against the kings person,

nor for any thing done in his time, but in his noble Grandfathers. Neither was *Anley*, *teterima capita*, but a valiant and loyall man of Armes. The crime which he objected to that Elquire (his kinsman) was, that for money he had traiterously giuen ouer the Castle of Saint Sauoir in the Land of Constanstine in Normandie, when he had store of victuall and munition. The Elquire was vanquished in faire fight and died franck the next day. *Polydors* error therefore is ioynd with manifest wrong to the knights name, wherein wee ought to bee very circumspect, for that, honour is incalculable and defendeth to posterity. There was indeed, at the time he speaks of, another combat, fought also within lists before the king, (for Duels then were performed, not on priuate choice or quarrell, but on publicke appointment) betwene one John Welsh an Elquire of England, and one * *Martileta* Gentleman *Nauarrois*, who in reuenge against Welsh, for hauing at *Cheribrough* (where the said Elquire was vnder-captain) committed (as *Martileta* said) adultery with his wife, accused him of high treason against the King and Realme. But Welsh prevailed; and the *Nauarrois*, at his execution (for hee was drawne and hanged after he had beene foiled in battle,) confessed the cause of his euill will, and the innocence of Welsh in the matter of treason.

(45) The Scots had this while by practice and money gotten the Castle of *Berwick*, whereof the Custody belonged to the Lord Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland. The Duke of Lancaster was not sad at this, but so pursued the matter, that the Earle (as if by his negligence and priuie the same royall Castle had beene lost) was condemned in Parliament. But the king relieved him with extension of fauour. This was a great cause of confirming the rancour already kindled in the hearts of these two principall Peeres. But the Earle to wipe away all blemishes of disgrace, enclosed the Castle with a siege both of forces and large proffers, so that after some time spent therein, he had it redeliuered vpon payment of two thousand marks.

(46) The Flemings had heretofore in the fifth yeere of this King, sent Ambassadors at the time of Parliament, to submit themselves and their Country to his dominion, renouncing allegiance to their natural Lord the Earle, whom they had by force of Armes expelled, vpon pretence of oppression vsed by him, and for other causes; but because they feared not either persons sufficient, or sufficiently instructed with authority, to transact with the King in a matter of so high nature, they were commanded to returne, and fetch more ample power, and to bring certain men of euery good Towne in Flanders. Now againe, the Citizens of *Gant*, though they had in battell against the French King, (who was there in person on behalfe of the Earle,) * lost twenty thousand men not long before, desired of K. Richard, that they might haue an English General to command in their warres; to whom was sent a wife and valiant Gentleman, the Lord Edward le Boussier, who demeaned himselfe in that charge with much commendation. And when afterwards he went more abundantly and strongly to haue supported them, they sodeinly turned French, shewing *senescire* (saith * *Walsingham*) *veniamus, vel domino, fidem diu feruare*.

(47) The Duke of Lancaster (whose, or the like greatness may perhaps seeme more, then can stand with the narrow limits of England, which, without danger to the common wealch, can hardly afford such a proportion of estate to any Subject) was about this time informed, that the King had a purpose to arrest his person, and to trie him vpon capital points before Sir Robert Tristram, his Chief Iusticiar, a man ready, (vnder the Kings protection) to deliuer iudgement without respect to Titles. The King was nourished in this deliberation by yong men, who combined against the Dukes life. This being discouered, the Duke (a potent Prince) withdraws vpon his guard to his Castle of *Pemfret* in the

the North; neuertheless the hopes of wicked men, delighting in their Countreys miseries, and ciuill combustions, were made void by the great diligence of the Kings mother, the Princess *Joan*, who spared not her continuall paines and expences, in trauielling betwene the King and the Duke, (albeit hee was exceeding tender of complexion, and scarce able to beare her owne bodies weight through corpulency) till they were fully reconciled.

(48) It had indeed bene a most wretched time for a ciuill warre, not only because the French Admirall, *John de Vienna*, had bene sent with forces embarked in fifteen score saile of Ships, to be employed out of *Scotland* against the English, but for that the French prepared a general inuasion of England, hauing in hope already as it were deuoured it. There reigned at that time in France, Charles the sixth, a yong and foolish Prince, (saith *Tillem*) who hauing in his treasury, left to him by his prudent father, * eighteene millions of Crownes, (and not only eighteene hundred thousand, * as some, fearing perhaps that the other summe might seeme incredible, haue written, and being moreouer set on fire with an inconsiderate loue of glory, rather then vpon any found aduise (though * some impute the Countess to the said Admirall) would needs vnderake the conquest of our Countrey. These newes stirred all the limbs and humors thereof, though the euent (God not fauouring the enterprize) was but like that of the Mountaine, which after long trauaile brought forth a ridiculous moule, neuertheless it had bene a most desperate season for a ciuill warre to haue broken forth in England.

(49) The preparations of the French doe hold notwithstanding, and the general *Rendezous* of their huge forces was at *Sluse*, in the Port whereof, and other places about, there were assigned to assemble for their transportation, * twelue hundred saile of ships. At the same time (as if the two yong kings had bene rivals in shew of men) Richard raised to great an army to ouerrun *Scotland*, as the like for beauty and number was neuer seene together, consisting wholly of Englishmen. But may wee beleue that England could spare three hundred thousand men, and as many horses for the vie of a warre? Certainly a needlesse multitude, but only to terrifie the French with the fame, for there might haue bene fewer, for any great Act which Richard (full of iea-lousie against his vnkle of Lancaster, wherewith his head and heart were full,) effected. But we may the rather beleue the account, for that *Walsingham* voucheth * Seruicants at Armes (if hee meane not *Heralds* by those words) whose office (he saith) it was to number the Host, and they affirmed the same. This is sure, that among other the arguments vsed by the Duke of *Bury* (one of the French Kings vnckles) to frustrate this enterprize, he alledged, that the King of England had mustred ten thousand horsemen, and one hundred thousand Archers for his defence; whereas the Admirall *John de Vienna* affirmed, that hauing seene the forces of the English, they were but eight thousand horsemen and three score thousand foot; and he might well say hauing seene: for, though *Amplius* bring him in speaking to the French King, and vaunting that he had encountered them, yet nothing is truer, then that the English returned out of *Scotland* without the least offer of battell. The Admirall was willing indeed to haue fought, but when he saw our Armie from the hill-tops, his furie gaue place to reason.

(50) While the Armie was vpon the way toward *Scotland*, the Kings halfe-brother the Lord John Holland wickedly slew the Lord Stafford, sonne to the Earle of Stafford not farre from *Yorke*, being vpon his journey to the Queene, whose fauoured Knight he was. For which heinous homicide the King seized vpon his whole estate, denying to his mothers most earnest praers any pardon or grace for his brother. Which was to her so greuous,

that within five or sixe daies after shee gaue vp the Ghost at *Wallingford*. The young Lord tooke Sanctuary at *Bewerley*, and the King by his iustice herein wanne the hearts of the said Earle of Stafford, the Earle of Warwick, the Lord *Basset*, and other great men of Staffords kindred and friends; neither did this empeach at all the present voyage.

(51) The Scots and French in *Scotland*, seeing themselves vnable to withstand such forces, had so retired themselves and all their goods, that when the English should come, they, (as *Walsingham* pleasantly saith) could see no quick things left but onlie Owles. That which was Greene in the fields, the horses deuoured or trampled down, yet such harme, as the materials of buildings were capable of, was done. *Edinburgh* also and the * noble Abbey of *Mabilroffe* were fired. The Duke of Lancaster persuaded the King to march beyond the *Frith* or Scottish Sea (as his great Ancestors had done) to seeke out his enemies; but he, very suspitious that the Duke gaue him this counsell with a purpose to betray him to destruction by famine, and want, which he was there to looke for, exprest much displeasure and returned. The Dukes wordes notwithstanding and behauiour were tempered, with much duty and modesty; but that would not serue, till the Lords peeced their affections together by intercession in the best manner the time would suffer. But the English host was scarce returned and discharged, when the Scots and French sodeinly powred themselves forth vpon our Countrey, and did whatsoeuer hurt the shortnes of time in their incursion could permit.

(52) To resist and endamage the French, there were appointed Admirals for the narrow Seas, the Master of *Saint Johns*, and Sir Thomas Percy Knight, (the Earle of Northumblands brother,) who did nothing worthy their fame or place. Only the Townsmen of *Portsmouth* and *Dart*, maund forth a few ships at their owne perill and charge, wherewith entering the riuer of *Sein* (vpon which the renowned Citties *Rouen* and *Paris* are situated) suncke some of their enemies ships, tooke others, and among them one of Sir *Oliuer de Clisson*s, the goodliest that France had. The successe answered their hopes, and they were enriched with the spoiles of their aduersaries, whom thus they compelled to beare the charge of their proper mischief.

(53) Meanwhile that the French lay at *Sluse*, attending the approach of their kings vnckle the Duke of *Burie*, (who fauoured not this enterprize of inuasion, but sought * as well by delays, as by perfuasion and authority to make it frustrate,) they of *Gant* had gotten the Towne of *Dam* by the good liking of the Inhabitants, to whom the French gouernment was odious. For recovery whereof, the French King drew his armie (prepared against England) to the siege of *Dam*, which (the same being first secretly abandoned, after a months siege and many repulses giuen to the French) was by him recovered. This, and other things, did so protract the great expedition intended, that (after wast of infinite treasure) Charles returned home, without hauing seene England, which was by these means most graciously freed by God, from so dangerous, and greatly-feared an impression. But that the English might the better endure the same, John King of *Portugall*, hauing lately in a great and bloodie battell (where some of the English deserued well of him,) ouerthrowne the *Castilians*, and thereby sealed his estate, sent into England sixe Gallies thoroughly well appointed, for Sea-seruice, though (as God would) there was no need of them.

(54) Of those French, which (after the Cloude of warre at *Sluse* was dispersed into ayre,) passed ouerland into their Countreys, many were taken and slaine by the *Gantimiers*. Their naue was not lesse vnfürfortunate; for at one * time the English of *Callis* tooke of them eighteene, and the rage of weather brake

John Cumber-towne once Lord Mayor of London, confined and confiscated.

* Thom. VV. Alfing. Tped. p. 139.

Polydor Vergil, not to be rationally beleueed.

Sir John Aunsley reputation redreined from slander. * *Rebion* hee is called, Tped. Newp. An. 1380.

* Henry K. Cax. of L. Tped. p. 140.

* The Duke of Lancaster.

Hated the Duke of Lancaster.

Red by the Duke of Lancaster.

A.D. 1380. The Duke of Lancaster red to king and by the ming.

* John de Vienna.

* *Tillem* saith, as in fight, and in the Duke of Lancaster.

* In Rich. A.D.

The Duke of Lancaster vpon his ping.

* *Tillem* saith, as in fight, and in the Duke of Lancaster.

* *Tillem* saith, as in fight, and in the Duke of Lancaster.

* Tped. Newp. The Duke of Lancaster supposed for per-suading the King to pacify the Scots. Tith Sea.

The virtue of priuate men in the publicke cause.

* John Tillem.

The Portugales and the English.

* In Rich. A.D. 1380.

The bad euent
of this French
clergie for an
inuation.

brake and sunke diuers, so that this *Branado* was not only costly to the French, by reason of the charges, but hurtfull in the losse of time, men, shippes, and hoped glorie. Such are the euents of humane enterprises, where God is not pleased to giue successe. The English thus deliuered from feare make a road into *France* out of *Calles*, and with a prey of four thousand sheepe and three hundred head of great cattell, besides an hundred good prisoners, returned safe to their Garrison.

The attempt of
the Laitie to dis-
posse the Clergie
of their temporall
estates.

(55) The multitude of memorable things which present themselves to vs in the liues of our *English Monarches*, is such, that if wee did not vse choise, and in their relation breuitie, wee should not relieue our Readers of that molestiation, with which the yaste volumes of former labours doe oppresse the memorie. The Laitie, at the Parliament now holden at *London*, had yielded to aide the King with a *Fiftenth* vpon condition, that the Clergie should succour him with a *Tenth* and an halfe, against which vniuersit proportion, *William de Courtney* Archbishop of *Canterbury* most stilly opposed; alleading that the Church ought to be free, nor in any wise to be taxed by the Laitie, and that himselfe would rather die then endure that the Church of *England*, (the liberties whereof had by so many free Parliaments in all times, and not only in the reign of this King been confirmed, should be made a bond-maide. This answer so offended the Commons, that the Knights of the Shires, and some Peeres of the land, with extreme fury besought, That *Temporalities* might be taken away from Ecclesiasticall persons, saying, that it was an *Almsdeed* and an *Act of Charity* for to doe, thereby to humble them. Neither did they doubt, but that their petition which they had exhibited to the King would take effect. Hereupon they designed among themselves, out of which Abbey, which should receiue such a certain summe, and out of which, another. I my selfe (saith a Monke of Saint *Albans*) heard one of those Knights confidently sweare, that hee would haue a yeerely pension of a thousand Marks out of the *Temporalities* belonging to that Abbey. But the King hauing heard both parts, commanded the Petitioners to silence, and the Petition to be razed out, saying, He would maintain the English Church in the quality of the same state or better, in which himselfe had knowne it to be, when he came to the Crowne. The Archbishop hereupon hauing consulted with the Clergie, came to the King, and declared, that hee and the Clergie had with one consent, willingly provided to supplie his Maiesties occasions with a *Tenth*. This grant the King tooke so contentedly, as he openly affirmed, hee was better pleased with this free contribution of one Tenth for the present, then if hee had gotten foure by compulsion.

The first Mar-
quesse made that
euer was in Eng-
land.

(56) *Robert de Vere* Earle of *Oxford* (a young Gentleman in speciall grace with the King) was at this Parliament created *Marquesse of Dublin* in *Ireland*, which moued great despight against him, those rough times being impatient to beare the vnequall aduancement of fauourites. Neuertheless, though the gentle King was thought herein to please his owne fanthe, rather then to reward merite, yet did hee so sweetly temper it, as there was no iustice, nor reason to enuie to him that so face which hee tooke in his friends encreased honour; for at the same time hee aduanced two of his vnclies, *Thomas of Woodstocke*, Earle of *Buckingham* to the title of Duke of *Glocester*, and *Edmund of Langley* Earle of *Cambridge*, he created Duke of *Torke*, allotting severall proportions of pension to be paid out of his Exchequer. In *Vere* there was ancient Nobilitie to iustifie his new degree the better; but in making the Lord Chancellor *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, with the yeerellie pension of 1000 Markes, was matter of more enuies; because he was not defended of such honourable Parents: a defect (if it be a defect) which none more willingly vpbraid to men of worth, then who themselves are

not alwayes the most worthy. The first raiser of this familie of *De la Pole* was *Edward* the third, who made *William de la Pole*, of a braue Merchant, a Knight Banneret, and gaue him great possessions, in requitall of an extraordinary and voluntary loane of treasure, aduanced by him to supply the King in a time of speciall necessity, when money could stand him in more steed then a thousand men of Armes: no little merite in a subiect, nor a slender reward of a most munificent Prince.

(57) *Henry Spenser* the marciall Bishop of *Norwich* found grace with the King at this Parliament, to be restored to his temporalities, at the speciall suite of *Thomas Arundell* Bishoppe of *Ely*: whiles the Bishoppe of *Ely* thus beought his Maiesty of Grace, the laid *Michael de la Pole* (Lord Chancellor and Earle of *Suffolke*) stood by, and brake out with much offence into these words. What is that my Lord which you aske of the King? Seemes it to you a small matter for him to part with that Bishops temporalities, when they yield to his Cooffers about one thousand pounds by yeere? Little neede hath the King of such Counsellors, or of such friends, as aduise him to act so greatly to his hinderance. Whereunto the Bishop of *Ely* not lesse truly, then free lie repleide. What saith your Lordship my Lord Michael? Know that I require not of the king that which is his, but that which hee (drawne thereunto either by you, or by the Counsell of such as you are,) withholdes from other men, vpon none of the iustest titles, and which (as I thinke) will neuer doe him any good: as for you, if the Kings hinderance bee the thing you weigh, why did you so greedily accept of a thousand markes by yeere, at such time as he created you Earle of *Suffolke*? The Chancellor was hit so home with this round retort, that hee neuer offered any further to crosse the restitution of the Bishops temporalities.

(58) After this the King being with his Queen at their manour of *Eltham* in *Kent*, there came thither *Leo* King of *Armenia*, a Christian Prince, whom the *Tartars* had expelled out of his Kingdome. The pretence of his negotiation was to accord the realms of *England* and *France*; that the Princes thereof might with ioint forces remoue the common enemy from *Christendome*. Therein hee could effect nothing, but his journey was not otherwise vnfruitfull to himselfe, for King *Richard* (a Prince to speake truly, full of honour and bounty) gaue him besides a thousand pounds, in a ship of gold) letters Patents also for a thousand pounds yeerely pension during life.

(59) The time now was come, wherein *K. Richard* should see himselfe deliuered of all that feare and ialousie, which the greatnesse of his vnclie the Duke of *Lancaster* stirred in him. His Forces were now ready, and his Nauie encreased with 1600 Gallies, and eighteen shippes sent out of *Portugall* attended at *Bristoll*, to transport him toward *Spaine*, (for *Castile* is high *Spaine*) the crowne whereof hee claimed in right of *Constance* his second wife, daughter of *Dom Peter* the cruell. Before hee set forth, the newes came that such English as were already in *Portugall* with their friends had ouerthrowne the *Spaniards*, *French*, and *Britons*, at a battell in *Spaine*. This was a spur to quicken the Dukes enterprise, which Pope *Vrbane* the sixth (by granting plenarie remission of finnes to all such as gaue the Duke aid) did specially fauour, as against them who did parake with his enemy the *Antipape*: * but the frequent grant of such pardon and releasement, was now growne so vile and contemptible amongst the people, that few were found open handed towards this *Crucceado*. Admiral of this Fleete was Sir *Thomas Perce*, Sir *Iohn Holland* (who had married one of the Dukes daughters after ward created Earle of *Huntington*) was Contable of the host, and Sir *Iohn Mereaux* (who had to wife one of the Dukes illegitimate children) was one of his Marshals. There were in this noble and excellently well appointed Army, the Lords *Talbot*, *Basset*, *Willoughby*, *Fitz-walter*, *Poinings*, *Bradston*, *Fitz-warren*,

* Sir Iohn
de Melles
Receiued
Guillem
Tenth.

A. D.
A. reg.

* T. 12. 13.

* H. 10. 11.

* T. 12. 13.

* H. 10. 11.

* T. 12. 13.

* H. 10. 11.

* T. 12. 13.

* H. 10. 11.

* T. 12. 13.

* H. 10. 11.

* T. 12. 13.

* H. 10. 11.

* T. 12. 13.

* H. 10. 11.

warren, *Beaumont*, *Beauchampe*, the Lord *Pemiers* a *Gascogne*, &c. with very many worthy knights & valiant Esquiers, and a choise number of men of Arms, Archers and other Souldiers, to the number of twenty thousand. The Duke tooke also with him his wife, the Lady *Constance*, and two daughters, which hee had by her, as * one relateth.

(60) It was now the moneth of May, when the great Duke of *Lancaster* coming to take leaue, had of the kings gift a Diadem of gold, and his Dutchesse of the Queene another: he also commanded the English to call, and hold his vnclie for a King, and to doe him anwerable honour. But after all this, hee lay for a wind so long, till his whole provisions were almost spent; at length yet, hee set forward. The first land they touched was neere to *Brest* in *Britaine*, where Sir *Iohn Reith* the Gouverneur against the French, complained of two Forts built about him to impeach his quiet egress; whereupon the Duke of *Lancaster* caused the to be assaulted; so both of them being taken by surrender, were razed to the ground, though some English first lost their liues, among which, was Sir *Robert Swinarton*, a valiant Knight of *Staffordshire*, and *John de Bolton* a courageous Esquier of *Torke*, whom the foudaine ruine of a Tower (ouerturned by mining) whelmed and slew outright. Sharpened with the successe of this victorie, they commit themselves to God, and the Sea, and prosperously arriue with the whole Fleet in the Port *Corone*, or the *Groyne*, * in August.

(61) The French (belike) thought *England* could not furnish an other Army for *France*, as the had for *Spain*: whereupon there was now no false nor vain rumor spread again, that the French would besiege *Calis*. The King to secure that pretious transmarine part of his Dominions, sent thither store of men and of all provisions. The most eminent person was *Henry Lord Perce*, sonne to *Henry* Earle of *Northumberland*. This was hee whom the Scots by named *Hotspur*, a young Gentleman, in whom (saith *Walsingham*) the pattern of all vertue and martiall prowess shined: and indeed his nature did answere his by-name; for hee made such ridings into the quarters about *Calis*, that they could neuer with a worse neighbour. After which, when the fame went that the French king would not delay, or (as they call it) beleaguer *Calis*, but rather inuade *England*, hee returned to be present where the greatest danger was expected. At this time, the English Scaemen of warre, brought two French prizes to *Sandwich*, in which was taken a part of an huge strong Timber-wall, which the French king, preparing now for *Englands* inuasion, had caused to be built in length three miles, in height twenty foot, which had at euery twelue paces a Tower (ten foot higher) and each capable of ten men, the whole to be a defence for the French encampments against our shot, and a shelter for theirs, there was also in the same Ships the Engineer and master workman, who was an Englishman, and great quantities of powder, and store of Ordnance, together with the French Kings Master Gunner.

(62) There was in this time a great resemblance between *England* and *France* in the chiefe points of State. As *England* had *Richard*, so had *France* her *Charles*, both young Kings. *Charles* with an huge armie had prepared to inuade *England*, but did nothing: *Richard* with no lesse forces entred *Scotland*, and did no great thing. *Richard* had vnclies which bafe great sway in the Realmes so had *Charles*. *Richard* had his vnclie *Iohn* more potent then the rest, *Charles* had his vnclie *Lewis*. *Iohn* vpon his vnclies title claimeth the kingdomes of *Castile* and *Leon*, *Lewis* by the gift of *Iohn* the Queene, claimes the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicill*. *Lewis* went with an Army of thirty thousand horse into *Italie* to achieve his claime; with what force *Iohn* set forth you haue heard. But *Lewis* died without obta-

ning, *Iohn* preuailed so farre as to settle his child by marriage. The King and great Lords of *France* were glad (with any charge) to enioy the absence of *Lewis*, and *Richard* and his fauourites were not sad, that the Realme was for the present rid of *Iohn*.

(63) The forces of the French provided for this inuasion of *England*, were reported in open Parliament (which the King held about *Michaelmas* in *London*) to consist of 15 Dukes, 26 Earles, two hundred Lords, & an hundred thousand souldiers, and a thousand Ships, assembled about *sluise*, with full purpose to take reuenge of all the euils which the English nation had formerly wrought in *France*, and to destroy the English kingdome. But though these reports were not fained, (for the French attended nothing in a manner but a faire gale of winde to bring them,) yet could not the King, without Capitulations made by the Duke of *Gloster*, obtaine any aides of money; so that, whereas it seemed to the King, that by the Duke of *Lancaster* departure, hee was become more free, yet had he left behind spirits much more stiffe and intractable. O deare Countrey, hadst thou not then bene apparant in Gods protection, (for the French hauing stayd for a wind till *Hallowtide*, and then hauing it half-way, were beaten backe, and the voyage made vtterly voyd) certainly thy ruine had then bene certaine. What shall we thinke or say of those popular Lords, by this gentle King armed (to his owne bane) with power and greatnes, who under the specious pretext of reforming abuses, did satisfie their enuie and inbred inselency?

(64) The King telsthem, that *England* is, as they saw, in manifest danger, and prays their succour in money: what is the answer? That the Duke of *Ireland* (for now the Marquesse of *Dublin* was made a Duke,) and *Michael de la Pole* (so they scornfully called the Earle of *Suffolke*) and other must be removed. Things are badly carried at home, say they; (and they perhaps said truly;) but where was now the care of our Countrey? God indeed turned from vs the mercilesse point of the French sword; but here began the seeds of innumerable worse miseries, neuer to be remembered without sighes and teares.

(65) The seedes (we say) of those fearefull calamities were then first here sowne, whose sum a flourishing * Writer in our age (willing needrely to haue imitated *Lucan*, as hee is indeed called our * *Lucan*) doth not unfortunately expresse, though hee might rather haue said he wept them, then sung them; but so to sing them, is to weepe them.

*I sing the ciuill warres, tumultuous broiles,
And bloody factions of a mighty land;
whose people haue, proud with forraine spoiles,
Vpon themselves turne backe their conquering hands;
while kinne their kinne, brother the brother soiles,
Like Ensignes, all against like Ensignes bands,
Bowes against Bowes, a Crowne against a Crowne,
While all pretending right, all right throwne downe.*

But *Robert de Vere*, saith *Thomas* Duke of *Glocester* and his party, was vnworthily created Duke of *Ireland*, and *De la Pole* the Lord Chancellor seemed to be the only great Lords (for so they would seeme) to be in the Kings debt. Strange colours for Subjects to capitulate with their Kings vpon giuing their ioynt aides against the common enemy, now ready with one destruction to ouerwhelme them all. The time they tooke to worke this pretended amendment in state, was not well fitted. It fauoured of somewhat else besides the loue of common-weale. Private ambitions and passions could not bee wanting in such oppositions. This is some mens iudgement, let the sequels shew how iust.

(66) There were called vp at this Parliament for defence of the Realme innumerable people out of all Shires, which forces lay about *London* within twen-

* T. 12. 13.

The first seeds
of the ciuill war.

* Sam. Dau. in his
ciuill warres.
* Remains.

tie miles round, and had no pay but lived vpon spoile. These at last were licensed to depart to be ready at warning. There was also the Lord Chancellor accused, of (we wot not what) petty crimes (for the abuses of following ages haue made them seeme so,) as for paying to the Kings Coiffers but *twentie markes yeerely, for a fee-farme, whereof himselfe receiued threecore and ten, and some such other. To pacifie these great Lords, the Lord Chancellor is disgraced, and the seale taken from him, against the Kings will, and giuen to *Thomas Arundell Bishop of Elye*, and then the houses of Parliament yeelded to giue halfe a Tenth, and halfe a Fifteenth, but vpon condition that it should be disposed of, as the Lords thought fit, for defence of the Realme. The money was thereupon deliuered to the Earle of *Arundell* to furnish himselfe for that purpose to the Sea. But to rid the Duke of *Ireland* out of the realme, the Lords were willing he should haue those thirtie thousand markes, for which the heires of *Charles of Blois*, (who heretofore challenged *Britaine*) were transfacted to the *French*, vpon condition that the sayd Duke should passe into *Ireland* before the next Easter.

(67) The Parliament was no sooner dissolved, but the King recalls the Earle of *Suffolk* to the Court, keeps both him, the Duke of *Ireland* and *Alexander Nevile* Archbishop of *York* about his person, in greater fauour then before. Infomuch that at Christmas he made *De-la-Pole* to sit at his owne Table not in the usual garment of a Peere, but princely robed. Surely therein not well, for some of those great Lords, (though not by so sweet meanes as were fit) did desire to waken him out of Courtly drowsinesse, and (as men that knew not what peace meant) to put him into actions worthy of his name and greatness. These other persons were not so friended, or qualified, that they could support a King against an vniuersal mislike. But the King vpon a stomacke doth it; so that (saith *Walsingham*) here first grew the Kings hatred against the Peeres, that from thence forth he neuer, as it is said, regarded them but fauoured. So much more dangerous sometime is the remedy then a very greuous maladie.

(68) King *Richard* (whose age and place stood in need of wiser instructions), not thus contented to haue whetted the displeasures of the greater Peeres, as if he had said to himselfe, *Rumpatur quisque rumpitur inuidia* is further drawne, as was said, to plot the death of his vnckle, *Thomas of Woodstocke* Duke of *Gloster*, and other enemies of *De-la-pole*; who together being invited to a feast (by the bloody deuile of *Sir Nicholas Brame* late Lord Maior of *London*, should together haue perished. But the present Lord Maior *Nicholas Exton* (whom the conspirators would haue had their Partaker, if it may be beleued) honestly refused to assent. The Lords hereupon hauing admonition, refrained to come.

(69) The persons which were in the publike enuie for their ouer-swaying grace with the King, were (as you haue heard) *Robert de Vere* Duke of *Ireland*, *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, the said Archbishop, *Sir Simon Burley* Knight, and *Sir Richard Stur*: These men hearing that *Richard* Earle of *Arundell* and *Thomas* Earle of *Nottingham*, Marshall of *England*, * had encountered with a great Fleet of *Frenchmen*, *Flemmings*, *Normans*, and *Spaniards*, and taken about one hundred faile of ships, and in them nineteene thousand tunnes of wine, deprauid the victorie, saying, that the vanquished were but Merchants, whose lous had bene more profitable to our Countrey, then so to stirre them to inextorable hatred. But these (saith *Walsingham*) when thus iudged, were rather the *Knights of Venus* then *Bellona*, *luter for a Canapie* then a *Campe*, for language then a lance, as they who were awake to discourse of martiall actions, but drowne when they should come to doe them. Such therefore conuersing with the King (not * without suspicion of foule familiaritie) neuer took care to put into his mind

any matter which befelmed so potent a Prince, wee say not (quoth our *Author*) as concerning the use of Armes, but not even concerning those very recreations, which most of all become great spirits, as hunting, hawking, and the like. But the Earles did more then meddle with Merchants (who yet were able to make dangerous resistances) for they landed at *Brest* in *Britaine*, and with great difficulty deliuered it againe from so bad neighbours as the two wooden Forts neerely built, where the other had stood, one of which they fired, and the other they maned with the English Garrison of *Brest*. Then stuffing it with all sorts of provisions for a yeere, and furnishing the wants of the Souldiers with all necessaries, they returned, hauing worthily wonne the loue and praises of the people. Which, as they were also due to them from the king, yet comming to his presence, they (by these mens euill offices) had so cold entertainment, as they effoones withdrew themselves from Court to liue quietly vpon their owne at home. After them the braue young *Henry Hotspur*, Lord *Percy* was sent (all prouided) to the Sea; neuertheless he ventred, and returned (when his commission was expired) with honour.

(70) One thing done by the Duke of *Ireland* was furle full of wickednesse and indignitie. For he hauing to wife, a young, faire, and noble Ladie, and the Kings neere kinswoman, (for shee was Grandchild to king *Edward* by his daughter *Isabel*), did put her away, and took one of Queene *Annes* women, a *Bohemian* * of base birth, called in her mother tongue *Lancercrone*. This intollerable villanie offered to the blood royall, King *Richard* did not encounter; neither had the power, some say, who deemed that by witchcrafts and forceries (practised vpon him by one of the Dukes followers) his iudgement was so seduced and captiuated, that he could not see what was honest or fit to doe. But where Princes are wilfull or slouthfull, and their fauorites flatterers or time-seruers, there needs no other enchantments to infatuate, yea and ruinate the greatest Monarch.

(71) The Duke of *Glocester* tooke the matter more to heart, resolving to be reuenged for the infamy and confusion, which was brought thereby vpon his noble kinswoman. Meane while the king, as if he meant to conduct his deare friend, the Duke toward *Ireland*, went with him into *Wales*. There the King deuiceth with him, the Earle of *Suffolke*, *Sir Robert Tresilian* and others; (who were equally afraid of the Lords) how to destroy the Duke of *Glocester*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwicke*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and such others, as from whom they thought fitte to bee cleare. Much time being trifled thus away in *Wales*, they come together (as if the Dukes appointed voyage, or rather banishment into *Ireland*, were quite forgotten) to the Castle of *Nottingham*, there more freely to deliberate. A fearefull estate of a Monarchie. Hee among a few, generally ill beloued, and ill aduised, and ill provided; for their whole strength was the king, and these emulations made that force feeble both to him and them: the Lords, potent, martiall, rich, and popular; hee *Nottingham*, they not neere him: but abroad farre-off, the Duke of *Lancaster* with the flower of the English forces, and mighty neighbours watching for the ruine of all. The course agreed vpon by the King and that ill-chosen Senate, was first to haue the opinion of all the Chief Lawyers concerning certaine Articles of Treason, within whose nets and sprindges they presumed the reforming Lords were; and if the Lawyers (who seldom doe faile Princes in such turnes, did conclude, that those Articles contained treasonable matter, then vnder a shew of iustice they should be proceeded against accordingly. These Lawyers (who were the very men, which in the last seditious Parliament, gaue aduise to the Lords to doe as they did) now meeting, were demanded, whether by the

law of the land, the King might not disanull the Decrees of the last Parliament: they jointly answered: he might, because hee was above the lawes: confessing that themselves had in that Parliament decreed many things, and giuen their iudgement, that all was according to law, which now they acknowledged to be altogether unlawfull. The King thus enforced, appointed a great Councell to be holden at *Nottingham*, and sent for certaine *Londoners*, some of them such as were beholding to the King for mercie in cases of attaindour, to be there empannelled for Queets of Inquire. The Sherifes of Shires (being questioned) denied, that they could raise any competent forces against the Lords, their whole Counties were so addicted in their fauour: & being further willed to suffer no Knights to be chosen for the Shires, but such as the King & his Councell should name, they answered, that the election belonged to the Commons who fauoured the Lords in all.

(72) Vpon the 25. of August there met before the King at *Nottingham* these Lawyers, *Robert Tresilian* his chiefe Iustitiar, *Robert Belknap* chiefe Iustitiar of the common Pleas, *John Holt*, *Roger Stilethorpe*, & *William Burgh* Iustitiars in the same Court, and *John Lokton* the Kings Sericant at Law: all which being vpon their allegiance charged to deliuer their opinions, whether such * Articles as were there in the Kings behalf propounded (which Articles comprehended all the points of aduantage taken against the proceedings of the last Parliament, and the displacing of the Lord Chancellor, *Michael de Pole*) contained matter of offence, they all of them answered affirmatiuely and subscribed; which afterward cost them deare. Iudge *Belknap* foresaw the danger, and therefore was very vnwilling to put his seale to the answers; saying: *there wanted but a hurde, a horse, and a halter, to carrie him where hee might suffer the death hee deserved, for if I had not done this* (quoth he) *I should haue died for it, and because I haue done it, I deserve death for betraying the Lordes*. The King in the meane space puruaies himselfe of people to fight, if need required.

(73) The Duke of *Glocester* (added with these newes, sent the Bishoppe of *London* to bring his purgation vpon oath to the King, who inclining to credit the same, was in an euill howe diuerted by *De la Pole*. The Duke makes his and their common danger known to the Earles of *Arundell*, *Warwicke*, & *Derby*, eldest sonne to the Duke of *Lancaster*. They feuerally gather forces, that vniued they might present their grieues to the King, who to keep them from ioyning, sends the Earle of *Northumberland* to arrest the Earle of *Arundell* at *Reigate* in *Surrey*, where hee abode. But by reason of *Arundells* power, it was too dangerous a worke. *Northumberland* returnes, and *Arundell* (admonished by the Duke of *Glocester* of his farther perill) escapeth in post to *Haringey*, where the Duke and Earle of *Warwicke* had store of people.

(74) As yet no bloud was drawne. Peaceable men procured that the Lords should repaire safe to *Westminster*, and there be heard. Thither approaching they are aduertised by the Bishop of *Elye* and others (who had sworn on the kings behalf for good dealing to be vied during the *Interim*) that at the *Mewes* by *Charing Crosse*, a thousand armed men (which without the Kings priuety *Sir Thomas Triuet* and *Sir Nicholas Brembre* Knights were reported to haue laid for their destruction) attended in ambush. The King sweares his innocency, but the Lords come strong and trust no longer. The King royally adorned keeps state in *Westminster* Hall with manie his Prelates and Peeres about him; the Lords present themselves vpon their knees, and being required by the Bishop of *Elye* the Lord Chancellor (for the Lord *De la Pole* neuer had that place againe) why they were in warlike manner assembled at *Haringey* *Parke*, contrary to the lawes, their ioint answer was, That they were assembled for the good of the King and

kingdome, and to weed from about him such Traitors as hee continually held with him. The traitors they named to bee, *Robert de Vere*, Duke of *Ireland*, *Alexander Nevile* Archbishop of *York*, *Michael de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Sir Robert Tresilian* that false Iustitiar (quoth they) and *Sir Nicholas Brame* that false Knight of *London*. To proue them such, they threw downe their gloues, as gages of challenge for a triall to bee had by the sword. The King hercunto replied, as knowing that they were all hidden out of the way: *This shall not bee done so, but at the next Parliament (which shall be the morrow after Candlemas) all parties shall receive according as they deserve*. And now (saith hee) to see my Lords; how or by what authority durst you presume to leuie force against mee in this land? did you thinke to haue terrified mee by such your presumption? haue not I men of Armes, who if it pleased me could enuiron and kill you like Cattle? Certainly in this respect I esteeme of you all none other then as of the basest scullions in my Kitchens. Hauing vied these, and many the like high words, hee tooke vp his vnckle the Duke from the ground, where all this while hee kneeled, and bad all the other rise. The rest of the conference was calme, and the whole deferred till the next Parliament, then shortly to be holden at *Westminster*. In the meane time (that the world might see how little able the King was to equall his words with deedes) a Proclamation is set forth, in which the King cleareth the Lords (before any trial) of treason objected, and names those persons for vniuelt accusers, whom the Lords had before named.

(75) The factious Lords neuertheless thought not good to seuer themselves, but to keepe together for feare of the worst, which fell out to their aduantage; for the Duke of *Ireland* (with the Kings priuety) had gathered a power in *Wales* and *Cheshire*, which they intercepting neere to *Burford* and *Babbilake*, slew *Sir William Molineux* leader of the *Cheshire* men, and some others, and made the Duke to flie in great feare. Among the spoiles of the Dukes carriages there were found (as the *Diuell* would haue it) certaine letters of the King to the said Duke of *Ireland*, by which their counsels were plainly discovered. The Lords hereupon march with speede vp to *London*, hauing an Armie of about forty thousand men. The King thuts himselfe vp in the Tower, but is glad before long to admit them to his presence. There they (vnuerently inough) objected mutability to him and his vnderhand workings; they objected also, that hee had secretly practised to flie with the Duke of *Ireland* into *France*, and to deliuer vp to the French Kings possession *Calles*, & such pieces as the Crowne of *England* held in those parts: proue which dishonourable act, they (as some write) produced the French packets intercepted. This wrung teares (perhaps of disdain) from the King, and hee yeelded to come to *Westminster* vpon the next day, there to heare and determine farther. The King in signe of amitie stayed his Cosen the Earle of *Derbie* (the same who afterward dethroned him) to supper. O where was the courage of a King! The Lords in their owne quarrell could draw vp fortie thousand men; but in the generall danger of the Realme, when the Commons were vp, and the French hung ouer their heads, with no lesse hatred then preparations, no such numbers appeared. Was it for their honour or praise, that their most rightfull King should by their violence be driuen to confute vpon flight out of his proper Kingdome? The Citie of *London* was also in no little perill at this present by their access, which drawne by iust feare was contented to open the gates and harbour the Lords and their partakers. These Lords, who so often are called here the Lords, are named in our * Statute booke to be but these five; The Duke of *Glocester*, the Earles of *Derbie*, *Arundell*, *Warwicke*, and *Marshall*.

(76) The next day, hee would haue deferred his

The Kings reply.

The Lords charge the king with laundry matters.

An.D.1388.
An.Reg.11.

* Stat.Am.11.c.1

The rough and
harsh behaviour
of the Lords.

Persons remo-
ved from
the King.

Historia Lett. Brit.

Short worke.

The Duke of
new Troy or
London.

St. Simon & Burley

* An. 10. 11. 12.
Rich.

repairs to *Westminster*. This being signified to the Kings Lords (for so they might be called, as being more Matters then the King) they labour not, by humble words, and dutious reasons to persuade the vie or necessity of his presence in that place, but contrarie to their allegiance, and all good order send him word, *That if he came not quickly according to appointment, they would choose them another King, who both would and should obey the counsell of the Peeres.* They had him indeed amongst them, whom (belike) they even then meant to have furrogated, that is to say, the before said Earle of *Derby*, heire to the D. of *Lancaster*. The Lords certainly had so behaved themselves towards the King, that they well saw they must bee masters of his person and power, or themselves in the end perishe.

(77) The King (after a preposterous and inuerterd manner) attending his Subjects pleasures at *Westminster*, heavily and unwillingly is drawne to disclaime *Alexander Nevill Archbishoppe of Yorke*, the Bishopps of *Dureme* and *Chichester*, the Lords *Souch* and *Beaumont* with sundry others. Neither was the Male-lexe only suspected to these curious pruners; the Lady *Poinings*, and other Ladies were also removed, and put vnder baile to answer such things as should be objected. *Sir Simon Burley*, *Sir William Eliham*, *Sir John Beauchampe of Holt*, *Sir John Salisbury*, *Sir Thomas Trivet*, *Sir James Bernes*, *Sir Nicholas Dagworth*, and *Sir Nicholas Brambre* knights with certaine Clerks were apprehended, and kept in strait prison, to answer such accusations (what if mere calumnyons?) as in the next Parliament at *Westminster* should be objected.

(78) The Parliament began at *Candlemas*, where the King was unwillingly present: The first day of the Session, all the Iudges *Fulthrop*, *Belknap*, *Care*, *Hott*, *Burgh*, and *Lockton* were arrested as they late in Judgement on the Bench, and most of them sent to the Tower. The cause alleged was, that having first overruled them with their counsels and directions, which they assured them to be according to law, they afterward at *Nottingham* gave contrarie judgement to that which themselves had fore-declared. *Troffian* the chiefe Iustice prevented them by flight, but being apprehended, and brought to the Parliament in the forenoone, had sentence to be drawne to *Tyborne* in the afternoone, and there to have his throat cut; which was done accordingly. *Sir Nicholas Brambres* turne was next. This *Brambre* (which *Walsingham*) was said to have imagined to be made Duke of new *Troy* (the old supposed name of *London*) by murdering thousands of such Citizens, (whose names hee had billed for that purpose) as were suspected of likelihood to resist him. Then *Sir John Salisbury*, and *Sir James Bernes* two young Knights, *Sir John Beauchamp of Holt*, Steward of the Household to the King, and *John Blake Esquier*, were likewise sacrificed to reuenge. *Sir Simon Burley* onely had the worshipping to have but his head stricken off. Loe the noble respect which the gentle Lords had to iustice and amendment. This was no age (wee see) for a weake or slothfull Prince to sit in quiet; for now the people, and then the Peeres, foile and trample the regall authority vnder foote: the Duke of *Ireland*, the Archbishoppe of *Yorke*, the Earle of *Suffolke* and others, had their estates confiscated to the kings vie by Act of Parliament, as in the booke of Statutes may be seene, together with a great part of the whole proceedings.

(79) These troubles boiling and burning within, in the Bowels of the State, the Scots abroad had opportunity to invade the North of *England*, vnder the conduct of *Sir William Douglas*, a noble young knight, a parallel and riuall in the honour of Armes to *Henry Hotspur*, Lord *Percy*, whom *Hotspur* fighting hand to hand slew in battell: but the Earle of *Dunbar* coming with an excessive number of Scots, tooke *Hotspur* and his brother prisoners, killing many English, not without such losse to themselves,

that they forthwith returned.

(80) But these vnneighbourly hostilities soone after found some successe, there being a meeting at *Calis* betweene the English and French, about establishing a peace: and albeit, because the French would haue the Scot and Spaniard included therein, the conclusion was deferred, yet shortly after it was resolved vpon for three yeeres, the Scots being comprehended therein.

(81) King *Richard* (being now of age) declares himselfe free to gouerne of himselfe, without either contremolement, or help of any other, then such as hee selected to that place, and in token that he was at liberty, he takes the Great Seale of *England* from *Thomas Arundel Archbishop of Yorke*, (*Alexander Nevill* being attainted and fled) and departs out of the Councell Chamber. After a while hee returns, and giues it backe to *William Wickham* (the renowned Bishoppe of *Winchester*) who was vnwilling to haue accepted the same. Hee also puts out fundrie Officers, substituting such others as best liked him. From the Councell Table hee removed his vnkle *Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Gloucester*, the Earle of *Warwicke*, and others; which (as it might) encouraged the Dukes enemies about the King, to doe euill offices betweene them. Yet the king did not presently credite what was whispered into his eare, concerning a purpose suggested to be in the Duke, to raise forces againe; but acquainting him withall, was satisfied. Neuerthelesse, he would not suffer the Duke to pursue an orderly or any reuenge vpon the Authors, whom indeed it had bene wisdom to haue punished in an exemplary manner.

(82) *Michael de la Pole* late Earle of *Suffolke* (whom the popular Lords had made most odious to the English) died at *Paris* in exile, bequeathing such goods as hee had there to *Robert Duke of Ireland*, who also breathed out his griefes in banishment, and died at last in *Brabant*.

(83) The Duke of *Lancaster* the meane while, returns into *Gascogne* out of *Spain*, and not long after into *England*. The successe of that voyage (being made to claime the Crowne of *Castile* and *Leon*) was briefly this. *John King of Castile* alleged that *Constance* the Dukes wife, was not right heire, but hee. For, albeit the Lady *Constance* was eldest daughter and heire to *Peter* sonne of *Alfonse*, whose father *Fernand* the fourth was sonne of *Sanchez* the fourth, and he sonne of *Alfonse* the tenth, all Kings of *Spain* successiuely; yet, that neither *Constance*, *Peter*, *Alfonse*, *Ferdinand*, nor *Sanchez* had the right. His reason was; for that *Alfonse* the tenth, (chosen Emperour of *Almaine*) had, before hee begat the said *Sanchez*, an elder sonne called *Ferdinand de la Cerda*, who married *Blanch* the daughter of *Saint Lewis* King of *France*, from whom descended *Alfonse de la Cerda* (who entituled himselfe King, but died without issue) and *Fernand*, who had a daughter married to *John*, sonne of the Infant of *Portugal* *Emmanuel*, mother to the Lady *Isabe*, wife of King *Henry* the second, father of *John King of Castile* defendant.

(84) This Apologie made by the *Castilian*, would not serue; for kingdomes are not vsed to be pleaded for by *Bill and Answer*: The English and Portugals ioine their forces. To the Duke (by reason of his wifes presence,) manie did voluntarily submit themselves; all did not, for *Don *Aluarez de Perez* on the behalfe of his Lord, the King of *Spain*, offered to stop the Duke in his march to *Burgos*, and was ouerthrowne. Other adventures that warre afforded, but sicknesse hapning in the English Armie, consumed many of the principall, and amongst them the Lord *Fitzwalter*, with other Lords, Knights, Esquires, and men of armes, almost three hundred. Moreouer the penurie was such, that fundrie reuolted to the enemy to get reliefe, which being a scene of the King of *Portugal*, he told the Duke he would set vpon them as Enemies, but hee said no, for that he knew they did it onely for lacke

A. D. 1391.

The King
dates his
letters
and the
Lancaster.

* Henric
the first
monarch
in of
Wich.

of
the
Duke
of
both
Sides.

of
the
King
being
guiltie.

* John
the
first
monarch
of
Spain.

1390.
1391.
of
made
1391.

Walsingham
dates
into

* John
the
first
monarch
of
Spain.

* John
the
first
monarch
of
Spain.

* John
the
first
monarch
of
Spain.

of foode. Thus hauing said, he held downe his head, as hee sat on horsebacke, and wept most bitterly, secretly powring forth his praiers to almighty God, and most humbly beseeching mercy. From which time forward his affaires in *Spain* succeeded happily.

(85) The warres had bene * sharpe and tedious, but the end acceptable. For *Don Juan* king of *Castile*, a Prince of no euill confidence, seeing the right which the Duke of *Lancaster* vrged, and foreseeing what calamities might happen hereafter, if (as was feared) the French should match with him, fought and obtained a firme peace. The Principall conditions were: That the Lord *Henry*, his sonne and heire, should marry the Lady *Katherine*, daughter and heire to the Duke and *Constance* his wife; That the Lord *Henry* (during his fathers life) should be called Prince of *Asturia*, and *Katherine* his wife Princess: That * for default of issue betweene the young Princely couple, the Crowne should come to the Lord *Edward Duke of Yorke*, who had married the other daughter of King *Peter*. That the king of *Spain* should lade * eight Cars with wedges of gold for the Duke, or (as * some write) pay two hundred thousand nobles, toward the defrayment of the Dukes huge charges; That finally, he should giue sufficient Caution for an Annuite of ten thousand pounds, during the liues of the said Duke and *Duchesse*, to be duly paid to their vies at the City of * *Bayon* in *Gascogne*.

(86) The King, at such time as the Duke of *Lancaster* returned, was at Reading, whither hee had commanded the Peeres to repaire. To that meeting the Duke makes hast, aswell to present his dutie to his Soueraigne, as to be an authour of loue and peace betweene the king and Lords, against some of whom the King was not thought to be verie fauorably disposed. Which hee graciously effected, as seeming to addit his mind to offices of piety and publike benefit. Certainly the wisdom and moderation of the Duke of *Yorke* his brother, were such, in all the late, and other tumults, that heis not so much as once named among the factious; which Christian spirit if it had reigned in all the rest, *England* had neuer bene polluted with such infinite bloodshed of her noblest Children; neither had the goodlie fabrick of state, laden with innumerable trophees, fall vnder that most hideous *Chaos*, which succeeded ages faw and sighted for.

(87) The King vpon the Duke of *Lancaster* returne, whether hee felt the keeping of *Aquitaine* an vnprofitable burthen, or the absence of his vnkle the Duke, a thing worthe to be purchased at anie rate, certaine it is, that in a Parliament held at *London*, he vested in him that famous Duchy, by deliueering the Cap of State, and *Ducal Rod*; whither hee shortly went to take possession. His sonne, *Henric* of *Bullingbrooke* Earle of *Derbie*, loath to spend his houres in sloath, but desirous to pursue renowne by martiall Acts in foreine parts, sailed ouer to the warres in *Prussia*, where in sundry enterprizes against the *Lithuanians*, hee was great honor, which, by comparison of King *Richards* Calmes, prepared a way for him in the English affections, to points more eminent.

(88) The Pope now vnderstood, that the English State began againe to be sensible of Romish enroachments; and as in a former Parliament they had enacted against all Collations of Bishopricks and dignities by the Pope, with banishment to all which did accept such Collations, and death to al that brought in any excommunications from the Pope, to hinder the execution of that Act; so in this last Parliament, another euere Act was made, against such as went to the Pope to procure any such prouisions. A Proclamation also was made at *London*, * that all beneficed men then being in the Court of *Rome*, should returne by a day prefixed, or loose all their Liuing. The Pope himselfe (saith *Walsingham*) troubled with * so great a thunder-

clap, sent with all speed into *England*, to perswade the King, that such Statutes as had bene thus made in their preiudice, who followed the Court of *Rome*, and such other clauses as tended to the dammage of that See, should be made void; whereto the Kings answer was, that the Pope *Nuntius* must expect till the next Parliament. At which Parliament the King, as also the Duke of *Lancaster*, seemed to haue some respect to the Pope, (whose messenger was their Present) but the * Knights of the house would not in any wise giue their consents, that such * Rome-gadders should without due punishment pursue their wanted course, longer then till the next Parliament. To furnish the Duke of *Lancaster* into *France*, to treat of a peace, and vpon condition that the King should that yere invade *Scotland*, large contributions were there made, both by *Clergy* and *Laitie*. Hereupon the Lord * *Henry Percy*, *Hotspur* (who had redeemed himself) was called from his charge at *Calis*, and made Warden of the Marches against *Scotland*; *Thomas Mowbray* Earle of *Nottingham* succeeding in the Captainship of *Caly*. The Dukes chargefull employment in *France* bare no other flower, then a yeeres short truce.

(89) The Kings wants still encreasing with his imployments, the Londoners (carried away with euill counsell) did a thing most vnworthy of their Citie and themselves, and it might to them haue proved as hurtfull, as it was vnworthy, at such time as the King * desired the loane but of one thousand pounds: which was not onely churlishly denied, but a certaine *Lambard*, honestly offering to lend the same, was badly vied, beaten, and almost slain. Their liberties for that and other disorders are seized, and their proper Magistracy dissolved, (Guardians being giuen them, first *Sir Edward Dallingridge*, then *Sir Baldwin Radington*) and their Maior, and some chiefe Citizens layed in prisons farre off from *London*. The punishment brought the fowlenesse of their errors to their sight; but by the Duke of * *Gloucesters* intercessions (who did not vnwillingly lay hold vpon such occasions of popularity) the king and Queene are wonne to enter the City, which gaue them triumphall entertainment. The sea is not sodainly calmed after a tempest, neither a Princes anger. By degrees yet, and not without deare repentance, they were at last restored to their former condition in all points.

(90) The king declaring his purpose to crosse into *Ireland*, had an aide of money conditionally granted: foure yeeres truce by the trauaile of the two Dukes of *Lancaster* and *Gloucester* being concluded in *France*. This yeere was farther notable for many great Funerals. *Constance* *Duchesse of Aquitaine* and *Lancaster*, a Lady of great * Innocency and deuotion: the Countesse of *Derby* her daughter in law, *Isabel* the *Duchesse of Yorke*, and a Lady noted for too great a finenesse and delicacy, yet at her death shewing much repentance and sorrow for her loue to those pestilent vanities, left this present life. But all the griefe for their deaths did in no sort equall that of the kings, for the losse of his owne Queene *Anne*, which about the same time hapned at *Sheerne* in *Surrey*, whom hee loued euen to a kind of madness: but Ladies onely died not; for *Sir John Hawkwood*, whose cheualrie had made him renowned ouer the Christian world, did in this yeere depart an aged man out of this world in *Florence*, where his ashes remaine honoured at this present with a stately Tombe, and the statue of a *Man at Armes*, erected by the gratitude of that State and City, which chiefly by his conduct, courage and valour (so this day admired amongst them) was preferred. The Italian Writers, both * Historians and * Poets, highlie celebrating his matchlesse prowesse enstyle him,

*Anglorum decus, et decus addite genti
Italica, Italico praecludumq; Solo.*

*Englands prime honour, Italies renouue,
Who upheld all Italie from sinking down.*

A.D. 1391

* 1391. New.
* Romipia.

* Job. Stow. calls
him Earle of
Northumberland.

A.D. 1392.
London in dis-
grace with the
King.

* 1392. New.

* Fabian & Caxton
but, Stow
milkcheeser ad-
ditions of other
disorders.

* 1392. New.

A.D. 1393.

A.D. 1394.

* 1394. New.
The death of
Queene Anne
and many great
La dies.

The famous Sir
John Hawkwood
died.

* Paul. Iulius in
Elogio
Julius Perodius

But

But the Duke of Lancaster having all things ready, sets sail to Burdeaux, there, with the content of the State to take possession of his lately granted Duchie.

(91) The King doth the like for Ireland, where that sort of the Irish which are called the wild, had greatly insulted the English Pale, and other good Subjects there, to the great damage of the Crown of England. In the times of Edward the third, Ireland yielded to the Kings coffers thirty thousand pounds yearly, but now things were so grown out of order, that it cost the King thirty thousand Marks by yeere. To reduce the rebellious, himselfe conducts thither an Armie, attended vpon by the Duke of Gloucester, the Earles of March, Nottingham and Rutland, all the Irish being commanded to auoid out of England. The terror of the preparations, & shining presence of a king (which about al worldly things is pleasant to the Irish) had such effects that sundry great men were compelled to submit themselves. To supply the Kings wants, growne in the Irish expedition, Edmund D. of York, the Kings vnckle, and Custos or Warden of England, called a Parliament at London (whither the Duke of Gloucester repaired to declare the Kings wants) and hath contributions granted. Neuertheless, so strong a party against the Clergy, & Fryars abuses of those times discovered it selfe therein, that the Archbishop of York, the Bishop of London, and others, prest out Sea to the King at Dublin, beseeching him to returne, the sooner to repress the Lollards (so called they the embracers of Wicliffes doctrine) and their fauourers, who fought not only as they vntruly pretended to wring away all the possessions of the Church, but that which was worse, to abrogate and destroy al Ecclesiasticall constitutions, whereas they aimed onely at the redresse of exorbitancy in the Papal Clergy. The King hereupon returns: by whose arriuall and authority, those consultations of the Laity were laid downe. Sir Richard Storie a seruant of his had been forward against the Prelates: of him therefore hee takes an oath vpon the holy Gospell, that he should not hold such opinions any longer. The Knight takes that oath, and we (saith the King) doe sweare, that if thou dost breake it, thou shalt die a most shameful death. The rest hearing the Lion roare so terribly, drew in their hornes, and would be seen no more.

(92) The King caused the body of the late Duke of Ireland to be brought into England. His exceeding loue to him was such, that he commanded the Cyprus cheit wherein his body lay embalmed, to be opened, that hee might see, view, handle, and openly expresse his affection. The dead remains of that noble young Gentleman, (by his birthright Earle of Oxford, and by race a Vere) were buried at the Priore of Coln in Essex, there being present the King himselfe, the Countesse Dowager of Oxford, the Dukes mother, the Archbishops of Canterbury with many Bishops, Abbots, and religious persons, but few of the Lords, for they had not as yet digested the hate they bare him.

(93) The Duke of Lancaster was this while in Aquitaine, where he had fought to winne the people with incredible largesse, to accept of his Soueraignty, according to the tenor of King Richards grant. Little did he then thinke, that within lesse then fixe score and three yeeres after, an Ambassador of King Henry the 3. should write thus of Burdeaux it selfe, the Capitall City of Gascoigne and Guien: Anglorum nullas ferè vestigia remanent. &c. There are (saith that learned Gentleman) scarce any foot-prints of the Englishmen remaining. In the Churches, and other places newly refreshed and redified, such Armories of the English as stood, were utterly blotted and defaced: yet in the Church of the Fryers Preachers, the Armories of the Duke of Lancaster stand entire in a Glasse-window, and in the oldest wall of the City those also of England, though consumed in a manner with age: The Lawes, Statutes and Ordinations which were made

by the English, are notwithstanding obserued at this day. But the Dukes eye could not looke so farre into the times to come. Neuertheless wee that see these things must confesse, that the best kingdomes vnder heauen is not so worth the getting, as that with the willfull contempt of God and conscience any man should seeke to purchase it.

(94) But while the Duke was thus busied in Courting the Gascoignes good will, who had sent into England, to shew causes why they should not returne to the Duke, (and yet were wrought at last to the point of yielding, he receiues a commandement from King Richard to returne, that he might goe with him into France; which he obeyed. The King keeping his at Langley in Hertfordshire, the Duke was there entertained with more honour (as it was thought) then loue. Being licenced to depart for a time, he repaired to Lincolne, where he a widower, married his old loue the Lady Katherine Swinford, now a widow. Men did wonder at it, but hee therein obeyed the remorse of a Christian conscience, without respect to his owne vnequall greatnes; for hauing had sundry Children by her in his former wiues time, he made her and them now the only sufficient amends, which the law of God or man enioineth. And further in a Parliament held the yeere following, the Duke procured an Act to passe, by which, such children as hee formerly had by his new Dutchesse, were legitimated; and surnamed them Boufours, being foure of them John, Thomas, Henry, Iane; the second of which was by the Kings bounty created Earle of Sommerfet.

(95) The King, being specially accompanied with those his vnckles of Lancaster and Gloucester, at a most sumptuous and chargefull enteruiew between him and Charles King of France, in the parts of Calis and Gynes, espoused the Lady Isabell, daughter of the said Charles. At the deliury of her, King Richard, in the presence of all the greatest Princes, Peeres, and Ladies of either nation, gaue the King his father in law great thanks for a gift so noble and acceptable, adding, he tooke her vpon the conditions made betweene the two nations, to the intent that liuing in peace and rest, they might attaine to the establishment of a perpetual amitie, for auoyding the effusion of Christian blood, which would in likelihood haue followed, had not at that time amitie bene contracted betweene them. The young Lady was not aboute seuen or eight yeeres old, but the truce was taken for thirty yeeres. Her person therefore was committed to the Dutchesse of Lancaster and Gloucester, and other great Ladies, who conducted her to Calis. From whence, after a short stay, the King, his young Queene (with whom he had great riches) and all the glorious companie came ouer into England. Their persons arriued safe, but the Kings gorgeous Pauilions, and a great part of his stuffe was cast away by tempest in the transportation. This iourney (besides his losses at Sea) cost the King about forty thousand marks.

(96) The outward felicity of England seemed at this time verie great, and the rather seemed so, because it was likelie to continue. In the Duke of Gloucesters perill that bright prosperity was first overshadowed. He, Vir ferocissimus & praecipitis ingenij (as Polydor censures him), a most ferce man, and of an headlong wit, thinking those times, wherein he had mastered the King, were nothing changed, though the King was about thirty yeeres old, forbore not roughly, nor so much to admonish, as to checke and schoole his Soueraigne. The peace with France displeased him, that therefore he calumniates. The King had restored Breist in Britaine to the Duke, vpon reburment of the money lent; he tels the King that hee should first conquer a Towne, before he parted with any; yet the King answered, that he could not in conscience detain the same, now that the Duke had repaid his loane. There were other things which could not so well be answered. For a vaine rumor

*Enig.

The Duke of Lancaster's death.

*Surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster.

*Surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster.

*Surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster.

*Surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster.

*Surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster.

*Surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster.

*Surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster.

*Surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster.

*Surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster.

* that he should be chosen Emperor, put him belike into such a vaine of spending, as carried a proportion with that maiesty, his coffers in a short time sounding like empty Caske, there was no great monied man in whole debt he was not, nor any in a manner so meane to whom hee was not burthenous.

(97) The King had heretofore complained of this vnckle to the Earle of Saint Paul a Frenchman, (then in England,) whose iudgement was, that such infolency was to be reuenged; but complaining to his other vnckles of Lancaster and York, they wisely aduised the King, not to regard his words but his heart, which he and they knew sincere vnto him. Neuertheless, partly to weaken the intollerable humor of his brother, who like a constant Admirer of his owne waies, thought nothing well done, but what himselfe either did or directed, and partly to auoid the scandall of the Kings bad courtes, they withdraw their preferences from the Court. The King notwithstanding is the same man still, as the Duke of Gloucester thinks; wherefore, he breakes his minde to such as he durst trust. Arundell in Suffex is appointed the Consulation-place, where he the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Earles of Arundell, Warwick, Marshall and others, take an Oath of Secrecy, and conclude to raise a power to remoue the Dukes of Lancaster and York, and such other as they thought best from about the King, so to enact a reformation.

(98) They are charged by some to haue plotted the imprisonment of the King and Dukes, and the death of all other Councillours: which, howsoever it was perhaps no part of their intention, might yet haue bene a necesserie consequent. The blustering Duke had breathed out dangerous words, as, * that he would put the King (of whose courage he spake contemptible) into some prison there to spend his daies in ease and peace, as himselfe thought best. His brethren hearing hereof, brotherly admonish him to beware; but, as it seemes, they found him deafe on that side. This though some of the late Authors write, yet there are both * old and * new, who mention no such matter, but the contrary, not obscurely teaching vs, that the Dukes ruine was but an effect of old malignities.

(99) Thomas Mowbray Earle of Nottingham and Marshall, a party in the reported plot, though sonne in law to the Earle of Arundell, recuileth the same to the King. The Duke of Gloucester is hereupon surprized by Mowbray * (lying in wait in the woods where hee was to passe) sent to Calis (where Nottingham was Captaine) and there imprisoned; the Earles of Arundell and Warwick, the Lord John Cobham, and Sir John Cheiney, are arrested. Proclamation is then made that they were not committed for anie old matters, but for heinous things newly contriued, as in the next Parliament should be made manifest; though the euent (as * Walsingham truly saith) declared the contrarie. But the Duke of Gloucester, and the two said Earles are ended at Nottingham. The King to maintaine the accusation of treason obiected, had (as some say) suborned Edward Earle of Arundell, Thomas Earle Marshall, Thomas Holland Earle of Kent, John Holland Earle of Huntingdon; Thomas Beaufort Earle of Somerset, John Montacute Earle of Salisbury, Thomas Lord Spencer and Sir William Scrope Lord Chamberlaine.

(100) In September begins the Parliament at London, where the king had a great guard of Cheshire men to secure his person, and the Lords attended also not without sufficient numbers. The Kings chiefe Agents were Sir John Bulby, Sir William Bagod, and Sir Henry Greene knights. In the first act (after the liberties of the Church and people confirmed,) we find these words. The commons of the Parliament haue shewed to our Soueraigne Lord the King, how in the Parliament holden at Westminster, the first day of October, in the tenth yeere of his reignes Thomas Duke of Gloucester, and Richard Earle of Arundell, trai-

tours to the King and his Realme and his people, by false imagination and compassing caused a Commission to be made, &c. and that the said Duke of Gloucester, and Earle of Arundell, did send a great man and Peere of the Realme in message to our Lord the King, who of their part said, that if he would not grant and assent to the said Commission, hee should be in great perill of his life: and so, as well the said Commission, as the said Statute touching the said Commission, were made by constraint, &c. Wherefore the Commons pray their Soueraigne Lord the King, that the said Commission &c. be utterly annulled, as a thing done TRAITEROUSLY, &c.

(101) The sanctuary of former lawes, and all particular Charters of pardon being now taken away from the Duke, Earle, and others, they lay open to manifest ruine. The Duke of Lancaster late in judgement as High Steward vpon Richard Earle of Arundell, where, for no other but for the old attempts, (though the other accusations seeme to haue been auerred by the eight appellants) by which, as ye haue heard, so many were displaced and put to death, hee adiudged him to die that foule death of a common Traitor: but the King satisfied himselfe with onely his head, which was at one stroke taken off at Tower-hill. That he was a traitour either in word or deede, he utterly did deny, and died in that deniall. The constancy of this Earles carriage as well at his arraignment, passage, and execution, (as in which he did not discoloure the honour of his blood with anie degenerate word, looke, or action) encreased the enuie of his death vpon the profecutors. The Earle of Warwick confessed with teares, (and as some say, drawne by faire hope of life) that in adhering to the Duke of Gloucester in those ridings and assemblies hee was guilty of treason. The same sentence was therefore pronounced vpon him. The King neuertheless did only banish him into the Ile of Man. But the Duke of Gloucester (whom, as the peoples darling, it seemed not late to bring to a publike trial) was secretly smothered at Calis with pillows and featherbeds.

(102) The great Parliament (for so it seemes to haue bene called, by reason of the extraordinary numbers of Peeres, and their retinues, which came thereunto) was holden by adiournment at Shrewsbury. In it, those iusticiars, who were partly put to death and partly banished, but all attained (at such time as the Duke of Gloucester and the rest were in armes,) doe all of them stand thereby cleared from dishonour, and such Articles as they subscribed, (being together with their answers, set downe in the Act) are publicly ratified, and the offenders against them pronounced Traitors. Amongst these Articles, one, containing these great Lawiers iudgements concerning the orderly proceedings in al Parliaments, is very obseruable: * That after the cause of such assembly is by the Kings commandement there declared, such Articles as by the King are limited for the Lords and Commons to proceed in, are first to be handled; but if any should proceed vpon other Articles, and refuse to proceed vpon those limited by the King, till the King had first answered their proposals, contrary to the Kings command, such doing herein contrary to the rule of the King, are to be punished as Traitors. But the King, to content all parts, and to kindle new lights in the place of such as he had extinguished, hauing first created himselfe * Prince of Chester, made his cosen Henry Earle of Derby, Duke of Hereford; the Earle of Rutland Duke of Aumaril; the Earle of Nottingham Duke of Norfolk; the Earle of Kent Duke of Surrey; the Earle of Huntingdon, Duke of Excester; the Earle of Somerset Marquess Dorset; the Lord Spencer Earle of Gloucester; the Lord Neulle Earle of Westmerland; William Scrope Earle of Wiltshire; Thomas Percy Earle of Worcester. The King also (saith Walsingham) added to his Scutcheon Royall, the armories of Saint Edward King and confessor.

* Mod. lib. ad. An. to Rich. 2.

* Holin.

The Earle of Arundell beheaded.

The Duke of Gloucester murdered.

A. D. 1398.

Libr. Statu. Amst. Rich. 2. cap. 12.

* The. Walsin.

* Book of Statutes. A. D. 1398. c. 12. artic. 6.

* The. Walsin. The King (Prince of Chester) creates Dukes and other Statues.

*Hij. Ang. lib. 20.

*Trod. Newf.

An.D. 1399.
An. Reg. 22.

*Trod. Newf.

*Tho. Walsin R. 2.
*Annal. Hibern.
apud Cambd.

(103) The formost in this goodly ranke, being Henry Duke of Hereford, not long after accused Thomas Duke of Norfolk, of certaine words founding to the kings dishonour, which hee should priuately utter to the said Henry. *Polydor (though very negligently hee makes *Mowbray the Accuser*, and *Hereford Defendant*) may yet be heard in reporting the effect of the words, as *That King Richard held the Peeres of the land in no account, but as much as lay in him sought to destroy them, by banishing some, and putting others to death. That hee neuer troubled his mind with considering how his Dominions were diminished through his Idleness. Finally, that all things went to wracke, as well in peace as war.* But the Duke of Norfolk, (who vnlesse it had bene to seele how the Duke of Herefords heart was affected to the king, had little reason so to complaine) most constantly denying that euer he spake such wordes; it should haue come to a combat within lists; but the king to auoid (as hee pretended) such deadly fedsaws might rise in the families of two such potent Peeres, but (indeed to be rid of an enemy with the losse of a friend) banished Norfolk for euer, and Hereford first for ten yeeres, then for fixe. *Walsingham* saith that this censure was giuen against Norfolk, vpon that very day in which the yeere before, he (by the kings commandement) had taken order for putting to death the Duke of Gloucester at Calis, whereof the said Duke of Norfolk had the Captainship.

(104) Fearefull were the tragedies which ensued these times; and heare now what is written of some Portents or wonders, presaging the same. The Bay or Laurell trees withered ouer all England, and afterward refluorished, contrary to many mens opinion; and vpon the first of January, neere Bedford towne, the river between the villages of *Smelston* and *Harleswood* where it was deepest, did vpon the sodaine stand still, and so diuided it selfe, that the bottome remained drie for about three miles space, which seemed (saith *Walsingham*) to portend that reuolt from the King, and the diuision which ensued.

(105) Roger Mortimer Earle of March, Lieutenant of Ireland, hauing in the yeere before, while he too much* trusted to his owne Forces, been slaine very many others, by *O-Brin, and the Irish of Leinster, at a place called *Kenlis*; King Richard determines in person to reuenge the blood of his Noble kinsman, being the man to whom hee meant the Crowne of England, if issue failed to himselfe. Hee remembered not how broken an estate hee had in England, where the peoples hearts were strongly alienated, not onely for the death of the late great Lords, and banishment of the Duke of Hereford, (whose calamitie increased his popularity) or for the like passed exasperations, but for that (to furnish his Irish voyage) he had extorted money on all hands, taking vp carriages, victuals, and other necessaries, without any recompence; whereby the hatred of his gouernment grew vniuersall.

(106) But the euill fortune which hung ouer his head, laid forth an alluring bait to haue his destruction, by occasion of the Duke of Lancasters decease, which hapned about Candlemas, and the absence of his banished sonne and heire Lord Henry. The king (most vniuersally) seizeth vpon the goods of that mighty Prince his vnkle, & as if all things now were lawfull, which but liked him, he determines to banish the new rightfull Duke of Lancaster Henrie, not for a few yeeres, but for euer; for which cause hee reuoked his Letters Patents granted to the said Henry, by which his Attornies were authorised to sue his Liniere (and to compound for the respit of his homage at a reasonable rate; whereby he made it seem plaine to the world, that hee had not banished him to auoid dissensions, but (as many said) to fill vp the breaches which his riote had made in the roiall treasures, with plentifull (though an vnclue) Exchange, as that of his decaied vnckles fortune.

(107) The one stedfast base and buttresse of all lawfull Empire, is Iustice; that supports the kinglike throne. This hee ouerthrew, and how then could himselfe hope to stand long? Hee lands at *Waterford* in Ireland with a Nauie of two hundred ships, hauing with him the sonne of the late Duke of Gloucester, and of the now Duke of Lancaster, to secure himselfe the rather. *His forces consisted much of *Cheshire men*. But that king is deceiued, who reposerh his safetie in violence. It was no great matter hee did there, that which fell out to be done elswhere, was great indeed. His warre in Ireland was more dammagefull, then fishing with an hooke of gold, for here the baite and hooke was not onely lost, but the line, rod, and himselfe, were drawne altogether into the depths of irreuerable ruine. Duke Henrie sees the aduantage which King Richard a bence gaue him, and vseth it. In his Companie were *Thomas Arundel* the banished Archbishoppe of Canterbury, and his Nephew the sonne and heire of the late Earle of Arundel, and notable fifteen *Lanciers*. His strength was (where the Kings should haue bene) in the peoples hearts. Neuertheless, the Duke did not sodainly take land, but houerred vpon the Seas, shewing himselfe to the Country people in one place now and then in another, pretending nothing but the recovery of his rightful Heritage.

(108) Edmund Duke of Yorke, whom King Richard had left behind him to gouerne England, hearing this, calls vnto him *Edmund Stafford* Bishoppe of *Chichester*, Lord Chancellor, the Earle of *Wiltshire*, Lord Treasurer, and the Knights of the Kings Councell, *Bushie*, *Bagot*, *Greene*, and *Russell*. Their conclusion was to leuie a force to impeach Duke Henries entrance. The assembly was appointed to bee at *S. Albans*, which came to worke then nothing, for the protestation that they would not hurt the Duke, whom they knew to bee wronged was generall. This made the Treasurer Sir *John Bushie*, and Sir *Henrie Greene* flie to the Castle of *Bristol*, Sir *William Bagot* to *Chester*, from whence he got shipping into Ireland. Meane while Duke Henrie lands at a village heretofore called *Raueshure*, to whom repaired Henrie Earle of *Northumberland*, his sonne *Henry Lord Percie*, lands at *Nesill* Earle of *Westmerland*, and many others, who (saith *Walsingham*) greatly feared King Richards tyrannic. With an Armie of about three score thousand (multitudes offering their seruice) they come to *Bristol*, besiege the Castell, take it, and in the same the foresaid Treasurer *Bushie* and *Greene*, whose heades (at the cries of the Commons) were the next day after their surrender leuered from their bodies.

(109) King Richard was in the City of *Dublin*, when these most heauie newes arriued. His courage which at no time seemed great, was shortly none at all. Somewhat must be done: hee leaues the sons of Duke Henrie, & of his vnckle of Gloucester (which hee retained as pledges for his owne indemnity) in the Castell of *Trim*, and returns himselfe into England, intending to encounter the Duke before his force should bee too much established. The great names which accompanied him, were his late noble Creatures, the young Dukes of *Aumarie*, *Excester*, and *Surrey*, the Bishops of *London*, *Lincolne* and *Carleol*, and many others. There had bene some more hope for vpholding his right, if hee had not made the world know, that tenneyers space was not able to burie in him the appetite of reuenge, which made many forget their owne loyalty to him, and the Crowne. Princes see in him the vse of obliuion: but some conscience of euill desertes seeming to haue taken from him all confidence, hee dismisseth his Armie, bidding his Steward Sir *Thomas Percy* & others to referre themselves for better dayes.

(110) His last refuge is in *Parlee*. For that cause there repaired to him, at the Castell of *Conway* in *Northwales*, (for thither he was now come) the late Archbishoppe of Canterbury, and the Earle of

*Arundel apud Cambd.

*Thoby.

*Hij. 6.

*Hij. 6.

*Hij. 6.

*Hij. 6.

*Hij. 6.

*Hij. 6.

Northumberland at the Kings appointment: The sum of his demands were, that if hee and eight, whom he would name, might haue honourable allowance, with the assurance of a quiet priuate life, he would resigne his Crowne. This *Northumberland* did swear should be: whereupon he forthwith departs to the Castle of *Flint* in his company. After a short conference there had with the Duke, they all ride that night to the Castell of *Chester*, being attended by the *Lancastrian* Armie. If, to spare his peoples blood, he was contented so tamely to quit his royall right, his fact doth not onely not seeme excusable, but glorious; but men rather thinke that it was sloth, and a vaine trust in dissimulation, which his enemies had long since discovered in him, and for that cause, both held his amendment desperate, and ran themselves into these desperate Treasons.

(111) The King did put himselfe into the Dukes hands vpon the twentieth day of August, being but the forty and seventh from the Dukes first landing. From thence they trauell to London, where the King lodged in the Tower. Meane while writs of Summons are sent out in King Richards name, for a Parliament to bee holden at *Westminster*, *Craftino Michaelis*. The tragical forme of Resignation, you haue* had already in *Edward* the second, of whom this King is a Parallel. There are named to haue been present at this wofull ioyfull Act, *Arundel* Archbishoppe of Canterbury, *Richard Scrope* Archbishoppe of *Yorke*, *John Bishoppe of Hereford*, *Henry Duke of Lancaster*, (who in this serious play must seeme as if hee were but a looker on) the Earles of *Northumberland*, and *Westmerland*, the Lords *Burnell*, *Barkeley*, *Ros*, *Willoughby*, and *Abergeuenie*, the Abbot of *Westminster*, &c.

(112) In their presence Richard as yet a King, and in his Tower of London, but not otherwise then as a prisoner, reads the Instrument of his surrender, with a seeming chearefull countenance, as if he were glad the hower was come, in which hee might taste what it was to be a priuate man, and (hauing otherwise first done and said what then he could to put all right out of himselfe) subscribes it with his hand; but prays, that his Cousen the Duke of Lancaster might succede him in the regall gouernement, and in token that it was his desire (for he must seeme to desire what hee could not hinder) hee* plucked off his Signetring, and put it vpon the Dukes finger. Then did he constitute the Archbishoppe of *Yorke*, and Bishop of *Hereford* his Procurators, to declare to the whole Body of Parliament what he had done, & how willingly, where euerie one (except the loyal & magnanimous Bishop of *Carleol*) being particularly asked, did particularly accept of the resignation. Neuertheless, it was not thought inough to haue his Crowne, vnlesse they also published his shame. Thirty* and two Articles are therefore openly (but in his absence) read; of all which, it was said (for then men might say what they listed) that hee had confessed himselfe guilty. In the front was placed his abuse of the publike treasure, and vnworthy waste of the Crown-land, whereby he grew intolerably grievous to the Subiects. The particular causes of the Dukes of Gloucester and Lancaster, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Earle of Arundel filled sundry Articles. They charged him in the rest with dissimulation, falshood, losse of honour abroad in the world, extortions, rapine, deniall of Iustice, rasures, and embazzelling of Records, dishonourable shifts, wicked Axiomes of state, cruelty, couetousnesse, subordination, lasciuiousnesse, treason to the rights of the Crown, perjuries; & briefly with all sorts of vnkingly vices, and with absolute tyranny.

(113) We may be assured, that nothing could then be objected so vntrue or incredible, but would haue gone for current and vndenyable with affections so thoroughly prepared. Hereupon it was* concluded, that in all those thirty and two Articles, hee had broken the Oath of Empire taken at the Coronation,

& all the States of the Kingdom (strange that so many should so concur in dissolayty vnder pretence of equity) being asked what they thought; did hold that those causes seemed notorious, and sufficient to depose King Richard. Commissioners were therefore nominated by consent of the whole house, to pronounce the sentence of Deposition; which were, the Bishop of *Asaph*, the Abbot of *Glastenbury*, the Earle of Gloucester, the Lord *Barkly*, *William Thyrning*, Chief Iustice of the common Pleas, and some others. The forme of pronuntiation was, IN THE NAME OF GOD, AMEN. We thou Bishop of *Saint Asaph*, *Iohn Abbat*, &c. Commissioners specially chosen by the Lords spirituall and temporall of the Realme of England, and Commons of the said Realme, representing all the States of the said Realme, sitting in place of iudgement, &c.

(114) The definitiue sentence of Deposition giuen thus in open Parliament, there were further named certaine persons, amongst whom* *William Thyrning* Chief Iustice of the Common Pleas was thoght the fittest man, by whose lawlesse mouth that vniust doome should be deliuered to the King, and who on the behalfe of the Realme, should renounce to the said Richard the fealties and homages heretofore made vnto him, and to make relation of the whole manner and causes of their proceedings. The Regall seate was now reputed void; whereupon Duke Henrie riseth from his place, and stands vpright, that hee might be seene of the people, then* signing himselfe with the signe of the Crosse vpon the forehead and breast, and inuocating the name of Christ, hee challenged the Crown and Realm of England, with all the members and appurtenances. His words are said to be these.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Henry of Lancaster, claime the Realme of England, and the Crowne, with all the appurtenances, as comming by the blood royall from King Henry, and by that iustice which God of his grace hath sent to me, by the helpe of my kinsfolke and friends, for recovery of the said Realme, which was in point of perdition, through default of Gouernment and breach of lawes.

(115) Which challenge and claime being thus made, all the States of the Kingdome doe with one consent grant, that the said Lord Duke should reigne ouer them. The Archbishop of Canterbury (brother to the late Earle of Arundel) takes him then by the right hand, and the Archbishop of *Yorke* (the late Earle of *Wiltshires* kinsman) being his assisstant, placeth him in the royall throne, with the generall acclamation and applauses of the people. Lastly, in full complement of the present solemnity, the Archbishoppe of Canterbury (that we may see how the Diuinity as well as the Law of those times were degenerated into temporizing *Policeie*) made a Sermon vpon these words in *Samuel*, A Man shall raigne ouer the People. By occasion whereof* hee described out of the holy Scriptures, the happinesse of that Kingdome which is gouerned by a man, and the infelicity of those Reaines where a Child (whether in age or discretion) weeldes the Scepter. The euill whereof as they had dangerously felt vnder the late King, so they hoped abundantly to enioy the other in King Henry. To all which the whole Auditorie ioyously answered Amen. Then rose the affable new Monarch, & among a few other words, hee gaue the world to vnderstand, that none should thinke hee would as by way of Conquest, dishonour any man, certaine bad members onely excepted.

(116) From henceforth hee was taken for King, and all Writs issued, and went forth in his name; which disorderly matters being orderly related to the deposed Prince in the Tower, by *Thyrning* the Chief Iustice, hee onely vsed these wordes; *I hat hee looked not after such things, but (quoth he) my hope is, that (after all this) my Cousen will bee my good Lord and friend.* The Archbishop (otherwhile inexcusable in those proceedings) yet in his said Sermon seemeth grauely

*Trod. Newf.

*Trod. Newf.

*Trod. Newf.

*Fab. 2. Concord.
Hij. 6. lib. 2.
ex Fab.A necessary pro-
testation.

gracely and truly to haue described the cause of this effect: for (quoth hee) *the child or insipient* (which are with him equiparable) *drinke the sweet and delicious words vnadvisedly, and perceiue not intoxication, which they beeing mingled with, till hee be enuironed and wrapped in all danger, as lately the experience thereof hath bene apparant to all our fights and knowledges, and not without the great danger of all this Realme.* Being thus brought downe to the show, and little-ness of a priuate man, we leaue him to draw his comfort out of holy meditations, as one whose violent death ensued before long, and turne ouer to his politike and martiall Successor.

(117) Yet in our way, wee may not quite out-
passe a cursory consideration of the affaires of the Church vnder this King, which, for auoiding often interruptions of other argument, we haue put off to this last place. For albeit the Kingdome indured great crosses in the affaires of State, yet * some haue thought, that it found as great blessings in matters of religion, which in those daies tooke so deepe root in this our land, by the preaching of *John Wicliffe*, that the branches thereof did spread themselves euery ouer the Seas: Nor were the common people only allured with his doctrine, (though the * *Londoners* fauouring of him is thought by *Walsingham* to haue deterred the Prelates from proceeding against him, and a scholler of his in *Leicester-shire*, is said to haue drawn by his preaching, * *all the Laymen in that Countrey*) but (as the same Authour reporteth) sundrie of the *Fryars* themselves fell to him and embraced his opinions, amongst whom one * being also the *Popes* Chap-*laine*, so discovered by preaching the murders, luxuries and treasons of *Fryars* of his owne *Habit*, that the common people were astounded with the horror thereof, and cried out to haue them all utterly destroyed; which his accusations he particularly iustified by publike writing, professing he came forth of that Order, as out of the *Diuels nest*. But that which *Walsingham* much more * admires, is, that *Wicliffes* opinions were not onlie enterained in ordinary Cities, but euen in the *Vniuersity of Oxford* it selfe, where was * the very top of wisdom and learning: and where not only two Chan-*cancellors* successiuelly, * *Doctor Nicholas Hereford*, and * *Robert Ruge* were most earnest maintainers of *Wicliffes* doctrine, but also, when the pope (to sup-*press the same doctrine*) sent his * *Bull to the Vniuersity* threatening the priuation of all their priuileges, the *Pro-*ctors* and Regents thereof were very doubtfull, whether they should receive the *Popes Bull* with honour, or rather reiect it with open disgrace. Yea, the whole body of that glorious *Vniuersitie* (as the Pope there calls it in his Bull) gaue a glorious * *Testimony* (vnder their publike seale) of *Wicliffes* religious life, profound learning, orthodox opinions, exquisite writings, all farthest from any stain of heresie.*

(118) And therefore no maruile, if not onely the Duke of *Lancaster*, with sundry Peeres and great ones, but King *Edward* 3. himselfe, were (as *Capgrave* testifieth) a fauourer of him, and * *King Richard* 3. and the whole *Parliament* did (according to his instructions) much labour to abrogate the *Popes* Transcen-*dent power*, which was a principall cause of the *Popes* hatred against him. Notwithstanding to dis-*countenance the truth* which he taught, in defence of *Regall Supremacy* against *Papall* usurpation, (as also against the *Mass*, *Transubstantiation*, *Admiral*; against *Adoration of the Host*, of *Saints*, *Images*, and *Reliques*; against *Fryarly Orders*, *Pilgrimages*, *Indulgences*;) many lewd opinions by misconstruction (as his bookes * yet extant, cuince) are fathered on him, yea some so monstrous and diabolical (as, * that *Men* ought, yea, * that *God* himselfe ought, to obay the *Diuel*) that that any man which heareth them, will presently be-*lieue* (without further perswasion) that they are but malicious figments. This famous Doctor * dying of a palsey, hath this charitable *Enloge* or *Epitaph* be-*stowed on him* by a * *Monke*, *The Diuels Instrument*, *Churches Enemy*, *Peoples Confusion*, *Heretikes Idole*, *Hy-*pocrites mirrour*, *Schismes broncher*, *hatreds sower*, *lies forger*, *Flatteries sincke*; who, at his death dispaired like *Cain*, and stricken by the horrible iudgement of *God*: *brea-*thed forth his wicked soule to the darke mansion* * of the blacke *diuel*: Whereby, *Gods* best children may learne, not to regard, whiles they liue, the malice of the wicked, nor to respect after their death ought else but their slanderous rancor. And thus we con-*clude the raigne*, though not the life of King *Richard*:**

His first wife.

(119) The first wife of King *Richard* the second, was *Anne*, daughter vnto the Emperour *Charles* the fourth, and sister to *Venceslaus* Emperour, and King of *Bohemia*, who was crowned Queene the 22. of I-*anuary* 1384. Hauing bene tenne yeeres his wife shee dyed, without any issue, at *Sheen* in the Coun-*ty of Surrey*, 1394. whence her body was conueyed and buried at *Westminster*, the seuenth of the Ides of Iune.

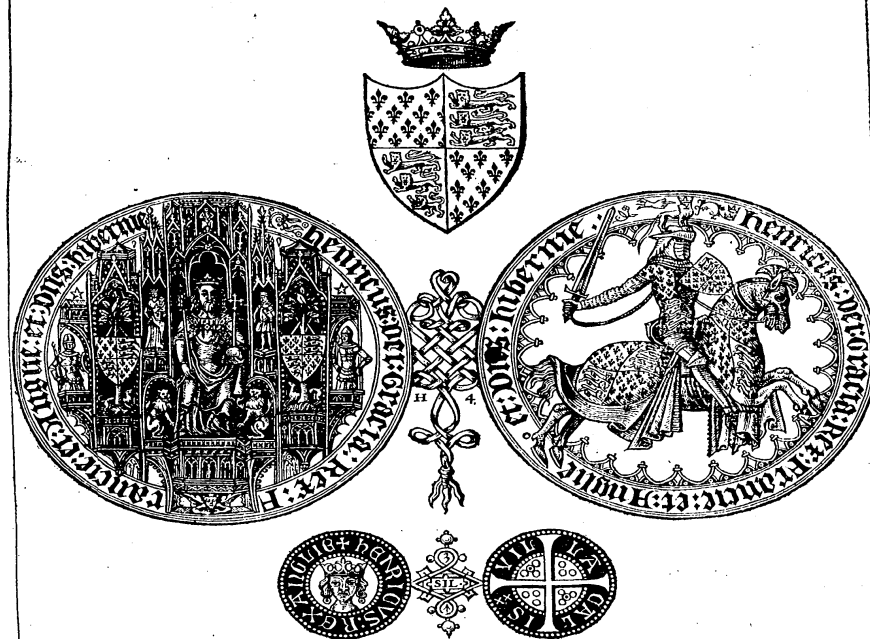
His second Wife.

(120) *Isabell*, daughter vnto *Charles* the sixth, King of *France*, was a virgin about seuen yeeres of age, when shee was affianced vnto King *Richard*, 1396. Neither had her husband (it seemeth) anie nuptiall fruition of her, by reason of her tender age, before such time as his traiterous Lords, (to com-*pass their owne disloyall purposes*, and gratifie an *usurpers* ambition) had dethroned him. What be-*came of this young Ladie*, we shall further see in the ensuing storie.



HENRIE THE FOVRTH. KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE ONE MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.

Monarch 51



CHAPTER XIIII.



ENRIE of that name the fourth, hauing thus obtained the title of king, in full accomplishment of all rites peculiar to Maie-*ty*, had the Crowne of *England* set vpon his head, with all worldly magnifi-*cence* and honour at *West-*minster**, by *Thomas* *Arun-*del** Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, vpon the * selfe day twelue moneth, in which hee had formerly bene banished vnder *Richard* the second. Power and fa-*uour* can set up and maintaine a King, though they can-*not create* aright: But such transcendent courtes de-*uatiating* from all due regulation of iustice, haue been too frequent in this Kingdome. What right had *William* surnamed the Conquerour? what right, (we speake of a right of Equity,) had his sonnes *William* the second, and *Henry* the first, while their elder brother liued? what right had that valiant and

princely *Stephen*? what was the interest of *Henry* the second, during the life of his mother *Matilda*? or that of King *John*, till his Nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Britaine* died? yea, or that of *Henry* the third, till *Arthurs* sister died in her prison at *Bristol*? Howbe-*it*, in this present case, not only *Richard* the late king, but the house of *Mortimer*, claiming from the on-*ly* daughter and heire of *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence* (an elder brother of *John* D. of *Lancaster*) doubly might haue withstood the legall challenge of this Prince? That obstacle which grew by *Richard*, was in appa-*rance* great, but the other was onely dangerous. *Richard* had no issue but the line of *Mortimer* (en-*grafted* by marriage into the house of *Yorke*) feeling it selfe vnable to preuaile, and during *Richards* life time, hauing no right, secretly fostered in it selfe those fires, which afterward brake forth, and taking hold of the roofo-tops of both the royall houses, ne-*uer* left burning, till no one principall timber was vnconsumed in either, all the Male-Issues which could claime by a direct line, vterlic leapt downe

thousand friends at *Pomfret*; they proceed to *Wallingford*, then to *Abingdon*, and so to *Cirester*. The rumors vied by them to encrease their numbers were; that *Henry of Lancaster* (meaning the King) was fled with his *sonnes and friends* to the Tower of London, and that King *Richard* was escaped. *Maudenall*, one of *Richards* Chaplains, took upon him the person of his said Lord, the more strongly to seduce the multitude, by so bold and perilous a fiction. Thus seemed they to fit their words and fute their Arts to the place. At *Sunning*, *Richard* (they said) was at *Pomfret*, for there the guile had beene transparent; but at *Cirester*, *Richard* was not at *Pomfret*, but present.

(17) Howbeit the successe was not answerable to the deute; for, besides that King *Henry* was in the heart of his strengths at London, where sixe thousand men were put into areadines, and would come upon them like a storme, the Townesmen of *Cirester* assailed the Lords, tooke them, and (because their Town was fired of purpose by some of their followers, the better to recover them while the quenching found the people employment, shaled them forth, and without longer tarrance secured their heads from their bodies: The Earle of *Huntington*, with a trustie Knight of his, *Sir John Shewe*, hauing (after the faile at *Windfore*) in vaine attempted to escape by Sea, was taken by the Commons at *Pitvel* (perhaps *Pittlevell*) in *Essex*, brought first to *Chelmsford*, and lastlie to *Plesbie*, the house of the late Duke of *Glocester* (whose Ghost a tragical Poet would suppose did haunt his persecutors for reuenge, where, partlie also by this Earles infatigation, the said *Glocester* was first arrested. The Commons (out of whose hearts the image of that Duke was not vanished) at the Countesse of *Hereford* infatigation who was the Dukes widow, tooke satisfaction vpon the Earle, with the echeate of his head, which there was funded from his shoulders. The Lord *Spencer* called Earle of *Glocester* (one of the Conspirators) had like execution done vpon him by the Commons at *Bristol*. Some other of them were put to death at *Oxford*, and some at London; where *John Mauden* (the Counterfeit *Richard*, who as it seemes was a beautiful and goodlie person) and one *William Ferby* were drawne, hanged and headed. The Bishop of *Carleol* neuertheless was by the Kings clemencie preferred aliae after the condemnatory sentence. There were nineteen in all (whereof two had bene Dukes) put to death for this conspiracy, most of which were men of speciall note.

(18) The designes and misfortunes of King *Richards* friends being made known vnto him, could not but worke strongly in a foule opprest with griefe; but whether to strongly as to make him resolute by voluntary abstinence to starue himselfe (as the fame went) may be doubted, though it be past doubt that King *Henry* was not forrie hee was dead howsoever. That he was starued seemes verie plaine; though, as it is not certaine, (neither yet vnlikely) that King *Henry* was priuie to so foule a parricide, so neither is it knowne, but that *Richard* might as well be starued of purpose, as starue himselfe. Master *Stow* (a man for honest industry very praiseworthy) saith that King *Richard* was fiftene daies and nights together kept in hunger, thirst, and cold, till hee died. How true that was in the circumstance, who knows? but in the point of staruing hee is clearely with *Walsingham*: and a Knight liuing about those times calleth it a death neuer before that time knowne in England. *Harding* also, liuing vnder King *Edward* the fourth, agrees of the rumour of staruing. Master *Camden* saith of *Pomfret* Castle, that it is a place principall cede of sanguine infamie, but seemes to insinuate, that some other torments were most wickedly practised vpon this King, as made out of the way with hunger, cold, and vntoward of torments. *Polydore* therefore may in this be beleued, who writes of this poore depoued Monarke, that, (which may well

be called vntoward of torments) his diet being serued in, and set before him in the wonted Princely manner, he was not suffered either to taste, or touch thereof. Idle therefore seemes * his dreame, who writes hee was murdered in the Tower, and not more credible * theirs, who tell vs of *Sir Peirs of Exton* assaule, and the murder basely by him acted vpon this most miserable Princes person: but much more are * they to blame who negligently for credit of the fable quote *Walsingham*, in whom no syllable of such a thing is found. Onely * *Hector Boetius* will vs to believe that *Richard* fled disguised into Scotland, was discovered to King *Robert*, and honourably entertained, but *Richard* who would no more of the world, gaue himselfe wholly to contemplation, and both liued, died, and was buried at *Strineling*. Which fond fable hath neuertheless somewhat in it, for that some personated *Richard* might so doe is neither impossible, nor improbable, and indeed it was so.

(19) The late King *Richard* thus cruelly and heinouly murdered (for in regard of pining death the seeming fable of his fight with *Sir Peirs of Exton* was a sport, it being both noble and full of comfort, for a man of honour and courage to die with weapon in hand) King *Henry* causeth his dead body to be brought vp to London. O *Henry*, if thou wert Author, or but priuie, (though for thine owne pretended safetie, and for that errors cause which is lewdly mis-called reason of state) of such a murder; we doe not see, how the shewing of the people his vncovered face in *Pauls*, did either conceale or extenuate the execrable crime. But to let the world know that there was no hope nor place for a *Richard*, that course was vied, which may the rather confirme the truth of his enfamishment: for a violent death by braining could not but deforme him too much: and it is most probable that such a death would be fought, as might least appeare. Surely he is not a man, who at the report of so exquisite a barbarisme, as *Richards* enfamishment, feels not chilling horror and detestation; what if but for a iustly condemned galley-slave so dying? but how for an anointed King, whose Character (like that of holy Orders) is indeleble? The tragical spectacle of his dead body (perhaps because it moued too much both pittie and enuie) was after a while transported without honor to *Langley* in *Hartfordshire*, where the last rites were performed by the Bishop of *Chester*, the Abbots of *S. Alban* and *Waltham*, but neither King *Henry* present, (as at the exequies in London) and the great Lords and such other as were had * not so much as a funerall feast bestowed on them for their labour. But *Henry* the fifth, in the first * yeere of his raigne with great honour did afterward cause those royall remaines to be interred in the Sepulture of his Ancestors at *Westminster*. Among the riming Latine verses of his Epitaph, ye may maruell to reade these, considering vpon what points he was tried out of Maiestie and State;

*Ecclesiam suauit elatos suppeditauit,
Quemuis prostravit, regalia qui violauit.*

Fabians English of them.

*The Church he sauoured, casting the proud to ground,
And all that would his roiall State confound.*

The said Author therefore *Robert Fabian*, obseruing the scope of those lines (to dampe their force) doth vnderwrite and annex this Stanza, with much greater discretion then elegancie:

*But yet alas, though that this meeter or rime,
Thus doth embellish this noble Princes fame,
And that some Clerke which sauoured him sometime,
List by his cunning thus to enhance his name,
Yet by his Story appeareth in him some blame:
Wherefore to Princes is surest memory,
Their liues to exercise in vertuous constancie.*

More

More tart and seuer is the censure of *Gower* vpon this Prince, one of whose verses * *Stow* giues vs thus,

So God doth hate such rulers as here viciously do liue.

That beautiful picture of a King fighting, crowned in a chaire of estate, at the vpper end of the Quier in *Saint Peters* at *Westminster*, is said to be of him, which witnesseth how goodly a creature he was in outward lineaments.

(20) King *Henry* to diuert the humors and eyes of the people from the remembrance of this Tragedie, prepareth now a puillance, therewith to invade Scotland; some subiects whereof, together with their Admirall *Sir Robert Logon* a Scottish Knight, were taken at Sea by certaine English ships. But *K. Henry* may seeme to haue done any thing rather, then to haue made a warre; for albeit hee did some hurt by * waiting the Country, yet did not the Scots offer battel, and the rest will we appear in these words of * *Boetius*. He did small iniuries to the people thereof: for he desired nought but his banner to be erected on their walls. He was ever a pleasant enemy, and did great humanity to the people in all places of Scotland where he was lodged. Finally, hee shewed to the Lords of Scotland, that hee came into their Realme rather by counsell of his Nobles, then for any hatred he bare to Scots. Soone after hee returned into England. Whether the remembrance of the curtesies shewed to his Father Duke *John*, or the feare of his owne great state so neere to an ouerthrow by the late furious conspiracy, wrought these gentle effects, it was not long before the euent shewed, that his prouidence in not creating new acerbities was therein needfull.

(21) For albeit the face of England seemed smooth, yet God thrust a thorne into King *Henries* side, when and where hee little expected; for the *Welsh*, whom former Kings of England had so yoked, and subiected, did contrary to all mens expectation, breake forth into open acts of hostility, vnder the conduct of a Gentleman of that Nation surnamed *Glendowr*, of the Lordship of *Glendowr* in *Merionethshire*, whose owner he was; the wrath and iustice of heauen is alwayes so well furnished with meanes to exercise the mightiest, those chiefly at whose amendment God aims by chastisement. The original of so great an euill was in the seed but little, as * but this: *Owen Glendowr*, * whom the *Welsh* call the sonne of *Gruffith ap Iechan*, descended of a yonger son of *Gruffith ap Iechan*, Lord of *Bromfield*, was at first a Student of the common laws, and an *Vtter Barister*, (but not therefore an apprentice of law, as Doctor *Powell* mistakes, for an apprentice of the law, is hee that hath beene a double Reader) did afterward serue the late King *Richard* in place of an Esquier, & was well beloued of him, but in King *Henries* time (retiring himselfe as it seemes to his Mannour of *Glendowr*, the L. *Gray* of *Ruthen* entred vpon a peece of common, which lay betwene *Ruthen* and *Glendowr*, which *Owen* (despite the Lord *Gray* while *Richard* continued King) had formerly holden, though not without contention. *Owen* (a man of high courage, and impatient of force) armes hereupon, and encounters the Lord *Gray* in the field, where he scattered the said Lords people, and tooke him prisoner, as hereafter will eue where be touched.

(22) It seemes herein that hee had forgotten the lawes which hee had formerly studied, and wherein hee had beene a licentiate; for shortly after as hee had troden law vnder foot, so did hee also cast off loyalty, burning & destroying the Lord *Grays* inheritances, and killing sundry his seruants. The King aduertised hereof, passed with an Army into *Wales*, burnes, kils, and takes such reuenge as that time would permit. Meanewhile, *Owen* (whom pride & folly arroued to the farther ruine of his Country) with his trustiest friends (which were not few) withdrawes into the inextinguishable fastnesses of *Snowdon*, where during this tempest, he kept his head safe. Shortly

after the King with such riches and spoiles as those Parts had afforded, returns, His next most noted action was peaceable. For one of the house of *Falke-lagus*, and Emperour of *Constantinople*, came into England to pray some succour against the Turke, and vpon the day of *S. Thomas* the Apostle, was met at *Blackheath* by King *Henry*, highly feasted, richly presented, and his charges borne till departure. But as *Tillem* * saith of his successe in France, *verbis ob promissu tantum adiutus est*, so here his speed was not much better, the point of armed aides, being only therein assited with words and promises.

(23) In a Parliament held the next yeere, * by reason of the numbers of *Lolards*, (so called) encreasing, the punishment for them enacted, was burning. And in the same yeere also, the Articles of peace being first agreed vpon betwene the two Nations, *English* and *French* (notwithstanding that they had denied to match with the young Prince of *Wales*, * because the former marriage with *Richard* thrived so badly) the Lady *Isabel* who had bene crowned Queene of England, as Spouse of the late King, was now sent backe into France after a most princely manner, being not as yet * twelue yeeres old, had * no dowrie allowed her in England, for that the marriage was neuer consummated. Before shee was restored to her friends, the Lord *Henry Percy*, before the Ambassadors of both the Nations, where they were met betwene *Caleis* and *Boulogne*, protested, That the King of England his Master had sent her to be delivered to her Father cleare of all bonds of marriage, or otherwife, and that hee would take it vpon his soule, that shee was found and entire, euen as shee was the same day shee was delivered to King *Richard*, and if any would saye the contrary hee was ready to proue it against him by combat. But the Earle of *Saint Paul* saying, hee beleued it to be true, the Lord *Percie* took her by the hand, and deliuered her vnto the Earle, and then the Commissioners of France deliuered certaine letters of receipt and acquittal. She was afterward married to *Charles Duke of Orleans*.

(24) *Owen Glendowr* persisting in his pride and disobedience made incursions vpon the English, doing them great harme, and returning himselfe without any; but *K. Henries* danger was greater at home; for treason had crept into his most secret Chamber. In his bed there lay hidden a *Galtrop* or *Engine* with three small yron pikes, long, slender and passing sharpe all of them with their points set vprward, but (God so disposing it) the King before hee laid himselfe downe, perceived them, and thereby auoided that hidden mischief, but who was actor therein it doth not appeare.

(25) This appeares that the splendore of his new regality had drawne vp many thicke and poisonous cloudes of enuie and practise, to darken if it were possible the farther brightnesse thereof. Neither was it long before it grew to some extremity. For *Owen Glendowr* vpon the causes before said, waisting the Lord *Reynald Grays* lands, was encountered by him, as presuming that *Owen* and his friends might easily be overcome, but the contrary hapned, for there in fight hee lost very many of his companie, and was himselfe taken Prisoner. This fortune made the swelling mind of *Owen* ourflow in vaine hopes, who compelling the said Lord to marry his daughter, yet obtained hee not his liberty the sooner, but died (say * some) in the power of *Owen*, if perhaps our Author mistake not the Lord *Gray* for *Edmund Lord Mortimer* Earle of *March*, who indeed did marrie so after hee was also ouerthrowne by the said *Owen* with the slaughter of about a thousand principall persons of *Herefordshire*, assembled vnder his conduct, to resist the *Welsh* inuasions, and there also himselfe was by trecherie taken prisoner.

(26) *Walsingham* doth * write, that about this time sundrie conspiracies were discovered in the yolke (as it were) or embrown; the whole hopes whereof rested vpon calumnies, and forgery, for

VVare against
Turks neglected
by the western
Princes.

* Chron. de regib.
Francorum.

An. D. 1401
An. Reg. 2
L. B. Stat. l. 1. c. 6.

* Polyd. V. Reg. l. 1. c. 1.

* T. B. P. P. 1. c. 1.
* Holin. B. Chron.
F. 1. 1. 1.

The forme of
redelivering
Queen Isabel to
the French.

The King in
danger to be
slaine or wound-
ed.

An. 1402;

* Fab. Chron. ad
A. D. 1400.

* In Hen. 4.

* Ex Anonym.
apud Jo. Stow.
Annal.
Holin. B. p. 51.
Polyd. V. Reg. l. 1. c. 1.

* Hall. Chron.

* Shellie, as
others haue it.

* Fab. Conc. Hist.

* Harp. cap. 119.

* Hall. Chron.
Holin. B. p. 516.

* T. B. P. P. 1. c. 1.

The late King
Richard starued
to death.

* Spod. Newt.
* Annal. in l. 4.

* Sir Iohn For-
tune.

* Chron. c. 200.
* In Yorkshire
pag. 567.

* Hist. Angl. 20.
in fin. Rich. 2.

* Polyd. Verg. l. 1.

* Holinsh. p. 520.

The late king Richard though dead, suffers not Henry to rest.

The Wall of Tydd: The Duell appears in Essex.

* Combed in Northumb. p. 675.

* Polyd. Verg. lib. 1.

* Holinsh. p. 16.

by the first they traduced (in libels) *Henries* actions, so to make him hateful, and by the second they divulged that *Richard* was still alive, thereby to raise an head of separation. *Henry* thus galled in his honour, and endangered in the main, resolved to spare none, upon whom the crime or concealment was found. The first of them that fell vnder his iustice, was a Priest of *Ware*, with whom was taken a list, or roll of names which hee had gathered, supposing them such as in regard of benefices received, would live and die for King *Richard*, which vanitie of his created trouble to many, till it appeared that he had therein wronged them, as persons who were vnder ignorant both of the man and matter. Whereupon hee was drawne and hanged. The like fate had *Water Baldoche* Prior of *Lawnd*, who confessed that he had concealed others counsels against the King, though himselfe had acted nothing. A *Frier Minor* also being taken with some other of his Order for like intendments, was asked, what hee would doe if King *Richard* were alive and present? hee confidently answered, that hee would fight for him till death against any who soeuer, which cost him his life, being drawn and hanged in his *Fryars* weeds. Neither did this hard fortune fall onely upon the Clergy, for Sir *Roger Claringdon* Knight, (reputed the base sonne of *Edward*, late Prince of *Wales*) together with an Esquier and servant of his, finished the affection which they bare to the deceased *Richard* by hanging. Not long after eight *Franciscan Fryars*, or *Minorites* were taken, conspired, hanged, and headed for the like causes, which made the King an heavy Lord to that whole Order. It is said that somewhat before this knot was discovered the duell appeared in the habit of a *Minorite* at *Danbury Church* in *Essex*, to the incredible astonishment of the parishioners; for, at the same time there was such a Tempest & thunder with great fireballs of lightning, that the vault of the church brake, and halfe the Chancel was carried away.

(27) But how fouler these out-branches were pared away, the rootes of all the practise lay deeper out of sight, for the *Percies*, *Henry Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Earle of Worcester*, and *Henric Hotspur Lord Percy*, because perhaps they thought they had done wickedly, in helping to set up *Henry*, beganne to imagine that bloody mischief, which afterward was prosecuted. This malice, the late successe of *Owen Glendowr* against the Lord *Mortimer Earle of March*, (taken prisoner, as is said, with no little slaughter of his *Herefordshire* men) did perhaps nourish; for that hee saw an enemy appeare, who was not unlikely to proue an able member of a greater rebellion. Certainly the King hauing in September led an Armie into *Wales* to take reuenge vpon his Rebels was in great danger to haue perished with sodaine stormes and raines, the like whereof none of his people had euer felt or scene, so that after he had done some waits vpon the Country hee returned. The common fame went that *Owen* was a Coniurer, and had raised those hideous tempests by hellish arts; they seemed to excusise, which (whether true or false) did yet impart no little strength to the Welsh faction.

(28) The Kings fortune was happier in the North, where his Lieutenants had two faire victories, the one at *Nisbet*, and the other at *Halidowne-hill*, neere to a village called *Waller*. And although the first was not a small one, yet the other deferred the name of a iust battell and garland. To the Scots, hauing with about ten thousand men (vnder conduct of *Archibald Earle of Douglas*, whom the Scots nick-named *Tyne-man*, because he neuer wanne field, though no sort of true manhood was wanting in his person) made great spoiles in *England* as farre as to *Newcastle*, and were now vpon returne; *Henric Percy Earle of Northumberland*, the noble *Henry Hotspur Lord Percie* his sonne, and *George Earle of Dunbar* (who fled as you haue heard out of *Scotland*) with the forces of the Countries there about, not meaning to let

them to passe in so slight a sort, opposed themselves. The chiefe feat was wrought by the English Archers, who first with their stiffe, clofe, and cruell stormes of arrowes made their enemies footmen breake, and when the noble *Douglas* defended to the charge with his choicest bands, himselfe being in a most rich, and excellently tempered armour, and the rest singularly well appointed, the Lord *Percie* Archers making a retreat, did withall deliuer their deadly arrowes, *tam vnde, tam animose, tam grauitate* (saith our Monke) so liuely, so courageously, so grievously, that they ranne through the men of Armes, boored the helmets, pierced their very words, beate their lances to the earth, and easily flue those who were more slightly armed through and through. There were taken prisoners the Earle of *Douglas* himselfe, (who notwithstanding his armour of the best proote, had fene wounds, and lost an eye.) *Murdake Stewart* Earle of *Fife* (eldest sonne to *Robert Duke of Albanie*), *George Earle of Angus*, the *Earles of Murray and Orkney*, the *Lords Montgomerie, Erskin, and Grane*, with about fourscore Knights, besides Esquiers and Gentlemen. There were slaine the Lords *Gowdon*, and *Smytoun* (belidens *Berius* calls them Knights) with fundrie other men of honour and marke, beside store of common soldiers. Theriuer *Tweed*, to shew it selfe meere English, did likewise fight for them by swallowing about five hundred in his vnknown depths, as they, who fled from the battell, fought to passe. This victory hapned vpon *Halidown* in harvest. The troubles which afterward hapned, did not onely hinder the Lord *Percie* from farther prosecution of such a victory, but eclipsed the honour hee had gotten now, and gaue his dayes a bloody & soole Castrophe.

(29) The Lord *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March* next general heire in blood to the Crowne of *England* after the death of *Richard* the second, hauing through feare of *Owen* (whose prisoner hee was) or hope of recouering his right, or for reuenge (because the King did not ransom him, married *Owens* daughter, by which hee must necessarily declare him selfe an enemy to King *Henric*), entertained intelligence with his neere kinsmen the *Percies*, and sundry other his friends in *Cheshire*, and elsewhere, to what purpose will shortly appeare. The night in which this Lord *Mortimer* (though some referre it to *Owens* birth) was born, all the horses in his fathers stable, are said to haue bin found standing belly-deep in blood. A fearefull prodigie, as euen then it seemed, but verified afterward in the farre more fearefull euents, when (vpon the quarrell of *Mortimers* title, by which the house of *York* claimed,) the horses of warre did not onely stand belly-deepe in blood, but also swam therein. The mischief was already begun: for *Henry Earle of Northumberland* (when now his owne and his houses strengths were mightily encreased by this late victory against the *Scots*, which he vnder-hand seemed to haue conuerted to his secret priuate ends,) closely animated his brother the Earle of *Worcester*, and his fiery spirited son, against the King, to both their confusions.

(30) The King tooke to wife the Lady *Jane of Nauarre*, widow of *John de Montfort* Duke of *Brittaine* named the Conquerour (*who died the yeere before) by whom she had issue both sons and daughters, but by the King none. He met, and married her at *Winchester*, and crowned her Queene at *Westminster*. The King was not trusted with the custody of any her three sonnes, *John*, *Richard* & *Arthur*, who remained in *France*.

(31) Euents are the best interpreters of prophesies and prodigies. Strange was that which *Walsingham* hath written of a tall *Spectrum* or Apparition in the summer time betwene *Bedford* and *Bickleswade*, where sundry monstres of diuers colours, in the shapes of armed men were often scene to issue out of the woods at morning and at noones, which to such as stood farre off seemed to encounter one

one the other in most terrible manner, but when they drew neere, nothing was to be found. Of another nature were the fiery attempts of the *Percies*. The first of them who discovered in armes his mortal hatred, was the noble *Hotspur*, who (vnder colour of the Scottish warre) made head about *Chester* and the marches of *Wales*. To him (by the priuie of *Hotspur* father,) repaires the naughtie old man the Earle of *Worcester*, leaving the young Prince of *Wales* and the Princes household, ouerboth which (for their better Government) the King had placed him. Better was the torch of warre lighted vpon, and began to blaze, for though the chiefe plot-master the Earle of *Northumberland* was not ioined to them, as hee did intend, yet were their numbers growne mightily, with which they meant to enter the Towne of *Shrewsbury*, to make thereof a Seat of warre.

(32) Colourable causes of their armes were the ordinarie paintings of the like attempts. Care of common-wealths reformation, and their owne fancies; for hauing first protested their intentions not to be the breach of loyalty, they pretend and by letters sent about, doe signifie. 1. That the publick monie was not employed vpon the pretended defence of the kingdom, but vnduly wasted. 2. That by reason of bad tongues about the King they durst not approach him, to declare their innocency, vnlesse the Prelates and Peeres of the Realme did first intercede for them. 3. That they tooke armes onely to guard their owne heads, and to see the Kingdom better gouerned. These Articles had the place of the Huske, but the kernell of the enterprise had principallie these. 1. To thrust King *Henry* out of his seat, and consequently to deprive him of life. 2. To advance the title of the Lord *Mortimer* Earle of *March* their nextest Alie: for the Earle of *Northumberland* had married *Elizabeth* the daughter of the Lord *Edmund Mortimer* the elder, Earle of *March*, by *Philip* daughter to *Lionel Duke of Clarence*. 3. To take reuenge of King *Henry*, for seeking to drawe the chiefe benefit to himselfe of the victory at *Halidowne hill*, whose principall prisoners he required, and for such other priuate grudges. 4. To share the Kingdom betwene *Mortimer*, *Percie* and *Owen Glendower*. Concerning which partition it is in some found written, that Indentures tripartite were sealed, showing that *South-England* should remaine to *Mortimer*, *North-England* to *Percie*, and *Wales* beyond *Seuern* to *Glendower*. But *Archibald Earle of Douglas* (who did his Country good seruice by making one in our Combustions,) by common consent was allowed for his share to be free from ranlome, and to haue *Berwick*.

(33) This (in our English Adages) is called to reckon without our host, or to count our chickens before they are hatched. But though at this time God would haue it so, yet who doth not easily see what a wild horse a kingdom (so gotten) is, and how hard to fet, and not to manage onlie? Yet it seemed, that if *Mortimer*, hauing to iust a title to the Crowne, had openlie professed the cause of his attempt against King *Henry*, it might iustlie haue beene exempted from all stain of disability. But this partition is *said to haue beene wisely built vpon a found Welsh prophesie of *Merlins*: as if King *Henry* were the *Awildwarpe* cursed of Gods owne mouth, and *Mortimer*, *Percie* and *Glendower* the *Dragon*, *Lyon*, and *Wolfe*, which should diuide this Realme betwene them. Surely the Welsh hauing any hand in such a partition, it is not likelie they could thinke it had the right seete, if it stood not vpon the supposed *Merlins* his ridiculous cofenages and riddles. The English (not to be behind in leaings,) doe in the meane time euery where spread that *Richard* was safe alive and in the Castle of *Chester*. Who can wonder that this name should be so grating, as if alone it were enough to haue shaken *Henry* out of his State? when *Nero* himselfe had so many favorites, that twenty yeeres after his death an obscure fellow faining himselfe

Nero, was so backt and countenanced by the *Parthians*, and others, * that not without much difficulty the *Romans* could get him into their hands.

(34) On the other side King *Henry* assailed with so vnexpected ieopardies, defends his cause by letters, and strongly puts the blame vpon the accusers, laying, *That hee marvelled exceedingly, seeing the Earle of Northumberland, and Henry his Sonne had the greatest part of the publick monies delivered to them, for defence of the borders against Scotland, why they should make that a quarrell, which was a meere calumnie*. And to take away all pretence of feare from the Conspirators, hee sends to the Earles of *Northumberland* and *Worcester*, and to the hot Lord *Percie*, a safe conduct vnder his roiall Seale, by which he secures their access, but vnbridled rashnesse (saith *Walsingham*) despising the roiall clemencie, did put on the rigour of rebellion. Meane while the King armes with all speed against the enemy, the rather at the counsell of *George Earle of Dunbar*, who (like a valiant man at Armes, and a wise friend) aduised him so to doe, before their aduersaries numbers were too mightily augmented. The King with his sonne the young Prince of *Wales*, and a very noble fellowship, was now aduanced within sight of *Shrewsbury*, as the gallant *Percie* stood ready to assault the Towne. But so soone as the roiall Standard was discovered, that enterprise was left off, and he drew out his people (being about foureteen thousand choice and hardie bodies of men) to try the fortune of war against a well tride warior.

(35) Peace notwithstanding (by the exceeding tenderness of the King) had ensued, but that the milcheccuous Earle of *Worcester*, by misreporting and falsifying his Soueraignes words, did precipitate his Nephew into sudden battell. If there were any praise or good example to bee drawne out of so detected bloodshed, as that of ciuill warre, we would willingly describe vnto you the order and actions, but we cannot too soone passe ouer such mournfull obiects, which are rather to be celebrated with teares then triumphes. There is no doubt but *Percie*, *Douglas*, and the rest fought terrible. Why should we admire that in them? So doe *Lyons*, *Tygers*, & *Bears*, and yet wee admire them not. Where was dutie, where conscience, where the other respects, of which onely we are called men? Let none of vs honour, or imitate them, in whose eyes the price of English blood is so vile, as that (for priuate families) they can be content to confound all regards, and make sport for common foes, with mutual massacres. Therefore wee will content our selues with the knowledge of Gods part in this daies worke, who gaue the garland to the King, though the first arrowes flew from the *Percies* Archers.

(36) The Kings courage was not small in the fight as neither was the danger, the young Prince of *Wales* also (being then first to enter himselfe into the schoole of blood and battell,) gaue no small hopes of that perfection which afterward shone in him, being wounded with an arrow in the face. The Lord *Percy* and Earle *Douglas* (then * whom the wide world had not two brauer Champions) in feed of spending themselves vpon the multitude, set the point of their hopes vpon killing the King, as in whose person they were sure ten thousand fell. For this cause they most furiously rushed forward with speares and swords; but the noble Earle of *Dunbarre*, discouraging their purpose, drew the King from the place which he had chosen to make good, and thereby in likelihood for that present saued his life, for the Standard royall was ouerthrowne, and (among other valiant men) the * Earle of *Stafford*, Sir *Walter Blunt*, the *Kinges* Knight and the Standard-bearer himselfe was slaine, such was the fury of these sodaine thunderbolts. That day the *Douglas* flew with his owne hands three in the *Kings* Coat-armour, (perhaps some in *Heralds* Coats) though * *Beetius* yet saw a fourth. Sure it is, that manie of the subjects thought the King was slaine, and not a few * ranne out

* Suet. in Ner. lib. 6. cap. 16.

Thomas Percie Earle of Worcester cause of the battell at Shrewsbury.

The terrible battell at Shrewsbury.

* Thomas Walsingham Hotspure and Douglas onely seeked to encounter the Kinges person.

* The Walsingham.

* lib. 1. 6. * Many thousands together saith Walsingham.

out of the field. Who notwithstanding, like a valiant Prince, did reinforce the fight, performing marvellous in arms with his own hands. The slaughter could not be small on both sides, the Archers shooting so continually, and the men of arms doing their utmost for about the space of three whole hours.

(37) That which gave an end to this wofull worke was the death of *Hofpur*, who riding in the head of the battell in defiance of danger and death, was (by an unknown hand) suddenly killed, with whose fall (as if his whole army had had but one heart) the courages of all others fell into feete, which now altogether they trusted to. But the King abhorring to make farther execution of the misguided multitude, suffered them to shift for themselves. The Earles of *Worcester* and *Douglas*, *Sir Richard Vernon*, the Baron of *Kindallston*, and diuers others were taken. Of the Kings side was slain (besides the Earle of *Stafford*) ten new Knights, whose names (as dying in an honest cause) deserve immortality, and were *Sir Hugh Shorly*, *Sir John Clifton*, *Sir John Cokain*, *Sir Nicholas Gausell*, *Sir Walter Blunt*, *Sir John Caluery*, *Sir John Mafie*, *Sir Hugh Mortimer*, *Sir Robert Gausell*, and *Sir Thomas Wendesley*, who dyed of his hurts not long after, as most of the other did about the Standard, all which fighting for their spurs, (as being knighted but that morning) bought them with the honourable losse of their whole bodies; there were also slain many Eſquires, & Gentlemen, and about one thousand and five hundred common ſouldiers, besides three thousand forely wounded. On the other part, (omitting that second *Mars*, the Lord *Percy* (who drew a ruine after him ſutable to his Spirit and greatneſſe) there fell most of all the Eſquires and Gentlemen of *Cheshire*, to the number of two hundred, and about five thousand common ſouldiers. This battell was ſtricken neere to *Shrewsbury* vpon a Saturday, the one and twentieth of *Iuly*, and the *Eue* of *Saint Marie Magdalen*.

(38) The Earle of *Worcester* (the seducer and destroyer of his noble Nephew *Hofpur*, and therefore if but for that, very worthy to haue dyed) *Sir Richard Vernon* Knight, and the Baron of *Kinderton* had their heads cut off vpon the Monday following. *Hofpur*'s body had beene buried by permission, but vpon other aduise, the King caused it to be drawne out of the graue, beheaded, quartered, and the parts sent into diuers Cities of the Kingdome. The Earle of *Northumberland* (pretending to come with forces to the Kings aide) was emperched by the Earle of *Westmorland*, and *Robert Waterton* who had raised a great host. *Northumberland* taking neither of them for friend, wheeles about, and returns to his Castle of *Warkworth*. But what can be ſecure to a ſubiect againſt the victorious armie of a martiall King? The Earle knew as much, manifeſtly feeling the irreconcilable maines of his houſe in the losse of his ſonne and brother, and therefore ſhaped his courſe accordingly. The King therefore being altogether as prudent as fortunate, hauing ſeized the ſtate of things in the Marches about *Shrewsbury*, ſets forward to the City of *York*, from thence to take order for ſuch perils, as he ſoreſaw might happen. He ſeized himſelfe the more ſeriuſſie and entrie to this needfull worke; for that his Ambaſſadors had effected an abſtinenſe from ware with *France*, till the firſt of *March*, which paſſing ſpace though it might ſeeme little, was not a little welcome to the King, the Realme of *England* being then ſo full of dangerous perturbations. While hee was at *York*, he commands the Earle of *Northumberland* to come thither in perſon, which he accorded did vpon the morrow after the day of *Saint Laurence*, and that alſo with a ſmall traine in the nature of an humble ſutor. He could not in reaſon hope for the wonted familiar fauour of the King, neither had he yet, for it was accounted matter of grace, that his life was pardoned, though his meanes and liberty was abridged, the King allowing only neceſſary maintenances. The

life of Princes is like a perpetuall motion. The Northerne Countreys are now ſorled, but hath the King therefore any the more reſt? Nothing leſſe; for *Wales* & the troubles thereof call him thither. What ſhould he doe? Money the Cement and ſoldure of all ſuch actions, (for Armies cannot otherwiſe be held together) vtterly failes. The Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* fees the needs and viſes of his Soueraigne, and like a father ſupplies him with a Tenth, which the Clergy at their Metropolitans motion, conſent to giue: vpon the ſtrength whereof, the King knows how farre hee may proceed againſt the *Welſh* in his good time.

(39) Toward the reliefe of theſe his neceſſities, the valiant exploits of *William de Wilford* an Eſquire, who was in the meane time abroad for the King vpon the narrow Seas, brought ſome aſſiſtance, certainly ſore of contentation; for heooke forty lawfull prizes laden with yron, oyle, ſope and Rochell wine, to the number in all of a thouſand tunne vpon the Coaſtes of *Britaine*, and in his returne ſet forth ſaile on fire, and to make the *Britains* know that hee was not only a man of his hands at Sea, he comes on ſhore at *Penarh*, burnes Townes and houſes about ſixe leagues into the Countrey, and afterward did as much for them at the Towne of *Saint Mathewes*, which he conſumed with flames and waſted the land for three miles about. The French not to ſeeme ſlow to like miſchiefs, land at the *Wight*, but were compelled with loſſe to betake themſelues againe vnto their Fleet, with farre worſe ſucceſſe than the *Britons* vnder the conduct of the Lord of *Caſtell* had not long before, who landing at *Plimmouth* invaded, tooke and burnt it.

(40) The King hauing humbled the Earle of *Northumberland* in ſuch ſort as you heard, looks againe vpon him with an eye of compaſion and fauour, not without a ſecret reſpect to his owne ſafety; and he had little appetite to augment enmities, but to allay them rather, whereas by this gracious vſage of that Earle, (for he reſtored him fully to all) he now thinks thoſe North parts ſufficiently ſecured. This reſtitution was made to the Earle in the Parliament holden at *London* about the midſt of *Ianuary*, where the King obtained an vnſuall Taxe or Subſidy, of which (that it might not be drawne into example) no record, nor writing was ſuffered to remaine. Some part of the gold which the king thus drew into the Eſchequer, he had occaſion to beſtow at this time. For, there preſented themſelues vnto him, a boiſterous troupe of plaine *Welſh-men*, who brought to the kings view three Lords, and twenty knights of note; Theſe were priſoners, whom the Countrey people about *Dartmouth* in *Deuonſhire* had gotten in plaine fight. The king was therefore giuen to vnderſtand, that the Lord of *Caſtel* the *Briton*, who had formerly burnt *Plimmouth*, thinking to doe the like at *Dartmouth*, came on ſhore with his forces, where theſe and the like people ſiercely encountered him; at which time their *women* (like *Amazons*) by hurling of ſtints and pebles, and by ſuch other artillery, did greatly aduance their huſbands and kinſefolkes victory. The Lord of *Caſtel* himſelfe and many beſides were ſlaine, theſe other were ſaued as more of them might haue bene, but that the ignorance of language alike confounded the cries of indignation and pity. They therefore in reward of this hazard and ſeruice, doe pray they might reape ſome commodity by their Captiuities. It was but reaſon; wherefore the King, who tooke pleaſure to talke with the luſty *Welſh-men*, himſelfe cauſeth their purſes to be ſuſt with golden Coyne, reſtoring the priſoners to repay himſelfe with aduantage out of their ranſomes. The like good fortune againſt *Owen Glendower* and the *Welſh* would haue gladdened him indeed; but they burne and deſtroy the Marches, they kill and captiuate the people, and partly by force, partly by fraud, get many Cattle, ſome of which they ſale, and ſome ſell others.

The King ſeeth his victory mercifully.

* Holinſh. p. 553. John Stow names alſo *Sir Nicholas Langford*, and ſaith the two *Gauſell* ſlaine not *Gauſell*, but *Gentils* and brothers.

The great deſtruction of *Cheshire* Gentlemen.

* Auguſt. 10. The Earle of *Northumberland* pardoned of his life.

others. Neither came theſe euils ſingle, for the *Flouings* and *Britons* tooke certaine Merchant ſhips of *England*, and either ſlew or hung the Sailors.

(41) It is more ſtrange that King *Richard* was not ſuffered to be dead; after he had ſo long a time been buried. *Serlo*, who had beene a Gentleman of his Chamber, hauing heard that King *Richard* (his royall and gracious Maſter) was ſecretly abiding in *Scotland*, left the fauour of the French Court to ſee him, but it was not worth his ſo much loue and labour; for hee that bare the name, was but an Inpoſtor. Loath yet to let the opinion die, becauſe it might do King *Henry* harme; *Serlo* affirms that *Richard* was aliue. What cunning madneſſe is ſo great which hath not ſome great fool or other to ſupport it? The old Counteſſe of *Oxford* (mother to the late Duke of *Ireland*) will needs perſwade her ſelfe and others in *Eſſex*, that *Richard* was aliue: certaine it is, that ſhee deſired it might be true. To make others more firmly beleue the ſame, ſhe ſecretly gaue ſiluer and gilt Harts (the badges which King *Richard* vſed to beſtow vpon his followers) as tokens. Hitherto the deuſe held out, for it had no great danger in it; but *Serlo* ſeeing the neceſſity of greater friends, which appeared not, grew weary, and knowing that *Sir William Clifford* knight, Captaine of *Berwick* had receiued ſundry fauours from King *Richard*, hopes by him to be ſupplied with money, to beare his charges out of *Scotland* into *France*. *Clifford* farre otherwiſe minded, ſeizeth vpon *Serlo*, as a fit meane to reconcile himſelf with the King, in whole high diſpleaſure he ſtood, (for that hee had continued his charge in *Berwick* contrary to expreſſe commandement) and carrieth him to the King, who was then come to the Caſtle of *Pimſet*, being weakened with theſe rumors, and ſuſpecting that the chiefe neſt of danger lay in the North; whither the Earle of *Northumberland* brought his grandchildren (as pledges) to aſſure the King of his loyalty: thither alſo *Sir William Clifford* brings poore *Serlo*, who both confeſſeth the praſtice, as alſo that hee had a guiltie hand in the murder of the Duke of *Gloceſter*, which made him farre more odious than the other forgery. The crimes being manifeſt, *Serlo* is drawn fro *Ponteſfract* beginning his pain, where he had his doom, & at *London* knits vp the Tragedie in an halter. The Counteſſe of *Oxford* (for this falſhood loſt all her goods being moreover committed to cloſe priſon. To make this impoſture the more probable & paſſable, *Serlo* had cauſed *K. Richards* ſignet to be counterfeited, wherewith he ſealed ſundry conſolatorie and exhortatory letters to his friends, imited in *K. Richards* names wherupon many in *Eſſex* gaue credit to the Counteſſe, & among the reſt ſon Abbots of that Countie. Into this ſmoked al the deuſe euaporate.

(42) And no leſſe ſmoke was both the deuſe & ſucceſſe of certain in the Parliament (held this year at *Conuentry*), & called the *lack learning Parliament*, either for the vnlearnedneſſe of the perſons, or for their malice to learned men) where, to ſupply the Kings wants, a bill was exhibited againſt the *Temporalities of the Clergie*; but by the courage of the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* (who told them, it was the enriſhing of themſelues, not of the King, which they reſpected in their ſacrilegious petitions) and by the gracious care of the King, (who vowed to leaue the Church in better ſtate then he found it, rather then in worſe,) their motion vaniſhed to nothing, but the infamous memory of the attempters. It is obſerued, that * a Knight the chiefe ſpeaker in this bill againſt the Clergy, had beene himſelfe a *Deacon*, and ſo himſelfe firſt aduanced by the Clergy. With great reaſon therefore did our forefathers diſtinguiſh the people into the learned and lewd, inſecting truly that ſuch commonlie were lewd, who were not learned, and that lewd and wicked were but two words of one ſignification, as in this Parliament well appeared, whoſe *Commons* might enter *Commons* with their cattle for any vertue which they had more then brute Creatures.

Prifone captiue, thouſand of good diſci.

Prifone captiue, thouſand of good diſci.

AD. 1171. The Earle of *Northumberland* reſtored.

The Commons ſhew manly ſpirit, French and other King with honourable accuſe.

Owen Glendower and the *Welſh* ſlaine.

(43) Twiſe after this, betwene *Christmas* and *Palmſunday*, the King aſſembled the States againe, once at *London*, and then at *Saint Alban*, for the cauſe of money, but with much diſtalt, the Peeres of the land riſing from the laſt ſeſſion thereof meaneily contented, as it well appeared not long after, though to the enterpriſers ruine. *Thomas Morbray* Earle *Marſhall*, one of the chiefe men which diſliked the carriage of publick matters, drawes *Richard* the *Serape* Archbiſhop of *York* into a conſpiracy, in full hope that *Henrie Perſie* Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Bardolf*, the Citizens of *York*, and the common people would aſſiſt their cauſe, which was gloſed with the ſpecious pretence of redreſſing publick abuſes, hapning through the Kings default. The Earle of *Westmorland* hearing of this attempt, wherein the Earle *Marſhall* and the Archbiſhop were leaders of the people, gathers a force to encounter them, but perceiuing himſelfe too feeble, he betakes himſelfe to fraud, and by ſtaining to like the quarrell, got them both into his power, and preſented them as an acceptable oblation to the King, who about *Whitſontide* comes to *York*, where (albeit the Earle of *Westmorland* had promiſed them their liues) aſwell the Archbiſhop, as the Earle *Marſhall* were beheaded. But the next yeere the Pope excommunicated all ſuch as had a hand in putting the Archbiſhop to death. It was ſaid of *Tiberius* * *Cafar* in a Satyricall libel, *regnabit ſanguine multo*.

Ad regnum quiſquis venit ab exilio.
Who, firſt Exile, deſt after crown'd,
His raigne with blood will much abound.

(44) This the King verified in his perſon, who committing out of banishment, could not ſupport his Title and eſtate, but by ſhedding much blood of ſubiects. For not contented with thoſe two liues, he purſueth the Earle of *Northumberland* and Lord *Bardolf* with an inuincible Armie of ſeuene and thirty thouſand men: but they vnable to make head againſt ſo mighty a force, take *Berwick* for refuge. Thither the King marcheth, at the ſound whereof, they both diſtruſtfull of their ſafety, ſlie into *Scotland*, where the Lord *Fleming* entertaines them. *Berwick* vpon hope of ſuccours out of *Scotland* (which gladly nourished the Engliſh mileries, and the Engliſh theirs) reſuſed to render, whereupon the King plants a battering piece againſt a Tower in the wall, which as it threw downe the halfe thereof with one ſhot, ſo did it quite ouerthrow all the defendants courages, who preſently yeelded the place vpon hard and deperate terms, for they were partly hanged, and partly emprisoned. After *Berwick* was thus recovered, the king takes *Alnwick*, & all other Caſtles belonging to the Earle, and thinking the like happines would ſhine vpon him in *Wales*, he croſſeth ouer thither, where it fell out far otherwiſe, not by the manhood of the *Welſh*, but by the ſordaine rage of waters which deſtroyed his carriages and about ſixty wains (as was ſaid) laden with much treaſure: therefore he returns to *Worceſter*. *Owen Glendower* the chiefe captaine of the *Welſh* nation, expecting & fearing a reuenge had before this time confederated himſelfe with the French, who in 140. ſhips arriued at *Milford* haue to the aid of *Owen*, hauing well neere firſt loſt all their horſes in the paſſage for want of freſh water. The Lord *Berkley* and *Henrie de Pay* (by what meanes appears not) burnt fifteen of that number in the harbour. They made the entrance of their warre by laying ſiege to the Towne of *Carmarthen* in *South-Wales*, which the *Garrifon* being permitted to depart with bagge and baggage, was yeelded.

(45) The King being againe in need of money, after long vnwillingneſſe and delay, the Parliament furniſhed him, rather overcome with wearineſſe in contradiction, then for any great good will. Some of his treaſure was employed, as it ſeemes, vpon ſecret praſtices with the *Scots*, that the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Bardolf* might be deliuered into his hands, in exchange for ſome *Scots*.
D d d d d 2 where.

An. 1405.

Thomas Morbray Earle *Marſhall* and *Serape* Archbiſhop of *York* riſe to redreſſe abuſes, and loſe their heads.

* *Suetonius* lib. 2. cap. 58.

The King purſues the Earle of *Northumberland*.

The firſt time, that a gutting is vſed in *England*. * *The VVall*, lib. 1. c. 14.

The French with ſeuenteen ſhips arriue in *Wales* to aid *Owen Glendower*.

AD. 1406. An. Reg. 7

A.D. 1407.

King Richard
spread to bealmeSir Robert Knolls
dieth.

An.D. 1409.

Platina.

*Ypod.Nouff.
p.166
*Aniq.Britan.
castle.*Walting. Ypodig.
p.169.An.D. 1410
*Bacchalaureus

whereupon they flew into Wales, and the Scots misting their purpose, fled David Lord Flemming for discovering their intention to his distressed guests, (as by the lawes of honour and hospitality he was obliged) which filled Scotland with civil discords. To avoid the dangers whereof, and to better his education, the King of Scots sent his sonne and heire by sea into France, whom, together with the Bishoppe of Orkney certain Mariners of Cley in Norfolk surprized at sea, and presented to the King, who committed him prisoner to the Tower of London. Meanwhile the French prosecuting their affaires in Wales, sent thither eight and thirty shippes full of souldiers, of which number the English tooke eight (the rest escaping in great feare to Wales,) and not long after of which fifteen shippes laden with waxe and wine. This fortune though good, was nothing in regard of the service which Henry Pay, with certaine shippes of the Cinque Ports, and about fifteen other, employed upon a great Fleet, containing sixscore shippes, whose ladinges were yron, salt, oyle, and Rochel wine. The same times was a felon put to death for hauing in many places of London, dared secretly to set up bills, containing newes that King Richard was alive. The fearefull plague of pestilence flew multitudes of people through the Realm, chiefly in London, where, within a short space it destroyed thirty thousand. That most renowned Captaine Sir Robert Knolls, who had led so many living men to their honourable deaths in battell, was now captived himself by death upon the fifteenth day of August. His fame grew principally by martiall deedes in the great warres of France, vnder Edward the third, but spread and felied it selfe by good workes, among which the goodly stone-bridge at Rochester in Kent was one.

(46) In the meane space, the wars of Wales were managed by Prince Henry, who tooke the Castle of Aberystwith; but Owen Glendowr soone after got it againe by faire fraud, and thrust into it a Garrison of his owne. Thus Owen prospered for a time; but the Earle of Northumberland and Lord Bardolf forsaking Wales, and seeking to raise a force in the North, were encountered by the Sherife of Yorkshire, who after a sharpe conflict slew the Earle in the field, and so wounded the Lord Bardolf, that hee died thereof. The Earles head was cut off, which being first ignominiously carryed through London, was fixed upon the Bridge. The King hauing thus vanquished his chiefe enemies, went to Yorke, where inquiries were made for the Earles adherents, of which hee condemned, ransomed, and emprisoned many. The Abbot of Hales, because hee was taken fighting on the Earles behalfe, had sentence to die, which was executed upon him by hanging. In forraigne and transmarine parts, the Kings affaires had mixt success; for Edmund Earle of Kent, at the siege of Brimant in Britaine, was stricken with a quarrell into the head, whereof hee died; but yet after he had first taken the said Castle, and leueld it with the earth.

(47) The peace of Christendome hauing bene long tempestuously troubled by a Schisme, raised by ambition of opposit Popes, whereof the one was chosen at Rome, the other at Auinion, by contrarie factions of the Cardinals; A general Councell was summoned to be held at Pisa in Italie, whither the King of England sent his Ambassadors, and the Clergy elected Robert Alum * Chancellour of Oxford, & Bishoppe of Sarum, to signify, * that unless both the Popes would giue ouer their Papacie, neither of them should thenceforward be acknowledged for Pope. The King in his letter then sent to Pope Gregory, charged him (as Platina likewise doth) with Perjury, and that this Papall emulation had bene the cause of the murder of * more then two hundred and thirty thousand Christians in warres. There assembled a great number of Cardinals, Archbishops, Bishops, and mitred Prelates, who elected a new Pope, Alexander 5. (a man * trained vp at Oxford, where hee

tooke degree in Theologie) reiecting the two others, who long and bitterly had contended for the place. The King also calls his Parliament to find out meanes for more money, to the custody and charge whereof hee ordained Sir Henry Scrope, creating him Treasurer, as Thomas Beaufort the Kings halfe brother, Lord Chancellour. In which Parliament was reuised the facilegious Petition of spoiling the Church of England of her goodly patrimony, which the peticie and wisdom of so many former ages had congested. But the King (who was bound by oath and reason to preferre the flourishing estate of the Church) detested their wicked proposition, and for that cause denied all other their requests. The Duke of Burgundies prouisions which he had made to reduce Calys to the French dominions, & stored at Saint Omers, were consumed with casual fire to ashes.

(48) About these times the great and bloody factions betweene the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans brake forth. The cause was for a murderr committed vpon Lewis (brother to the French king, and father of the said Duke of Orleans) as he came late one night from the Queenes lodging, who at that time lay in of a child. The murderers * to preuent pursuit, strewed gathrops behind them. The Duke of Burgundie iustified the fact, for that Lewis had (as hee said) laboured with the Pope to put the King from his seat, vpon pretence that hee was as vnfit to gouerne as euer Childerike was, whom Pope Zacharie pronounced against. This prepared the way for that courge wherewith God meant to chastise the pride and sinnes of France. Each partie sought to fortifie it selfe with friends, aswell at home as abroad. The Duke of Burgundie had the King and the Dolphin on his side; the other had the Kings of Navarre and Aragon, the Dukes of Berrie and Britaine with many of the mightiest Earles and Lords. The Duke of Burgundie, (who together with the King and the face of gouernment, kept in Paris) perceiving his aduersaries strengthes to bee more then his owne, offers to the King of England, a daughter of France in marriage with the Prince, and many great promises, so as hee would ioyne in defence of the King, & send ouer competent forces; whereunto hee is said to haue answered: Our aduise is, that you should not in this case adventure battell with your enemy, who seems to prosecute a iust reuenge for the death of his father; but labour to assuage the displeasure and anger of the exasperated young man, by all the good meanes which are possible. If that cannot bee, then stand vpon your guard, and draw into place of most safety, with such force of men as may best serue for your defence. After all this, if hee will not bee appeased, you may with the better confidence encounter him, and in such case we will not faile (more fully) to assist, according as you request. For the present hee sent ouer the Earls of Arundell and Kyme, and many men of Armes, with plenty of English Bow-men, who came safe to Paris, where they in nothing diminished the ancient glory of their nation, but behaued themselves valiantly.

(49) The Duke of Orleans, and the Peeres of his faction, seeing their successe, consult how to draw the King of England from their enemy, and thereupon send ouer one Falconer and others, with solemne letters of excedence, whom they made their irrenocable Procurators, to entreat, agree, and conclude, (on their behalves) with the most excellent Prince, Henry * by the grace of God King of England, and his most noble sonnes, &c. for the restitution and reall redeliuerie of the Duchie of Aquitaine, with all the rights and appurtenances, which (as it affirmed) are the inheritance of the said most excellent Lord the King of England, by them to be made and done, &c. The Ambassadors hauing shewed forth this Proxie, exhibited the points of their negotiation in these Articles, by which wee may see how farre the desire of reuenge will transport great minds. 1 They offer their bodies to be employed against all men for the seruice of the King

King of England, saving their faith to their owne Sovereigne, as knowing the King of England would not otherwise desire them. 2 Their sonnes, daughters, nephewes, Nieces, and all their Cosens to be in marriage at the King of Englands pleasure. 3 Their Castles, Townes, treasure, and all their goods to be at the seruice of the said King. 4 Their friends, the Gentlemen of France, the Clergy and wealthy Burgers; who are all of their side; as by prooffe (they said) shall well appeare. 5 They finally offer to him the Duchy of Aquitaine entire, and in as full a manner as euer his Predecessors enjoyed the same, without excepting any thing, so as they themselves will hold, and acknowledge to hold their lands in those parts, directly of the said King, and deliuer as much of them as they can into his possession, and will doe their utmost to conquer the rest for him. Vpon condition on the other side. 1 That the King of England and his Successors should assist the said Lords, against the Duke of Burgundy for the murderr committed vpon the person of the late Duke of Orleans. 2 That he should assist against the said Duke of Burgundy and his fauourers, till they had repaired all the losses which they, their friends and tenants had sustained through that occasion. 3 That he should helpe to settle the quiet of the realme, &c.

(50) These Offers being put into the balance with the Articles, vpon which the Duke of Burgundy had obtained succours, ouerweighed them so farre, that about the midst of August, before all those which had bene sent with the Earle of Arundell to the contrary part, were returned into England, aydes were decreed to the Duke of Orleans, to the wonder of all men, who vnderstood not the secret, so that Thomas Duke of Clarence, Edward Duke of Yorke, the Earle of Dorset and very many other principall men with a competent puissance were sent ouer to ayde the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Angouleme remaining hostage in England, for the sure payment of one hundred and nine thousand Crownes for performance of the other Articles: They came on shore in Normandy; but whether the confederates moued with the perill into which their Country & Nation should by these meanes be precipitated, or for some other causes, (though none indeed so iust, as the sorrow and shame for their so disloyall a combination with the Capital enemies of France,) the Duke of Orleans (contrary to agreement) came not at the appointed time and place, whereupon the English burnt, spoiled and tooke much riches in the Castles, Countrey and good Townes, therewith to satisfie themselves, till the Duke of Orleans should see them payd. At last yet the Dukes of Clarence and Orleans came to a treaty, after which the English campe rose peaceably and march into Aquitaine there to winter it selfe, the Duke of Orleans returning to his owne. While these matters were in hand, the Lord of Heyle Marshall of France with many other Lords, and about foure thousand * men of armes layd siege to a certaine strong place in Gascoigne; which Sir Iohn Blunt Knight, with three hundred souldiers not only defended, but draue them also from the siege, taking prisoners twelue of the principall and about six score other Gentlemen. * The King liued not to see the carriage, and fortune of these warres, for falling sicke at Eltham in the Christmas time (at which our ancient authors begin to draw the circles of their yeeres) but recovering himselfe a little, he repaired to London about Candlemas, there to hold a Parliament; the end whereof he liued not to see, but vpon the twentieth day of March finished his short, but politticke and victorious reigne, in peace and honour, had not the iniustice of his first entrance left a dishonorable stayne vpon his worthiest actions.

(51) The vulgar Chronicles tell vs a Strange Story, the truth whereof must rest vpon the reporters. The King, say they, lying dangerously sicke, caused his Crowne to be set on a Pillow at his beds head, when suddainly the pangs of his Apoplexie seizeng on him so vehemently that all suppoled him

dead, the Prince comming in, took away the Crowne which, his father reuiueng, soone missed; and calling for his sonne, demanded, what he meant; to bereaue him of that, whereto hee had yet no right? The Prince boldlie replied; Long may you liue Soueraigne Father to weare it your selfe; but all men deeming you were departed to inherit another Crowne, this being my right, I tooke as mine owne, but now doe acknowledge for none of mine; and thereupon he set the Crowne againe where hee found it. Oh sonne, (quoth hee) with what right I got it, God onely knoweth, who forgieue me the sinne; how soeuer it was got, sayd the Prince, I meane to keepe and defend it, (when it shall bee myne) with my sword, as you by sword haue obtained it. Which the King hearing, hee entered discourse of aduise, shewing him that hee feared some discord would arise betwixt him and his brother Thomas Duke of Clarence, who with better respect had borne forth his youth then Prince Henry had done, and whose distemper was like to breed great troubles, if it were not in time stayed. If my brethren (quoth Henry) will be true subiects, I will honour them as my brethren, but if otherwise, I shall as soone execute iustice vpon them, as on the meanest of birch in my Kingdome. The King reioycing at this vnexpected answer; both prudently and Christianly charged him before God, to minister the law indifferently, to ease the oppressed, to beware of flatterers, not to deferre iustice, nor yet to be sparing of mercy. Puniti (quoth hee) the oppressors of thy people, so shalt thou obtaine fauour of God, and loue and feare of thy Subiects, who whiles they haue wealth, so long shalt thou haue their obedience, but made poore by oppressions, will be ready to make insurrections. Reioyce not so much in the glory of thy Crowne, as meditate on the burthenous care which accompanieth it; mingle loue with feare, so thou as the heart shalt be defended in the midst of the body; but know, that neither the heart without the members, nor a King without his Subiects helpe is of any force. Lastly my sonne loue and feare God, ascribe all thy victories, strength, friends, obedience, riches, honour and all, vnto him: and with the Psalmist say with all thanks, Not vnto vs Lord, not vnto vs but to thy holy name be giuen the laud and praise.

(52) Vpon what foile these most Christian, true and excellent Councells fell, the following life will shew, being nothing else, but a full representation in act, of such things, as are here in precept only, shewing to the world how diuine a beautie Christian goodnes hath.

His Wines.

(53) The first wife of King Henry the fourth, was Mary one of the daughters and heires of Humphrey de Bohun, Earle of Hereford, Essex and Northampton, Constable of England, &c. Shee dyed An. D. 1394. before he came to the Crowne.

(54) His second wife was Iane, Queene, daughter to Charles the first King of Nauarre, hee being the widow of Iohn de Monford, Sirnamed Stream, Duke of Britaine; and died without any Children by King Henry, at Hauering in the Bower in the County of Essex 1437. the tenth day of Iulie in the fiftieth yeere of Henry the sixth, and was buried by her husband at Canterbury.

His Children.

(55) Henry, the Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, Earle of Chester, and afterward King of England, whose glorious life and acts next insue.

(56) Thomas, Duke of Clarence, President of the Councell to King Henry the first (his brother,) and Steward of England. He was slaine at Beaufort in Anion without any iustice. He married Margaret daughter

daughter to *Thomas Holland*, Earle of *Kent*, the widow of *John Beauford*, Earle of *Somerset*.

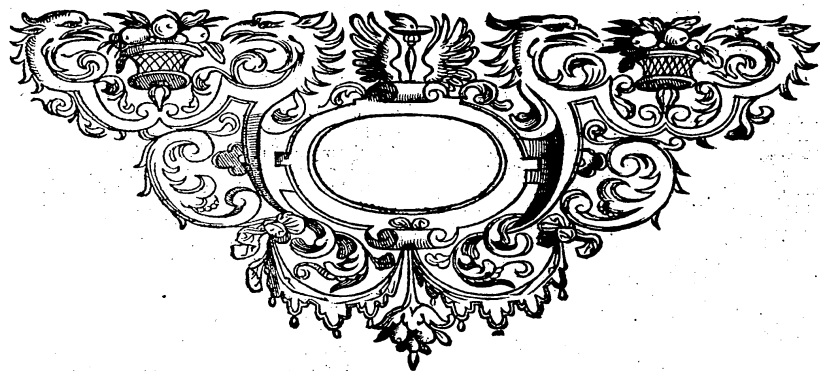
(57) *John Duke of Bedford*, Regent of *France* in the time of King *Henry* the sixth, Duke also of *Arquit* and *Alansin*, Earle of *Cenomania*, *Hartcourt*, of *Kendalland* *Dreux*, *Vifcount Beaumont*. He married first with *Anne*, daughter to *John Duke of Burgundy*. Secondly with *Jacobs*, daughter to *Peter de Luxemburgh* Earle of *Saint Paul*. And died without any issue.

(58) *Humfrey*, was by his brother King *Henry* the fifth created Duke of *Glocester*, was Protector of the Kingdome of *England* for 25. yeeres, in the time of King *Henry* the sixth, in whose first yeere hee styled himselfe in his Charters thus: *Humfrey by the grace of God, sonne, brother, and uncle to Kings, Duke of Glocester, Earle of Henault, Holland, Zelanda, and Pembroke; Lord of Friesland, Great Chamberlaine of the Kingdome of England, Protector and Defender of the same Kingdome, and Church of England.* Hee was a man, who nobly deserved of the common wealth and of lear-

ning, as being himselfe very learned, and a magnificent Patron and benefactor of the Vniuersity of *Oxford*, where hee had bene educated; and was generally called, the *Good Duke*. Hee married first *Jacobs*, heire to *William Duke of Bauaria* Earle of *Holland*, who (as after was knowne) had first bene lawfully troth-plighted to *John Duke of Brabant*, and therefore was afterward diuorced from the said *Humfrey*. His second wife was *Eliane* daughter to *Reginald*, Baron *Cobham de Scarborough*. *Queene Margaret*, wife to King *Henry* the sixth, repining at his great power in swaying the King & state, secretly wrought his ruine, hee being murdered in his bed at *Burton*, dying without any issue, 1446. His body was buried at *Saint Albans*, yet the vulgar error is that he lies buried in *Saint Pauls*.

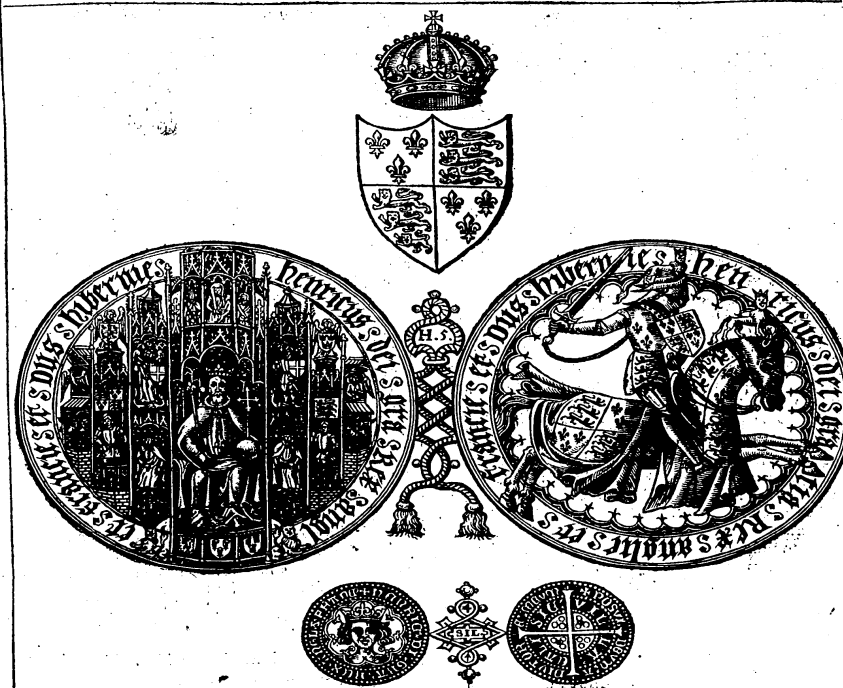
(59) *Blanche* married to *William Duke of Bauaria*, and Emperour.

(60) *Philip* married to *John King of Denmarke* and *Norway*.



HENRIE

HENRIE THE FIFTH, KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE TWO AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSE.



CHAPTER XV.



Mongst the many Monarchs of this most famous Empire, none is found more complete with all heritall vertues then is this King, of whose life by order and successe of story wee are now to write; which is *Henry* of that name the fifth, the renowne of *England*, and glory of *Wales*. Of whom, what was spoken of *Titus* in the flourishing times of the *Romans*, may for the time of his raigne be truly verified in him: both of them being the lovely darlings, and delightfull ioy of *Mankind*. But as *Titus* is taxed by his story-Writers, in youth to haue been riotous, profuse, wastfull and wanton, for which (as he saith) with the dislikes of men he steps into the throne; so if wee will beleue what others haue writ, *Henry* was wilde whiles hee was a Prince, whose youthfull pranks as they passed with his yeers, let vs haue

leaued here to rehearse, and leaued them motives to our owne vse, as hee made them for his.

(2) His birth was at *Moumouth* in the Marches of *Wales*, the yeere of Christs assuming our flesh, 1388 and the eleuenth of King *Richards* raigne, his father then a Subiect, and Earle of *Derbie*, *Leicester*, & *Lincolne*, afterwards created Duke of *Hereford*, in right of his wife, then of *Lancaster*, by the death of his father; and lastly by election made the Soueraigne of *England*, (that vnfortunate *Richard*) being deposed the Crowne. His mother was *Mary*, second daughter and coheire of *Humfrey Bohun* Earle of *Hereford*, and *Northampton*, high Constable of *England*, as we haue said.

(3) His young yeeres were spent in literature in the *Academie of Oxford*, where in *Queenes Colledge* he was a Student vnder the tuition of his vnclie *Henry Beauford*, Chancelour of that Vniuersity, afterwards Bishoppe of *Lincolne* and *Winchester*, and lastly made Cardinall by the title of *Eusebius*. But his Father obtaining the Crowne, and himselfe come

Monarch 52

Edw. Hal.

Henry borne at Moumouth in Wales.

Ricor. of Tower. 4 Hen. 5.

Ioh. Rossset. in lib. de Regibus.

Prince Henris Education.

Holins.

Richard Grafton.

Edward Hall.

Thom. Walsing.

Rich. Grafton.

Eccles. A.

Job. Roiffe.

Sir Tho. Eliot
Gouernour.

come to the age of twelue yeeres, had the succesi-
on thereof entailed on him by Parliament, and ac-
cordingly was created Prince of Wales, Duke of
Cornwall, and Earle of Chester, and presently had
the Title of the Dukedome of Aquitaine conferred
vpon him, the better to effect the thing then inten-
ded, which was to haue obtained in marriage young
Queene Isabel, late wife to the murdered King
Richard, daughter of Charles the sixt, King of
France.

(4) From Oxford, Prince Henry was called to
Court, and the Lord Thomas Percy then Earle of
Worcester made his Gouernour; but being himselfe
false to the Father, could giue no good example vn-
to the sonne, whose hostile attempts in the field of
Shrewsbury cost that disloyall Earle his head, and al-
most had done Prince Henry his life, who in battell
against him was wounded in the face with an arrow.
This marke of his manhood, with the ouerthrow
of Hotspur in that bloody conflict, were hopefull
signes of his following successe, which presently
were seconded with as fortunate proceedings a-
gainst Owen Glendower that scourge of his Country,
and Arch-rebell vnto Englands peace, whom this
Prince so pursued through the vast mountaines of
Wales, that from the Denues of those deserts hee
durst not shew his face, but therein perished by fa-
mine, & nature's other wants, though the Prince had
then scarcely attained vnto fixteene.

(5) But growne from his tutors command, or
control, and come to the yeeres for dispose of him-
selfe, as his youth stood affected, to were his con-
sents, and those (many times) whose conditions
were none of the best; whether led by an inclinati-
on of youth (which commonly lets the raine loose
vnto will) or, to know that by proofe, which other
Princes doe by report, I will not determine: yet
vnto the latter doe I rather incline, knowing that
Salomon the wisest of Kings did so himselfe; and ra-
ther by Koffet am lead, who writeth that Prince Hen-
ry in Oxford had in great veneration, such as excelled
in vertue or learning, and among many, two hee na-
meth, Thomas Radban of Ayrton Colledge a great
Astronomer, by him preferred to the Bilhopricke of S.
Davids in Wales, and John Carpenter of Oriol Col-
ledge, a learned Doctor of Theologie, whom hee ad-
vanced to the See of Worcester. But let vs heare how
his wilde oates were spent, and with what increase
the harvest was got. The translator of *Luine*, who
wrote the storie of this worthy Prince, and dedica-
ted his paines to King Henry his sonne, affirmeth for
truth, that many actions he did, farre vnfitting his
greatnesse of birth; and among other, doth taxe
him with no better then theft, who in the raigne of
his Father, accompanied with such as spent their
wits vpon other mens spoiles, laide waite in the way
for his Rents receivers, and robd them of that which
indeed was his owne, when sometimes in thusing he
nothing was spared, but bare away many knocks.
The lenders whereof hee would frankly reward,
when they complained vnto him of their losses re-
ceiued, which euer were abated in the foot of their
accounts.

(6) Our learned Knight Eliot setting his pen to
portraire perfect Gouernour, recordeth a story, re-
taining this Princes great fame, the credit whereof
let it lie vpon himselfe. It chanced (saith he) a ser-
uant of his to be arraigned for felony at the Kings
Bench-Barre, where standing ready to receiue sen-
tence of death, the Prince had intelligence, and po-
sted thither, where finding his seruant made sure for
starting, commanded his fetters to be stricke off, &
the fellow arraigned to be freed the Court. All men
amazed at this his approach and speech: the Chiefe
Iustice stood vp, and shewed the Prince that his feare
was the Kings, that lawes were the finewes of the
Common-wealth, that himselfe was sworn to doe
Iustice, and must yeeld an account for all that he did,
that he honored him as the eldest sonne of his Soue-

raigne, and Prince, but to set free the prisoner, hee
could not, having so apparently endangered his life
to the law; and therefore desired the Prince, if hee
held him in such esteeme, to saue him by pardon
from the King, and not to infringe the law, which he
told him plainly he should not doe.

(7) The Prince enraged to haue the deniall, affai-
ed himselfe to set free the Prisoner, which the Chiefe
Iustice forbadde, commanding him vpon his al-
legiance to cease from such riot, and to keepe the
Kings peace: whereat Prince Henry in a furiestep
vp to the Bench, and gaue the Iudge a blow on the
face, who nothing daunted, fate still, and with a bold
countenance, spake thus to the Prince, Sir I pray you
remember your selfe, this seat of iudgement which here
I sitse, is not mine, but your Fathers, to whom and
to his lawes you owe double obedience. If his Highnesse
be thus contemned, and his lawes violated by you, that
should shew your selfe obedient to both, who will obey
you when you are a Soueraigne, or minister execution
to the lawes that you shall make? wherefore, for this
attempt, in your Fathers name, I commit you prisoner
vnto the Kings Bench, there to remaine vntill his Ma-
iesties pleasure be further known. With which words
the Prince greatly abashed, stood mute by the Iudge,
and fixing his eyes vpon his reuerend face, presently
laid from him his weapons, and with humble o-
bedience done, departed to prison. The King vn-
derstanding the whole circumstance, greatly reioyced
that he had a Sonne of such obedience to his lawes,
and a Iudge so vpright to administer them without
either fauour or feare of the person; notwithstanding
for this, and other like actions of his youth, he
remoued him from being President of his Priue
Councell, and placed in his stead Thomas Duke of
Clarence his second brother; to Prince Henries no
little griefe and discontent.

(8) Howbeit his followers were nothing dimi-
nished, but his Court frequented more then his fa-
thers, which bred some suspition in the crazie kings
head, lest among his other wild parts, hee would at-
tempt to play with his Crowne; which was encrea-
sed by his domestical flatterers, who daily buzzed
new icalousies into his eares. This made Prince
Henry (as Otterborne noteth) to strengthen himselfe
with his chiefe friends, and well-willers, and with
such a troupe repaired to his fathers Court, as a grea-
ter in those dayes had not beene scene. The tran-
slator of *Luine* reports the maner of his approach, e-
uen from him that was an eye witness, and the same
no lesse then the Earle of Ormond in Ireland, whose
relation is this.

(9) The King somewhat crazie, and keeping his
Chamber, hearing newes dayly of his sonnes loose
exercises, too meane for a Prince, and their con-
tractions euer made to aime at his Crowne, hee both be-
ganne to withdraw his fatherly affection, and to
feare some violence against his owne person: which
when Prince Henry heard of, by some that fauoured
him of the Kings Councell, in a strange disguise hee
repaired to his Court, accompanied with many
Lords and noble mens sonnes. His garment was a
gowne of blew Satten, wrought full of Eylet-holes,
and at euery Eylet the Needle left hanging by the
silke it was wrought with: about his arme he ware
a dogs-collare set full of s.s. of gold, the Thwert ther-
of being most fine gold. Thus coming to West-
minster, and the Court of his Father, hauing com-
manded his followers to aduance no further then
the fire in the hall, himselfe accompanied with some
of the Kings household, passed on to his presence,
and after his duty and obedience done, offered to
make knowne the cause of his coming. The king
weake then with sicknesse, and supposing the worst,
commanded himselfe to be borne into a withdraw-
ing Chamber, some of his Lords attending vpon
him, before whose feet Prince Henry fell, and with all
reuerent obseruances, spake to him as followeth.

(10) Most gracious Soueraigne and renowned
father,

"father, the suspition of disloyalty, and diuulged
reports of my dangerous intendments towards
your royall Person and Crowne, hath enforced at
this time, and in this manner, to present my selfe
and life at your Maiesties dispose. Some faults and
mispent time (with blushe I may speake it) my
youth hath committed, yet those made much more
by such fleeing pickthanks, that blow them from
ger into your vnwilling and distastie care. The
name of Soueraigne ties allegiance to all, but of a
Father, to a further feeling of natures obedience;
so that my finnes were double, if such suggestions
possessed my heart: for the Law of God ordain-
eth, that he which doth presumptuously against
the Ruler of his people shall not liue and the child
that smiteth his father shall die the death: so farre
therefore am I from any disloyall attempt, against
the person of you my Father, and the Lords an-
nointed; that if I knew any of what you stoode
in the least danger or feare, my hand according to
duty shall be the first to free your suspition; yea
I will most gladly suffer death to ease your perplex-
ed heart; and to that end I haue this day prepa-
red my selfe both by confession of my offences past,
and receiuing the blessed Sacrament. Wherefore I
humbly beseech your Grace to free your suspition
from all feares conceived against mee, with this
dagger, the stabbe whereof I will willingly receiue
hereat your Maiesties hand, and so doing, in the
presence of these Lords, and before God at the day
of iudgement, I clearly forgiue my death. But the
King melting into teares, cast downe the naked
dagger (which the Prince deliuered him) and raising
his prostrate sonne, embraced and kissed him, con-
fessing his eares to haue bene ouer-credulous that
way, and promising neuer to open them againe a-
gainst him. But the Prince vnlesatisfied, instantly
desired, that at least his accusers might be produced,
and if convicted, to receiue punishment, though not
to the full of their demerites; to which request the
King replied, that as the offence was capital, so
should it be examined by the Peeres, and therefore
willed him to rest contented vntill the next Parlia-
ment. Thus by his great wisdom he satisfied his
father from further suspition, and recovered his loue
that neuerly was lost. Hetherto of Henry as he was
Prince (some other of whose youthly actions we al-
so touched in his fathers raigne) and now to his Acts
after hee King.

(11) Henry ordained successor, and ouerfeer of
his dying Fathers Testament, had in his entrance so
fortunate proceedings, as hee seemeth to exceed all
his Predecessors; his Nobles proffering the oath of
their Allegiance, before himselfe had made his, for
the iust government of the Common-weale, which to
farre was from acceptance, that hee desired God ne-
uer to admit him to the Crowne, vnlesse he should
to his glory raigne, and rule the Scepter to the good
of the Subiect. The day of his entrance and of his
Fathers death, being the twentieth of March, and
yeere of Christs Incarnation, according to our ac-
count, 1412. on the ninth of April following hee
was solemnly crowned at Westminster, Thomas Arun-
del Archbishoppe of Canterbury performing the ro-
all Ceremonies: which no sooner was ended, but
to beginne a good government, hee beganne with
himselfe, banishing from his presence and Court the
vnbridled youthes which had bene his comforts,
commanding them either to change their manners,
or neuer to approach within ten miles where hee lay.
Then chose hee worthy and prudent men for his
Councell of Estate, and aduanced his Clergie with dig-
nity and power: being himselfe as zealous in deu-
otion, as liberrall in building, and indowing of places
for deuotion of others. His Iustice was found of
all that sought it; for euery day after dinner for the
space of an houre, his custome was to leane on a cushion set
by his subord, and there himselfe receiued petitions
of the oppressed, which with great equity he did redresse.

And for a further testimony of his tender and com-
passionate heart, the slaughtered body of K. Richard
ouer-meane entered at Langley, in great estate he
remoued into Saint Peters Church at Westminster, and
there laid him enshroued by Queene Anne his first
wife (as himselfe had desired and prepared) found-
ing a weekly memoriall to be celebrated; and fix
shillings eight pence thereon distributed vnto the
poore, and yecrelike twentie pounds giuen vpon his
annuierarie day, besides foure tapets to burne be-
fore his monument day and night for euer. And so
neerely did his death touch this innocent King, that
he sent to Rome to bee absolved from that guilt of
his fathers Act, by the Popes holinesse, then ac-
counted another God; whose penance enjoined, he
willingly performed, and afterwards purposed to
haue made warre in Palestina against the enemies of
Christ; for which end, hee lent Sir Hugh de Lawy
of Henault to Ierusalem, to discouer the state of things
there; but before his returne he was departed to the
heavenly Ierusalem himselfe.

(12) The obsequies of his Father being solemn-
ized at Canterbury, and the King in person attending
the Corps, fitt occasion was giuen vnto Archbi-
shoppe Arundell to complain of the Wickliffites, (then
termed Lollards) great rubs in the wayes of the Cler-
gies pride and proceedings; whereof Sir John Old-
castle was thought a chiefe, who by his marriage con-
tracted with a kinswoman of the Lord Cobhams of
Cooling in Kent, obtained the title thereof, a man
strong and valourous, and in especiall fauour with
his Prince. This Knight in their Synode assembled
at London, immediately after the Kings Coronati-
on, was accused by them to haue rent Christs seme-
lesse coat, in maintaining Wickliffes doctrine to bee
taught, especially in the Diocesse of London, Roche-
ster, and Hereford: against whom also some choise
Inquisitors at Oxford, appointed for Herefetes (though
that whole vniuersity had formerly vpheld both
Wickliffe and his doctrine,) informed and presented
his name with two hundred forty fixe conclusions,
which they had collected to be hereticall.

(13) The King incensed (by the Archbishops
suggestions) against these discontented discipliners,
was further made beleue that they themselves had
set vp billes in diuers places, threatening that an
hundred thousand persons were ready for armes, against
all that withstood their reformation, and among
these that Oldcastle his Knight was reputed the chiefe.
The King graciously inclined, heard the Archbi-
shops complaint, and being at Kennington promi-
sed to conferre with the Lord Cobham himselfe, which
accordingly hee did, instantly willing him to submit
himselfe to the censure of the Church and obedience
of the Archbishoppe: but Cobham, no turne-coate
from his profession, humbly told the King he owed
his subiection only vnto his Maiesty whom God had
placed in these his Dominions, as his onely vice-
gerent to gouerne his people and Subiects, and that
himselfe forced nothing Romes leaden sword, vnlesse
checked by the Pope (that Antichrist) against the Lords
seruants, nor would suffer the key of Canterbury to
open the closet of his conscience, where the spirite of
God was residing, bearing witness with him, that hee
stood in the truth, for whose defence as his Cham-
pion, he was ready to liue or die.

(14) This answer receiued, was so deliuered
vnto the Archbishoppe, with power to cite, exa-
mine and punish, as their owne Canons in such
cases had decreed. The Lyon thus laid for, whose
paw they still feared, was serued by proceesse to ap-
peare in the Archbishopps Court, and the same deli-
uered by one Zulier a seruant of the Kings Priue
Chamber, for that the bold Sumner durst not doe
it himselfe, and the Archbishoppe (diligent lest he
should forget the day) caused his letters citatorie
to be set vpon the gates of the Cathedral Church
of Rochester, which were presently torned down, and
others againe set vp, were againe pulled off, to the
great

Rob. Fabian.

Peyschro.

Vpon Trinity
Sunday.Nich. Pigmeur, in
his Hist. of Engl.Fornis Acts and
Monuments.
Opera Joh. B. P.
T. 2.

Thom. Walsing.

Acts and Monu-
ments.

great offence of the Clergies eye, and the rather, for that the Actor could not be knowne. The Knight not appearing (as knowing their malice and his own danger) was condemned of contumacie, and afterwards in a Synode at Rochester, was by the Archbishop pronounced an Heretike, where himselfe then enacted that heretike decree, that the holy scriptures should not be translated into the English tongue. But marke the iudgement that fell vpon his own tongue, whose roores and blade thorowly after (as is recorded) grew so big in his mouth and throte, that he could neither speake nor swallow downe meat, but in horror lay languishing, till lastly he so dyed starved by famine.

(15) In the meane time the Lord Cobham wrote his * Belief, which was very Christianlike, and presented it himselfe to the King, who (being much prepossessed) in no wise would receive it, but suffered him to bee summoned in his presence, and priue Chamber, when the Knight for his purgation offered an hundred knights and Esquires, which would not be accepted; then, according to his degree of Order, and law of Armes, he required the single Combat to fight for life or death, with either Christian or Heathen in the quarrell of his faith, the King and Council onely excepted. This notwithstanding could not be suffered, but needs must he appeare before the Archbishop his Iudge: where, after diuers examinations (in all which hee most religiously iustified himself & his profession) he was condemned of Heresie, and committed Prisoner vnto the Tower of London, whence shortly he escaped, and got into Wales. Vpon which escape great feares were conceiued, especially of the Clergie, the causes of his troubles, and mortall Enemies to him & his wellwillers, for the king was confidently (but as it seemeth maliciously) informed, that Oldcastle with his adherents laid for his life, & that in S. Giles Fields nere vnto Holborne twenty thousand were to assemble in hostile manner, with an intent to destroy the Monasteries of Westminster, Saint Albans, all the religious houses in London, and the Cathedral Church of Saint Pauls. The King therefore in person himselfe after midnight with a great Army came into these fields, where (if wee will beleue their professed enemies) fourescore of that faction were apprehended, who sayd they came to seeke the Lord Cobham. But as the answerer of Capus from more ancient times hath obserued, that in daies of persecution, such assemblies often had beene made to heare the Gospell preached, which otherwise they could not enioy: so in this place * then overgrown with bushes and vnfit for battell, those few were in likelihood assembled vnto John Beuerly agodly man their Preacher, without any intent of treason, hauing for their Chieftaines no greater persons then Sir Roger Aston a Knight of no great account, a Minister, and a male man. But their Apologies we leaue to others; onely the Lord Cobham could not be found, though the King by Proclamation had promised a thousand markes to his taker, besides many liberties to the City or Towne, that would discloise him; whereby (saith Walsley) it may be ghesse, that the whole Kingdome, well nere, embraced his opinions which that Fryar calls his madness. Thirty thousand of that assembly were condemned, whereof of leauen were confuted with fire and strangled, Aston, Beuerly and Aulwy were likewise executed.

(16) As the zeale of this King is much commended for his fauours towards his Clergie, so is his Princely pittie in the commiseration of young Perceys distresse, whose father Hapfury slaine at Shrewsbury (as we haue said) and hee by his Grandfather sent into Scotland for security, was there notwithstanding detained a Prisoner, for that James their King was forcibly kept in England by Henrie, and as they tooke it against all Iustice. But fit occasion being offered for young Perceys releafe, and exchange made betweene him and Alrede sonne of Robert Duke of Albany (who had bene taken prisoner at the Battell of

Halidon) the king restored him not only in blood, and to grace in his Court, but also inuested his person with the Title and State of his Grandfather, to his owne no little honour, and faithfull seruice attained of that honourable family.

(17) Vpon Archbishop Arundels death, starved by famine as we haue said * Henry Chicheley stout Champion also against Wicliffes doctrine, was with the Kings consent, by the Monkes of Canterbury elected their Archbishop, which the politticke Elect neither accepted nor refused, but left it to the will and pleasure of the Pope: who first tooke snuffe that it so farre proceeded without his direction, yet was soone pacified by Chicheleys submission, and (as faith mine Author) with other Gratulations besides. The man though not so rich by birth as Arundel was, yet as strong for the Clergie, and more gracious with his Prince as the sequele proued.

(18) The first affaires of both was made knowne in a Parliament holden at Leicester, where in a Bill exhibited, complaint was made, that the temporall Lands giuen to religious houses and spiritual persons for deuotion were either superfluous, or disorderly spent; whose reuenues (if better employed) would suffice for the defence of the Land, and honor of the king: fiftene Earles, fiftene hundred knights fixe thousand two hundred Esquires, and one hundred Almshouses, for the reliefe of impotent and diseased persons, and vnto the kings Coffers twentie thousand pound by yeere. Which Bill (saith Hall) made the fat Abbots to sweate, the proud Priores to frowne, the poore Friars to curse, the silly Nunnes to weepe, and indeed all her Merchants to feare, that Babbell would downe.

(19) To stop the breach of which searching spring, no better meanes could be found, then to diuert the Parliament with other busineses, and to driue other proiects into the kings minde; whose head (as this new Archbishoppethere tolde him) had the best right to the Crowne of France: for not onlie the Dutchie of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Anjou, the Counties of Gascoigne, Maine, and the rest, were his lawfull though vnlawfull (detained) inheritance; but therewithall the whole Realme of France, as true heire vnto his great Grandfather king Edward the third, and vnto Philip the faire, in right of his mother Queene Isabella, the only daughter and Child liuing of the said French king. As for the law Salique alledged against the English claime, he affirmed, that Text touched only those parts in Germany, which lay betwixt the riuers Elbe, and Sala conquered by king Charles the great, who placing his French there to inhabit, for the dishonest liues of those Germane women made this law. In terram Salicam Mulieres ne succedant, which the Glosse did fully expound for the whole kingdome of France. Whose practise notwithstanding he shewed to be the contrary, by many experiences both in king pepin which deposed Childericke by the claime of heire General (as descended of Blithild daughter to Clothair the first, and by Hugh Capet, who, vnto the Crowne vpon Charles Duke of Lorraine (the sole heire male of that line from Charles the great) to make his claime good (which indeed was the starke naught) deriued himselfe as heire to the Lady Lingard, daughter to Charlemaigne, sonne to Lewis the Emperour, that was sonne to Charles the great. King Lewis also called the Saint; (who was the heire to the vsurper Hugh Capet) could not bee satisfied in conscience, how he might iustly keepe and possesse the Crowne of France, till he was fully instructed that Isabella his Grandmother was lineally descended of the Lady Ermengard daughter and heire to the aboue named Charles Duke of Lorraine, by the which marriage the blood and line of Charles the great was againe vntied and restored to the Crowne of France. Whereby (saith the Archbishop) it most manifestly appeared, that the

the title of Pepine, the Claime of Capet, the possessor of Lewis, yea of the French Kings themselves to this day, deriue their onely rights from the heires female, and that this pretended Law Salique was but a shifting deuile to debarre the English Kings from the claime of the French Crown. Which exclusion howsoever they pretend to bee right, yet the law of God (saith he) hath made it meer wrong, which with better regard of the Sex alloweth the woman to inherite her fathers possession, as we see in the practise of that state, where of Christ himselfe is called king, where the sues daughters of Zelophehad for want of heires males, were admitted to succeed in their fathers inheritance, allotted them in the Tribe of Manasse; and a law made by the Lord himselfe, that if a man died and had no sonnes, then his inheritance should be transferred vpon his daughters. Neither is it to be doubted but that the daughter of Shebam was the sole heire vnto her fathers patrimony, she dying without issue male; though shee married an Egyptian, whose posterity had their possessions among the Tribe of Iudah, euen to the Captiuitie of Babilon: so that if such a law were, as in truth there was no such, better were the breach by the warrant of diuine direction, then the continuance by colour of such prescription, seeing God hath ordained as well for the daughter as for the sonne.

(20) The Archbishop vnexpected but not vnpremeditated Oration thus ended, so stirred the blood of the young Couragious King, that his heart was all on a flame; and so tickled the eares of his Auditor, as they presently conceiued that France was their owne; the Title whereof descending from Isabella, the mother of the famous third Edward, and shee the daughter and suruiuing heire vnto Philip the faire; his right was, lineally deriued thence as followeth, first Philip by Isane his first wife intituled Queene of Navarre, had three sonnes and one daughter, namely Lewis, Philip and Charles, all three successiue Kings, and this Lady Isabella, by whom the English claime: his second wife was Constance the daughter of the King of Sicill, who bare him a sonne after his owne decease which liued not many daies after his father. Lewis his eldest sonne and tenth of that name succeeded Philip in the Kingdome of France, and by Margaret his wife the daughter of Burgundy had his daughter Isane intituled Queene of Navarre, who made claime also vnto the French Crowne, but neuer attained it; so that her Title fell with her death. Lewis by his second wife Clemence of Sicill, had a sonne named John borne vnto him, but presently both father and sonne departing this life, left the Scepter to his second brother; who by the name of Philip the fifth, a while wore the Emperiall Crowne of France: his wife was Isane the daughter of Burgaine, who bare vnto him only foure daughters.

(21) Vnto King Philip succeeded his brother Charles the faire, the fourth of that name, whose first wife was Blanch, detected of incontinencie and brought him no fruite, his second wife was Marie daughter to Henry Luxembourge the Emperour, who bare him a sonne that dyed soone after birth, and the mother likewise shortly came to her graue. Margaret the daughter to the Earle of Burenas, was his third and last wife, who at his death hee left with Child, and thus the three sonnes of Philip were brached, reigned, and died, whom Queene Isabella their sister suruiued, and in that right her sonne King Edward the third, by his royall consanguinity whilst the Crowne stood thus at suspence, till a Prince should be borne, claimed to be Regent in the Interregnum; and in the nonage of the looked for issue, against which, Philip de Valois sonne of Charles the hardy, who was brother to Philip the faire, being a second branch from Hugh Capet, and first Prince of the blood of France, maintained that the Regency of the male (if so he were borne) as also of the Realme

(if a daughter or the sonne dyed) belonged onely vnto him as the next in blood. The state thus standing, and a daughter borne, Philip was saluted and proclaimed King, no other right alledged then this foisted and falsely termed fundamentall law Salique, for no otherwise doth Ottomane the French famous Lawyer esteeme of that vngodly and vniust Ordinance, if any such had bene ordained.

(22) The Kings right thus apparant, and sufficient possessions to be had in France: the Bill of complaint against the Clergies excesses was quite dashed, and all mindes addicted for the affaires that way; thinking it vnreasonable to pull the Prouisions from their natives and brethren, when as the Circuit of their inheritance extended more large in compass: and therefore with the Danies they determined no longer to sit so pent with increase, seeing God had giuen them another Kingdome, but would free their own straitnesse by dint of sword, and spread their Tentis wider in the Continent of France: Neither was there any motiue more forceable in conference, then was the successe of those intruding Princes, who assailed the Crowne by that vniust claime of law Salique.

(23) For did not the sword of God (rather then man) in the hand of King Edward the claimer cut downe the flower of France in the Battell of Crecie, with the slaughter of Lewis King of Bohemia, of Charles the French Kings brother, of James Dolphin of Viennois, the Dukes of Lorraine, and Burbon, the Earles of Auvergne, Saouy, Combillard, Flanders, Niuers and Hamecourt, the Grand Priour of France, the Archbishop, and Zancinus and Noyene, of Lords, Barons, and Gentlemen to the number of 1500 with 30. thousand of the French Souldiers, and Philip not able of himselfe to defend himselfe, inciting Dauid of Scotland to invade and weaken England, therein did but only vex his owne spirit, for in that attempt the Scottish King was taken prisoner and brought to London, leaving Philip to struggle with his hard fortunes in France, which with bad successe hee did to the day of his death.

(24) John his sonne by the same title and claime felt the same stroke of iustice from the hand of that thunderbolt in warre Edward furnished the blacke Prince, the sonne of Englands Mars, who farre inferior to the French in number, farre exceeded them in marshall power, when at the battell of poitiers the French royall Standard was stroke downe, an hundred Ensignes wonne by the English, the Constable, Marshall and great Chamberlaine of France with fifty two Lords and seuenteen hundred Gentlemen slaine in the field. King John himselfe, his sonne Philip, two Bishops, thirteene Earles, and one and thirty Lords taken prisoners by the Prince, to his great praise and confirmation of his iust cause.

(25) Nor was the punishment of the father any whit lessened in King Charles the sonne then reigning, who besides the intestine warres in his own dominions was by Gods iust iudgement stricken into a Lunacy, being vnable to gouerne himselfe much lesse his Kingdome, vpon which aduantage (as the French would haue it) King Henry now played; though it be most certaine he sought his right farre otherwise, for so it standeth vpon record dated the ninth of February and first of Henry the fifth his raigne, that he sent his Ambassadors vnto the French King, who could not be admitted to his presence, and him whom they employed to procure access was by the French committed to Prison: whereat King Henry most iustly conceiued a grudge. Paulus Emilius their owne Story-writer saith, that Henry King of England, sent honorable Ambassadors to demand in marriage the Lady Katherine daughter vnto the French King: which (as he saith) was neglected with this answer, that the King had no leisure to thinke on that businesse: whom Francisus Rosensius doth further enlarge, saying, the King scornfully smiling answered that France was neither destitute of Dukes, nor hee as

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Francis Goodwin
vpon the liues of
the Bishop.

Francis Goodwin
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the Bishop.

honour, *Richard Earle of Warwick* was sent, themselves and attendants amounting to eight hundred horse: so as it stood in suspence whether their honorable presence more graced the assembly, or their learning or Iudgement bettered the whole body of the Councell: in somuch that two of these Bishops were there made Cardinals, and of the thirty in best esteeme appointed to asist the Cardinals in their Election of a new Pope, *London, Coventree, Bath, and Wells* were chosen, wherein *Robert, Bishop of London* was first nominated for Pope, and he first nominated him that succeeded, which was *Otho Colonna* by the name of *Martin* the first. Whose Coronation with great magnificence was celebrated of the five nations assembled, and this honour given to the English, that the *Prior of Saint Johns* was a supporter of the triple Crowne. Touching the decrees that this Councell enacted, let it suffice vs to know that *Wicliffes* bookes were condemned for heretical, that *Iohn Hus* (notwithstanding the Emperours safecouduet) and *Ierome of Prague*, were both of them burned. The holy maide *Bridget* canonized a Saint, and that *England* was made a nation in rancke before *Spaine*.

(36) The deaths of these two diuine manie lamented, especially the *Bohemians*, who had reaped much fruit from the seed they had sown, for whose doctrine they sent a defence vnto the same Councell, and often became humble Petitioners for their liues, as largely appeareth in their letters written on their behalfe; in whom may truly bee verified that the blood of the Martyrs is the seed of the Church, which so increased in the parts of *Bohemia* that Pope *Martin* fearing all would be dard (*Zisca* the scourge of the Papacy then in Arms to defend them) sent for aid out of *England*, to repress the *Lollards* (as hee termed them) and published his Bulls against those *Heresies*, with as terrible roarings as usually were his *Cryadoes* against the *Turkes*.

(37) His Legate for these holy warres, he made *Henrie Beaufort*, the rich Cardinal of *Winchester*, who with foure thousand English assisted with a subsidie of the Clergies Grant, did there verie valiantly for certaine months together, vntill hee was recalled by the Pope: wherein Countie *Zisca* (though euer a victor) lost both his eyes, and being blind led forth his army with such terror to his foes, as his name became fearefull, and oft-times was sufficient to attaine victory without any stroke, in somuch as hee commanded his owne skinn to bee slead off after his death, and to bee made the head of their drum, affirming that the very sound thereof, would drive the enemy out of the field. But from these Church matters and Prelates proceedings, let vs returne from whence we haue slept, and continue the affairs of our famous *K. Henry* hauing now set footing in *France*.

(38) His followers and fellows in these new begonne warres were his two brethren the Dukes of *Clarence*, and *Gloester*, as also his vnclies the Duke of *Torke*, and Earle of *Dorset*, accompanied with the Earles of *Kent, Cornwall, and Huntington*, besides a most noble fellowship of the other Lords, Barons and men at armes: with these from *Kideaux* hee marched towards *Harflew*, affecting that Towne the first, being a port commodiously seated vpon the mouth of the Riuier *Seyne*, and a safe entrance vnto his intended Conquest, as well for the landing of his men, as to hinder the passage vnto *Roane* and *Paris*, both which receiued traffique by the same Riuier.

(39) The Towne being seated betwixt two hills, that next the Sea the King tooke, at the foote whereof, he cauled a deepe trench to be cast, bringing in water to impeach the bottom, and raising the rampier to a great thicknes, whereon he erected many sconces of earth like vnto Castles, set thicke together: for betwixt them, there was not aboute a cubite wide, for the Souldiers to fallie as occasion serued: the trench thus finished, from the rocke to the

Sea, his horses, munition, and victuals all brought a shore, with his whole armie, the King marched vp the hill, and from the height presented himself before *Harflew*. His brother *Clarence* hee sent with certaine Regiments of horse and foote, to lodge vpon the other hill, which before he could approach, (by reason of the nature of the ground and way) hee was forced to march fullie nine miles: which hill attained, he commanded his ships to cast anchor as neere the Towne as with safety they might, whereby the place became besieged both by land and Sea, then mounted he his Artillery, began his mines, brought his workes close to the Counter-scarpe of the ditch, prepared faggots to fillit, and presently wanne the bafe Towne.

(40) Within the Towne it selfe *Monsieur Graucourt* was Generali accompanide with *Guyllay de Stouteuile Chastellaine de Beauuais Lionet de Brucquemont* and others to the number of an hundred Knights and Squires, who with the Towne-men issued out of the *Basille*, vpon that quarter where *Huntington*, and *Cornwallay*, by whom with losse on either side, they were beaten backe, the gates fired, some breaches made, and fireworks shot into the streetes, to no little annoyance of the besieged, but nothing dismayed them more, then did the Mines made vnder the wals: against which though they within countermined, and came to fight hand to hand with the besiegers, yet they saw it litle preailed, the wals being ready to fall, and such batteries therein already made, as they well perceived *K. Henry* was resolved to carry the towne by assault: wherupon *Monsieur de Graucourt* foreseeing the eminent danger, demanded a Parley, promising to render the towne if it were not relucied by a certain day assigned.

(41) And albeit that *Iehan de Boncignis*, and *Charles de Albues* Marshall, and Constable of *France*, the one at *Candeube* Castell, the other in *Harflew*, either of them hauing in their companies one thousand and five hundred men at Armes, were yet so curbed by the English, that no great seruice they did, and lesse hope was looked for from the French king, whose strengthes were not ready as the *Dolphin* returned answere, either to remoue or relieue the siege at *Harflew*; wherupon the twenty two of September, *Graucourt* the Gouernour with twenty foure selected Capitaines and Burgeises came to King *Henry*, who fate in his Paulion vnder a cloth of estate, his Noblemen about him, and the Earle of *Kyme* vpon his right hand, bearing his casket, whereon was an imperial Crowne set with stones of great price: The Gouernour and the rest prostrating themselves at the Kings feet, deliuered vnto him the Keyes of the town, according to the couenants betwixt them comprised, which was a respite for five dayes, and then if no succour came to surrender the towne vnto the king, & to deliuer into his hand thirty of their chiefest personages: to stand for life or death at his owne pleasure, the rest to depart without armor, weapons, or any of their goods.

(42) *Harflew* thus surrendered in so short a siege continuance, the King sent *Thomas Earle of Dorset* with sufficient troupes to possesse the Gates, who then erected the Kings Standard, and Saint Georges banner vpon the principall Ports, and assured the Towne with guards competent. Morouer, he sent the said *Monsieur de Graucourt*, and with him *Guyen* King at Armes vnto the *Dolphin* to let him know, that hee would stay eight dayes in *Harflew*, to expect his comming, where they might treat of an accord, whereunto himselfe was wellinclined, if hee were not obstinate, for his purpose was not to demand more then his right, and if they could not accord, for the sparing of Christian blood, he was pleased to decide the quarrell by single combat between them two.

(43) His entrance into *Harflew* was not as *Cassars* into *Rome* with Coronets, Ensignes, and Triumphe, a treading his Chariot, but in a more humble

humble manner hee passed along the streetes barefooted, vntill hee came to the Church of Saint *Martin*, where with great deuotion hee gaue most humble thanks vnto God for this his first achieved enterprise. Then that the Towne might be English, and free from French dangers, hee made proclamation, that whosoeuer of his English Artificers would transport themselves vnto *Harflew*, houses should there bee giuen to them and their heires whereby in short time the towne was repeople with English Artisans. Here King *Henry* abode the space of twelue or fiftene dayes, expecting an answer of his message sent to the *Dolphin*; but the time prefixed (and more dayes expired) hee commanded his souldiers to furnish themselves with victuals for eight dayes, leauing his vnclie *Thomas Beauford Earle of Dorset* Gouernour of *Harflew*, himselfe with two thousand horse, and thirteen thousand foot, marched towards *Calis* through the Countie of *Caux* and *Eu*.

(44) The French Court notwithstanding it swarmed with factions (whilst vnder a weake and braine-sicke King) the great ones fought to make themselves greater, and the common enemy endangering all, King *Charles*, the *Dolphin*, his brother of *Ponthieu*, the King of *Sicily*, the Dukes of *Berry* and of *Britaine*, with the whole force of *France* assembled at *Roan*, and in Councell concluded, that the English should bee fought with, before they got *Calis*, and forthwith decreed to endamage King *Henry* on his way, which presently was attempted. For besides their continual skirmishes vpon his marching Army, they brake down the Bridges, plained the woods, intrenched the wayes, stricke stakes in the Foords, and in places of aduantage, laid store of souldiers to empach his passage, and conuayed all victuals out of the Countie, through which hee should goe; whereby they well hoped, as a Deere taken in the toile, so both hee and his host should haue beene insinared, who now was approached to *Pirron*, with purpose to haue passed the riuier *Seame* at *Blanchetage*: but there the French had fortified against him, so as hee well saw that was not the way; and thereupon changing his Counsell, hee marched by *Wormes*, and lodged at *Baillev*, with an intent to haue passed the riuier at *Port le Remy*, but that also guarded, he kept along the Riuier to *Hargeff*, the French Army marching vpon the other banke, vnder the leading of *Charles de Albret* Constable of *France*.

(45) *Henry* still seeking to get ouer *Seame*, meant to assay it, euen to the head, and passing by *Amiens*, *Bomes*, and *Corbie*, in a valley adioyning, there lodged his host, where hee commanded his Archers to prouide stakes harpened at both ends, which afterwards stood them in singular good stead: Then hearing by his spials that the water was passable at *Bethencourt*, by the negligent guard of them of Saint *Quintins*, hee got ouer the riuier. His souldiers both weary and faint, many of them sicke, and their provisions spent some twelue dayes before, were forced to feed vpon nuts, roots, and Berryes, such as they could get, and their drinke was the water that ranne in their way.

(46) The day they spent with great toile and long march, the nights were cold and wet, and no where good lodging, alwayes standing vpon their owne guard, and the French alwayes swarming about them without intermission. These things moued *Henry* as the French Writers report, to proffer the restitution of *Harflew*, with other holds in *Normandie*, and to make satisfaction for the harms done in *France*, to suffer him free passage vnto his Towne of *Calis*. But certaine it is, that great reliefe hee got by the iustice and piety that hee liued in those parts: for albeit hee was in the midst of his enemies, and his Souldiers pinched with penury and want, yet made hee Proclamation vpon paine of death, that none of his Army should rob any Church: wherein a souldier offending, hee cauled restitution to be made, and commanded the stealer to be put to death: the

fame of which piety moued the people (albeit they were forbid by the French King) plentifully to supply the fainting English with their owne provisions.

(47) But the Nobility vnderstanding that the English had got ouer *Seame*, the Constable, the Dukes of *Orleanse* and *Bourbon*, sent vnto *Henry* an Herald with defiance, demanding battell vpon Thursday following; which the English King granted, but therein failed, faith the French Secretarie, and tooke his march towards *Calis* without any stay. True it is, that *Henry* was not desirous of fight, his impediments being such as wee haue said, and therefore returned answere, that he meant to keepe on his march vnto *Calis*, and would not seeke them: but if they would disturbe him, he committed the issue thereof to God, assuring himselfe that it would bee to their owne great danger and perill, and so passing forward to *Forcenil*, to *Bonyers*, to *Leffailon*, to *Baugy*, vpon Thursday the 24. of October, hee came to *Azincourt*, where the French in a field of aduantage (purposely chosen) in the County of Saint *Paul*, and neere vnto *Azincourt* had pitched their Banner rally, with an infinite host, whereof the Constable of *France* had the conduct.

(48) His power (saith *Parradin*) consisted of an hundred and fifty thousand horse (besides them for carriages which were innumerable) wherein were ten thousand men at Armes, all of them (a very few excepted) Princes, Noblemen, Knights, and Esquiers. The Vanguard was led by the Constable, the Dukes of *Orleanse*, and *Bourbon*, the Earles of *Eu* and *Bouciquais* the Marshall, *Dampier* the Admiral, *Guyard* *Dolphin* de *Auuergne*, and *Cluuet* of *Brabant*. The maine battell, by the Duke of *Barre*, the Earles of *Alencon*, *Neuers*, *Blauumont*, *Salines*, *Grandpre*, and *Rouffe*. And the rereguard by the Duke of *Brabant* Earles of *Charle*, *Eurquenberge*, and *Monsieur de Lornay*; the right wing was commanded by *Arthur Earle of Richmond*, and the left by *Lewis de Bourbon*, Count de *Yendosme* great Master of *France*, whole particular retinues *Franciscus Rosenius* doth largely declare: all ranged together in their array appeared to the eye (saith *Parradin*) fixe times to exceed the English, but *Peter Diuors* esteemed them to bee ten times more.

(49) King *Henry* seeing himselfe so farre ingaged, and many of his men sicke of the fluxe, sent the second time vnto these assembled Princes his profers, to surrender *Harflew*, and what else he had won, so as without disturbance he might depart for *Calis*. Whereunto the Constable and Marshall were willing, but the other young Princes despising the small number of their aduerariies, refused all conditions of peace, and were not only negligent in the duties of Commanders, but with an assurance of victory diuided the pray, disposed of prisoners, and prepared a Chariot to carry the captiue King in triumph; commanding the Cities and Townes adioyning to ring their bells, and to render thanks vnto God, who had deliuered their enemies into such place of aduantage as an assured victory must presently follow: and so confident were they thereof, that they sent to King *Henry* to know what ransom he would giue. But faith *Chartier*, what answere the King made, is vncertaine: for that all who were priuie therunto, were flaine, the Duke of *Orleanse* only excepted, and he a prisoner retained in *England*. They also sent for King *Charles*, and the *Dolphin* his sonne (then residing in *Roane*) to come in their persons vnto the battell, that so they might haue the honour of the field. Whereat the Duke of *Berry* was highly offended, and aduised the contrarie, laying before the King the hazard of warre, out of his owne experience, being himselfe at the battell of *Poytiers*, where King *Iohn* vnturnately was taken by the English, which proued (as he alleged) a great breake-necke vnto *France*.

(50) The face of these hostes were diuers and indifferent

John Harding

Alain Chartier.

The fight was not of Henries feeling.

Enguerrand.

Azincourt in the county of Saint Paul.

Per. in Annal. de Burg.

La-tiers volum de comtez de France.

The chiefe commanders in the French Army.

Lewis de Bourbon.

Their number sixtimes, yea ten times more then the English. *In Stemmata Berri Ducum. *In Rerum Britannicarum.

Parradin.

Alain Boucheant in Annal. de Bre.

Bertrand de Agoutre hist. de Bretagne.

The French thought themselves invincible. Poind. Vais.

They sent to Henry for his ransom as if they were sure to conquer. Alain Chartier Secretaire au Roy Charles 7.

The Councell of Sage men assembled.

The French glorious in this but the English conquerors.

Caxton, Chron.

The English discerned what was done in the French army. P. Acmil.

Alain Douchant, en les Anales de Bretagne.

The stratagem with stakes.

Guil. Tarradyn.

T. Walsing. The chief Leaders of each part of the English army.

The noble abilities of King Henry in the maine Battell.

Titus Livius.

The admirable and glorious fight that both armies made.

Jo. Serres

King Henry speaks to his Calis.

The Walsing.

indifferent, the French gallant, fresh, and through vain hope of honour, already mounted above men of meane rancke, the English weake, weary and forestarved, made no such shew, and yet their courage no lesse then the other. The one spending the night before Battell, in Feasts, Triumphes, and other like sports, distributing their Captives, dividing their spoiles, and decreeing none to be slayed but the King, and his nobles; all others must die or be incurably maimed: the other trimming their armour, sharpening their speares, buckling their armour, and refreshing their bodies for the next day; and besides other observances, by the light of the great fiers made in the French Campe, the English discerned what was therein done, and took the advantage of their order and ground.

(51) The morning approached, the French took the field, thronging forward, who should be first to this most easie and certaine victory (as they took it) their greatest strength consisting in horse. Against whose violence King Henry commanded two hundred strong bow-men to lodge in a low meadow, where a deepe ditch full of water might secure them from the horse, and the bushes cover them from sight. These having stakes prepared and shod with Iron at both ends, were appointed to stick them remote-wise in the ground, yet so that they might be removed as occasion was ministered, to guard them from the danger of the horse: which policy accomplished, King Henry (whose hope was in God, and the goodness of his cause) about ten of the clocke raunged his English, against the French then in field: he disposed his host into three battels, placing his bow-men on both sides of the maine.

(52) The vanguard, consisting of Archers, was led by Lord Edward, (his cosen) the Duke of York, & with him the Lords Beaumont, Willoughby, and Fanhope. In the maine Battell all in complete and bright shining armour, the King rode himselfe, his shield quartered with the royal achievements of England and France, upon his helmet he wore a Coronet, the circle whereof glittered with pearle and stones of an vnestimable price: his horse of a fierce courage carried as he went, the bridle and furniture of Goldsmithes worke, and the Caparisons most richly embroidered with the victorious Ensignes of the English Monarchy: Before him in gold and glorious colours the Royall Standard was borne, and many other banners in warlike order waied with the winde.

(53) The French had framed their Battels into two sharpe fronts, as intending with their points to haue runne through the English Squadrons; altogether relying vpon their horsemen, and shining in bravery with an incredible excess. And for the beauty and honourable horror of both the Armies, no heart can iudge of, vnlesse the eye had seene it, the Banners, Ensignes and Pennons streaming in the ayre, the glittering of armours, the varietie of colours, the motion of Plumes, the Forrells of Lances, and the thickets of shorter weapons, made so great and goodlie a shew; but the silent expectation of the bloody blast was as the bullet ramd into the Canon, whose roaring voice is not so soone heard, as the stroke of death felt by the aimed-at marke.

(54) The Battels thus raunged a while stood still, and faced each other euen in the face: The French (whether vpon error like to that of Pompeis at the Battell of Pharsalia where Cæsar was victorious, or to draw the English farther from their advantage of ground, is altogether vnknowne) but certain it is, that King Henry was resolved to open his way for Calis over the Enemies bosome, or else to die: and thereupon with a cheerefull countenance and words full of courage, he comforted his followers and said. "My most faithfull Companions and worthy soldiers, we now goe into the field of honour, and to the worke of manhood, which your great valours so long haue expected and praised for; loe this day

"is now come, and your worke the noblest in the world; pour forth therefore your utmost forces, that ages may know what the lance, the Axe, the sword and the bow can doe in the hand of the valiant: Whosoever therefore desires riches, honour, and rewards here he shall find them. *Nimium hæc mediæ pascuit Denu omnia Campo.* When he had thus said, his army fell prostrate on the ground, and committed themselves vnto God every man taking into his mouth a peece of earth, in remembrance of his owne mortality, (being thereof made) or of the holy Communion whereof hee was incorporated to be a partaker; and so resolved, arising, the King with cheerefull countenance commanded his Standard to aduance forward, saying, *because our iniurious enemies doe attempt to shut vs out, let vs vpon them in the name of the most glorious Trinity, and in the best boare of the whole yeere.*

(55) The ranging of the Battell King Henry committed to an old experienced Knight called Sir Thomas Erpingham: who with a warder in his hand lead the way, which when he saw time hee threw vp into the ayre, whereat the whole army gaue a great shout; which done, he alighted from his horse, & came to the King, who was in his place on foot. The French beholding this Offer, kept still their forward standing, which the English perceiving, made forward and came on, giuing another shout, when immediately the Archers, layd in the meadow, darkened the ayre with a shower of sharpe arrowes, most fearfull to the sight, but more deadly to be felt, and withall, the English charged their Battell with an admirable Courage; the most of them for nimblenes being but halfe clothed, without hat, and bare-legged. And such was their courage notwithstanding their wants, as he that ere while could scarcely bend his Bow, is able now to draw his yard-long arrow to the verie head, whose roaring marke was the flankes of the French, so rightly aimed at, and so strongly stucke on, that their sides were altogether larded with arrowes, whereby the vanguard was instantly distressed, and disordered into such a confused presse, as they were not able to vfe their weapons at any advantage. Their wings likewise assayed to charge the English, but Monsieur de Lignie in the one not well seconded by his troopes was forced back: and Guillaume de Surres charging home in the other, was slaine. The Battalions now broke, for safety fled to the Main, where they breed both feare and confusion by the vnruines of their wounded horses, so galled with arrowes as they could not be governed.

(56) The first troope of the French horse, were exquisitely appointed, whereon their riders much presumed, and meant to haue burst through the Archers with a violent course, but they giuing backe left their sharpe pointed stakes sticking, which till then were vnlesse the French supposing the Archers had fled, came on with their horse vpon the spur, and that in such heat, as the earth seemed to tremble vnder their thundering feet, and being forced forward, without foresight of danger carried their proud Riders into the iawes of destruction: for falling by troopes vpon those goaring stakes, they were miserably ouerthrowne, and paunched to death. The tempests of arrowes still whirling in the ayre sparkled fire in their fells from the helmets of the French, and with their Steele heads, rang manie thousands their knels that dolefull day, who like to come cut downe with the scith, fell by whole plumps in that fatal field; the English still following the advantage: against whom Anthony Duke of Brabant, hoping by his example to encourage others, followed with a few turned head, and brake into the English Battell, wherein manfully fighting hee was slaine.

(57) With the like manhood Duke Alençon a lusty French Lord, pressed into the Battallion where King Henry fought, and encountering Humphrey Duke of Gloucester the Kings brother, both wounded

ded and ouerthrew him, to whose rescue if Henry had not come, he had died more honourable then afterward hee did, for King Henry befriding him, deliuered his laid brother from danger, and wanne himselfe much honour by the deed. Alençon then coped with King Henry in fight, and with his Axe cut a part of his Crowne, which blow was so furie laid on, that there with his helmet was battered vnto his brow, but the Lyon enraged, with redoubled strength, stroke the French Gallant vnto the ground, and slew two of his men that seconded their Master. The Duke thus downe, cried to the King, I am Alençon, whom Henry sought to haue slayed, and so had done, had not the deafe cares of reuenge stoppall found of life, against him, that so had endangered their Soueraigne Lord.

(58) The French Reregard surprised with feare, at the disaster of the vanguard, and the maine battell fled, not striking one stroke (except some principall leaders and they not many) the English horsemen fetched a compasse and wheeled about vpon their backs, which no sooner was perceived, but that the rage of fighting was ended, and the worke of killing began; as by the words of Walsingham doth manifestly appeare: *The way (saith he) is at length made by fine forces; the French did not so much gaine place, as fall dead to the earth: for when they saw those beaten indeed vnder foot, whom they reputed invincible, their minds forthwith grew amazed, and such anie fear came lyd through their marrow, that they stood still like senselesse Images, while our men wrested weapons out of their hands, and slew them therewith as beasts. Slaughter then had lost the stay of itselfe, and fight did follow no longer, but all the warre was made at throates, which (as it were) offered themselves to be cut, neither can the English kill so manie of the enemies, as may be killed. Thus therefore the whole glory of the French name is almost perished, by the hands of those few, whom immediately before they held in most extreme contempt. But the sword now made weary and drunke with blood, all danger past, and humanity retired, prisoners were taken, and liues spared, which hitherto was neglected, least mercy might haue proued the destruction of themselves.*

(59) Whilst the King was thus busied, & the success of the battell in dispute, his carriages (but slenderly guarded) by the French were assailed, & all made spoile of, that was to be had. The Captaines of this cowardly enterprize, were Robinet de Bourneville, Risslant de Clumasse, and Lambert de Agincourt, with fixe hundred Pealants, who had turned their faces at the first brunt of Battell, as men of better practise to pilfer, then to purchase by manhood the spoiles of the field.

Where among other things they found a rich Crowne and sword, which they bare away in triumph, while, sayning that King Henry was taken, and as a prisoner followed their troopes, the fight of certaine English prisoners by them taken and led away confirming the report more strongly in the beholders conceit. But King Henry breathlesse, and in heat of blood, seeing certaine new troopes of the King of Sicils appeare in the field, and the same strong enough to encounter with his weary men, fearing (as hee had cause) that the Bourbon Battallion vpon sight of fresh succours would gather into a body, and againe make head, considering withall how his men were over-charged with multitudes of Prisoners, who in number surmounted their Conquerours: that the charge would be double at once, to guard and to fight, and that the prisoners would be ready vpon every advantage to take armes and free themselves from their takers: these and other necessities constraining, King Henry contrary to his wonted generous nature, gaue present commandement that every man should kill his Prisoner, which was immediately performed, certaine principall men excepted. Which done, and falling againe in Order, hee sent his Heraulds vnto these troopes assembled, commanding them forthwith to come vnto Battell, or

else to depart the field; either of which if they delayed, he threatened to reuenge with their deaths, without any redemption or mercy; at which severe sentence their hearts were so daunted, that with shame and dishonour they departed the field. The base surprisall of the Kings carriages, (the only cause as some alleage of the French prisoners death) was so ill digested by the French themselves, that the Duke of Burgundie imprisoned the Actors thereof, and was minded to haue put them to death, had not his sonne the Count of Charolais mediated for them, vnto whom they presented King Henries rich sword, the guards whereof was gold set with stones of great price.

(60) The day almost spent in spending French blood, and euening approaching nere the set of the Sunne, the field cleared, and no enemy scene, the reate was founded, and all were assembled to giue thanks vnto God; which done, while his souldiers pillaged the dead, King Henry sent for Montjoy herault at armes in France, and for other heraulds both English and French: vnto whom he said, *we haue not of our selues made this great slaughter, which the sword in our weake hands hath laid at our feete, but the Arme of God for the offences (no doubt) of the French hath done it, whose blood let now rest vpon their owne heads, and wee guiltlesse in following our right: and then demanding the name of the place, was answered, it was Azincourt, then said he, to all posterities following, this Battell shall be called the Battell of Azincourt. Thus dismissing the heraulds, he returned to Amfoucelles, where he lodged the night before. The spoile was great, and the pray rich in armour, jewels, and apparel, for which by the Countrey Peasants many (left as dead) were stripped stark naked, who afterward crept from the place, but most of them mortally wounded without reliefe, lay in great dolor and died in the ditches: so certaine is the calamity of warre, and vncertaine the sword till it bee quietlie sheathed.*

(61) King Henry lost his cosen Edward Duke of York, and the Earle of Suffolk that day, besides some others, the French writers say three or foure hundred, yet Caxton will haue them but twenty and fixe: and Paulus Emilius addeth to the two slaine Lords, two Knights and only ten priuate souldiers, without anie more; vnto whom an ancient manuscrypt addeth * David Gam an Esquire, and twenty eight priuate souldiers, affirming confidently, that no more of the English died that day.

(62) A farre larger role is writ of the French, slaine at this Battell, yet diuers and different among their owne Authors, the true Catalogue as wee cannot certainly set downe, yet as wee haue many Collections we will deliuer the same in part, and referre the rest to be scene vpon the record: Only naming the Officers and Leaders in the same field either slaine, or taken Prisoners, by this famous King Henry in this his triumphant and fortunate day.

Charles D'Albert, high Constable of France.
Geoffrey Bouciquart Marshall of France.
Jaques Chastillon Admirall.

Guiscard Dauphin of Aragon great Master of the Kings Horse.
Edward Duke of Barre.
Anthoine D. of Brabant.
Duke Alençon.
Count Neuers.
Count de Marle.
Count de Vaudemont.
Count de Blamont.
Count de Grandpre.
Count de Roussie.
Count de Farguebourg.

Lewis de Bourbon.
Sig. de Preaux.
Robert de Barre.
Icham de Barre.

Great Lords.

Sig. de Croy.
Sig. de Hely.
Sig. de Anxi.
Sig. de Brimen.
Sig. de Polx.
Sig. de Louroy.
Sig. de Raineuall.
Sig. de Longueuall.
Sig. de Inche.
Sig. de Neuville.
Sig. de Dampierre.
Sig. de Moreuall.

vidame

Enguerrant de Monfrellet.

The Duke of Burgundie imprisoned the robbers of King Henries carriages but pardons their liues at Count Charolais request. T. Walsing.

King Henry acknowledge God the giuer of victory.

God deliuereth a nation into the hands of the destroyer for their finnes.

Enguerrant de Monfrellet.

Nich. Gille. Latere volume de Cron. France.

The small number of English slaine. The Walsing. 6th Manuscript.

The names of great persons either slaine or taken prisoners.

Enguerrant de Monfrellet.

Enguerrant.

Vidame de Amiens.
Mes. de Moens.
Mes. de Alain.
Mes. de Saufes.
Mes. de Poix.
Mes. de Bethune.

To bee short, *Jehan Tillet* saith, that there were ten thousand slain, and almost as many more taken: and most of their owne writers account the successe of this Battell to be with the slaughter of foure thousand Princes, Nobles, Knights, and Esquires: but the history of *Normandy* accounted eight thousand to be slain of that ranke, whereof an hundred and twenty bare Banners: among whom died foure Dukes, nine Earles, one Archibishop, and ten thousand common souldiers, as the Heraulds relation in that behalfe hath reported.

(27) Prisoners of account taken in this field, were *Charles* the Duke of *Orleans*, and *John Duke of Bourbon*, *Arthur Earle of Richmond*, extremely wounded and left for dead, as he lay gasping among the slain, was by the *English* recovered and retained their Prisoner. *Louis de Bourbon* Com de *Vendosme* was there taken Captive, was *Charles Earle of Eu*, being carried into *England*, where he remained prisoner twenty three yeres. Others of great account were likewise taken and put to ranfome, as *Edward de Rouen*, *Oliner de la Feild*, and *Jehan Giffart*, with these and many more the next day King *Henry* marched to *Callis*, leaving the *French* to search for their wounded, that in ditches and bushes had made their heavy beds: In commiseration whereof, the Counte *Charlois* extreme penfive for the losse of his vncles, and other his friends, in charity came to the field, and caused the dead to be buried, the charge whereof he committed to the Abbot of *Roussauville* and the Bailiffe of *Ayre*, who inclosed a peece of ground with a deep ditch of two hundred and fifty yards square, fencing it with an hedge of thornes against the rauenings of dogs and wolues. Wherein were interred fife hundred and eight thousand Christian carcases, in regard whereof it was sanctified by the Bishop of *Essex*, and made a Churchyard.

(28) The Duke of *Britaine* with his forces was cometo *Amiens* within two daies march of *Azin-court* to ayde King *Charles*, but the *French* vpon a conceited assurance of victory, would not stay his coming: who now hearing of the glorious day obtained by the *English*, dismissed his troupes, and retired to his owne Countrey, not meaning any more to intermeddle in the warre betwene *England* and *France*. Now King *Henry* vpon Saturday the 26. of October, being the next day after Battell, tooke his march towards *Callis*, but in passing the field wherein they had fought, he caused search for all the *English*, which he caused to be entered according to their estates. But the Bodies of his slain cosen the Duke of *Torke*, and of *Michael de la Poole Earle of Suffolke*, hee tooke away thence, carrying them both into *England*, and so passing to *Gushes* with his Prisoners hee entered *Callis*, whither, those left at *Harflew* resorted, to pay their ranfomes to them assigned.

(29) His host now refreshed and courage augmented, it was disputable in Counsell, whether the King should retorne againe into *France*, to pursue his enterprize already begun, or else to imbarke for *England*. But the time of yeeres spent, the winter wet, and the field Camps very much subiect to fluxes, wherewith many of his souldiers were as yet infected, and more vnhaled of their wounds; it was thought fittest to make for *England*, and the sooner, for that victuals became somewhat scarce in *Callis*. These things premised, King *Henry* vpon the sixteenth day of November spread sayles for *England*, and in the passage was met with such stormes, that his *French* Prisoners were in as great feare, as they had bene in danger at the Battell of *Azin-court*: but arrived at *Douer* and all dangers past, vpon the three and twenty of November in triumph wife hee made his entrance into *London*, foure hundred Citizens riding before him in red and white hoodes, the gates

and streetes were garnished with Pageants, and the Conduits plentifully pouring forth sweet wines. The religious men met him with procession, and foureteen mitted Bishops attended his approach vnto *Saint Pauls*, where, out of the Centers the sweet Odours filled the Church, and the Quier chanted Anthems cunningly set by note: in all which the honour was ascribed only vnto God, the King fo commanding it. And so farre was he from the vaine ostentation of men, that he would not adorn his broken Crowne, nor bruiet armour to be borne before him in shew, which are the vntall Ensignes of warlike triumphes. The Citie presented him a thousand pound in gold, two golden basons worth fife hundred pound more, which were received with all Princely thanks.

(30) And now to doe the last office of a souldier for those two noblemen slain at *Azin-court*, hee willed the body of the Duke of *Torke* to be interred in his Colledge at *Fetheringhay* in *Northamptonshire*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* at *Woburne* in *Oxfordshire*, commanding most of his Bishops and Abbots to celebrate the Exequies in *London*, whereunto likewise resorted his vncle *Dorset* the Governor of *Harflew*, whom for his good seruice done, he created Duke of *Exeter*, and gaue him a thousand pound by yeere out of his owne Exchequer: but in his absence some attempts were made by the *French* against the said Towne, whereby he was enforced the sooner to retorne.

(31) The calamities of these times by the stirred schismes of the Church, and these bloody warres among Christian Princes, *Sigismund* the Emperour a man of great wisdom and integrity, much lamented at the Councell of *Constance*, & as another *Constantine* solicited the three stiffe stirring Popes vnto vniuty, but failing of that purpose, from those parts hee trauelled into *France*, and thence into *England*: seeking to make peace betwixt these two Western Monarchs, the better to withstand the common knowne enemy of Christendome the Turke. King *Charles* hee solicited first, finding him in words very forward, with many faire shewes to imbrace the motion, whereupon taking with him the Archibishop of *Rheims* as Ambassadour from the *French* King, came vnto *Calis*, where he was most honourably entertained by the Earle of *Warwicke*, Deputy of the Towne, and diuers other Lords sent thither by King *Henry* to attend him, as also thirte of his tallest shippes to waite him to *Douer* gallantlie rigged and manned with a noble traine. The Duke of *Glocester* accompanied with many of the nobility, was appointed to receiue him at *Douer*, where they attended his coming.

(32) The Emperour arrived, and ready to take land, *Glocester* and the other Lords with their drawne swords entered the water, and thus spake to the Emperour, that if his Imperiall Maiesty intended to enter as their Kings friend and mediator for peace, they would receiue him with all willingness accordingly, but if as an Emperour to claime any authority in *England*, which was a free Kingdome, they were there ready to resist and impeach his entrance. Which rough demand being most mildly answered by *Sigismund*, he had present access, and by them was attended towards *London*.

(33) This worthy Emperour, King *Henry* greatly respected, as well for his owne worths, and the amity held euer with the house of *Beane*; as also for that he had married *Barbara* the daughter of the Earle of *Zillie* the Kings Cosen *Germane* removed. His entertainment was Princely, and charges altogether borne by King *Henry*, who the more to honor him at *Windfore*, solemnly enstalled him Knight of the Order of *Saint George* or *Garter*, with a most sumptuous fest purporely prepared, at which the Emperour sat in his Collar and Robes; but not following the cause for which he came, hee instantlie vrged the peace for *France*, wherein he was gentle heard

All these things were done by the King's commandment, and the Emperour's pleasure.

heard by the *English* King, but vpon new displeasures for some losse of men in the Territories of *Roane*, the motion at that time was dashed, and would not proceed, least (as King *Henry* alleaged) the *French* should suppose that a small losse had weakened his spirits: yet the Emperour continuing his intercession for peace, had brought it to that passe by his pety persuasions, as had not the *French* that verie instant besieged *Harflew* both by Sea and land, it had bene effected.

(34) For not long before *Thomas Earle of Dorset*, having made a roade into the County of *Caux*, was fet vpon by the Earle of *Armignac* Constable of *France* with other strong men at *Armes* neere vnto *Vadmont*, who fo distressed the *English*, that *Dorset* tooke into a Garden for defence, and having had priuate conference there with the Constable, early before day, departed with the losse of foure hundred men. *Armignac* puffd vp by his got victory, with his *French* powers followed the *English* in a hasty march toward *Harflew*, and vpon the lands intercepted their passage, where betwixt them a cruell conflict was perourmed, with the ouerthrow of the *French*, and flight of the Constable, who retired to *Nonfrenvillier* for safety.

(35) This his unlucky attempt hee tooke greatly to heart, and therefore purposing to repurchase again his honor, hee determined for *Harflew*, where hee set downe his land siege, before the *English* Garrison within, were well aware, when also the *Picount* *Narbon* Vice-Admiral of *France*, with a Fleet of tall shippes entered the haven, so that the Towne was begirt on every side as we haue said. King *Henry* hearing of these newes, called home his Ambassadours, which were the Bishop of *Normich* and Sir *Thomas Erpingham* in commission then at *Beauvais*, and in conference for a Peace, and the Emperour well perceiving that the *French* plaid vpon aduantage, and that King *Henry* was not of temper to, turne edge at their strokes, saw it vaine to prosecute the peace for *France* further, and therefore sought to enter league with the *English* himselfe, vnto the which King *Henry* was fo willing as hee confirmed the same vpon these Articles following.

(36) That the said Emperour & King, their heires & successours should be friends each to other as Allies and Confederates against all manner, of persons of what estate or degree locuer, the Church of *Rome*, and the Pope for the time being only excepted (for hee was the Master Bee that then lead the swarme.)

(37) That neither themselves, their heires nor successours should be present in Counsell or other place, where either of them, their heires or successours might sustaine damage in lands, goods, honours, states or persons: and that if any of them should vnderstand of losse or hinderance to be like to fall or happen to the others, they should impeach the same, or if that lay not in their powers, they should aduertise the others thereof with all convenient speed. That either of them, their heires and successours should aduance the others honour and commodity without any fraud or deceit. That neither of them, nor their heires or successours should permit their subiects to leauy warres against the others. That it should be lawfull and free for each of their subiects to passe into the others Countrey, and there to remaine and make merchandize either by Sea or land, paying the Customes, gables, and duties due and accustomed according to the Laws, and Ordinances of the places, and Countreys where they should traffique. That neither of the said Princes, nor their heires, nor successours should receiue any rebell, banished man, or traitour of the others willingly, but should cause euery such person to auoid out of their Countreys, Realmes, dominions, and Iurisdiccions. That neither of the said Princes, their heires nor successours should begin any other warres against any other person, other then such as they had warres with at that present without

the consent of the other his Confederate, except in defence of themselves, their Countreys and subiects in case of inuasion made vpon them. That it should be lawfull for the King of *England* to prosecute his warres against *France* for the recovery of his right, as should seeme to him expedient, and for the Emperour, for the recovery of any part of his right retained by the *French*. Lastly, that either of them should assit other in recovery and Conquest of their rights, lands and dominions, withheld and kept from them, by him that calleth himselfe King of *France*, and others, the Princes and Barons of *France*. These conclusions and agreements bare date the 19. of October, in Anno 1416. In the meane while the *French* that had felt the hard hand of the *English*, and seeing that *Henry* had with-drawne his commissioners for peace, King *Charles* made a league with the states of *Genoua*, requiring their aide against this dangerous enemy, who supplyd him with sixe hundred Crosse-bowes, and eight tall shippes of warre, and as many galleys with munition and victuals. These waiting the Seas with many brauadoes, King *Henry* in person meant to haue mette with himselfe, but the Emperour dissuading his purpose, the charge of that Enterprize was committed to *John Duke of Bedford*, accompanie with the Earles of *March*, *Marshall*, *Oxford*, *Warwicke*, *Huntington*, *Arundell*, *Deuonshire*, and *Salisbury*; these falling vpon the County of *Narbon*, a fierce encounter was begun, and long fought, till at length the victory fell to the *English*, so that the *French* Navy was most of them battered, suncke and taken; amongst others three great Carricks of the *Genoues* were sent to *England*, with whom the bastard of *Burbon* was brought away Prisoner; & the *Vicount* de *Narbon*, *Le Sire de Montaigne*, and *Le Sire de Berrar* chased into *Britaine*. This victorie obtained, the Duke past forward to the Towne of *Harflew*, and refreshed it with victuals without ante impeachment; for *Armignac* the Constable hearing how his Conforts had kept tunc on the Seas, thought it not best to set to their note, least his meane would not be heard, the bafe of this musick sounding too deepe, and therefore hee put vp his pipes, and got him to *Paris*. This seruice performed was so commended by the Emperour, as he openly said, that Realme was happy that had such a King, but the King more happe that had such subiects, and euer after held *Bedford* in a most speciall account.

(38) His affaires now finished, and Princely entertainments thankfully receiued, hee prepares for his retorne toward *Germany*, and King *Henry* to doe him the more honour would needs accompany him to his Towne of *Calis*, whither after their arrivalls the Duke of *Burgogne* repayed to doe his homage vnto the Emperour, which *Burgogne* some months before, had concluded a peace with the Earle of *Warwicke* in the behalfe of King *Henry*, for the Countreys of *Flanders* and *Arthois*. *Henry* therefore in hope of a further friendship with him, sent his brother the Duke of *Glocester*, and the Earle of *March* vnto *Saint Omers* to lye hostages with the Countie *Charlois*, for *Burgognes* passage and safe retorne, with whom hee sent *Warwicke* to conduct him to *Calis*.

(39) His entertainment was honourable both by the Emperour and King, which as acceptably hee receiued, and vnto *Sigismund* performed his homage, and with *Henry* renewed the truce for the time of two yeres, both which were fo distastie to the *French* stomacks, that the Emperour is taxed, hee came not with an intent to worke the good of *France*, but rather to augment her miseries by animating *Burgundy* to bandy against *France*: and that King *Henry* was putt with an humor of pride, his affaires fo prosperous against a weak King. But this buifnes ended, *Burgundy* returned to *Grauling*, *Henry* into *England*, and the Emperour toward *Germany*, being waited into the low Countreys with the Kings Fleet

Agostino Giustini
mano Vesputi
Nebio.

Paul. Amilium
Alain Chartier
Secretarie.

French Navy
ouerthrowne.

History of Normandy.
La Mer des English.

The Emperour
applaudeth
the felicity of England.

He prepareth for Germany.

Denis Sauege
Cora. de Fland.

The Duke of Burgundy
doth homage to the Emperour
and taketh a truce with K. Henric.
Joh. Serres in uult
Charles.

Enguerant de
Monfrel.Burgundy maketh
a truce with Eng-
land, but after-
wards with
France contrary
to his Oath.

Denis Sauvage

Parliament
Roll. 5. H. 5.A subsidy granted
the King for
his warres in
France.King Henry had
three great ad-
vantages for the
better conquest
of France.Denis Sauvage
Chron. de Fran.John Serres bish.
France.

and attended vpon by the Kings seruants.

(39) At Callis King Henry had made great prof-
fers vnto Burgundy to enter with him into the warres
against France, promising him part of his Conquests,
and to spare and fauour all his vassals, allies, and
friends, but Burgundy refusing the offers, remained
his enemy for France, howbeit he sent Embassadors
into England to treat a continuance of the truce,
which was granted to the Commissioners to indure
from the next Michaels-tide vnto Easter ensuing,
which was confirmed at Porchester the 23. of Iulie
and yeere of Christ 1417. For the signing where-
of King Henry sent the keeper of his priuy Seale to
Amiens where the Duke of Burgundy deliuered the
same signed, which beganne in this sort. *Iohannes
Dux Burg. Comes Flandriae, Arthusa & Burgundiae, Pa-
latinus, Dominus de Salina & Muchlina uniuersis
presentes litteras inspicien: saluem, &c. datum in villa
Ambianensis 17. die Mensis Aug. 1417.* This notwithstanding
the said Duke reuerted, and in Nouember
following made a league (whereunto he was sworne)
with the King and Dauphin of France against Eng-
land, which his doings King Henry tooke nothing
well. But his proceedings prospering in France hee
called a Parliament at London, where the Lord Chan-
cellor, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester and Car-
dinal, in the Kings behalfe made an eloquent Orati-
on, declaring the great desire his Maister had to make
Peace with the French, which their King norwith-
standing resisted, and against the law of Armes denied
vpon ranome to render his prisoners taken at Ag-
incourt, so that the peace which was to be expected
must be with the sword, concluding with this saying.
*Let vs make warre that we may haue peace, because the
end of warre is peace.* Whereunto the whole body
consented, and granted to the King a Subsidie and a
Tenth which was graciously accepted, but was farre
too short to defray the great Charge, so that he was
forced to paunc his Crowne vnto the said Bishopp
Beaufort his vnclie, for a great sum of money, as he
did certaine Jewels to the Lord Maior of London for
ten thousand Marks.

(40) Money thus got and the Seas made safe,
King Henry purposed further to follow his fortunes
in France, his aduantages many (as the French would
enforce) through the weake-brained King, not able to
correct the Factions of the Burgundian and Orleans,
which troubled all France; and the death of Lewis the
Dauphin whose funeral might haue bene solemnized
by the mourners from Agincourt, his death (as
was thought) happening immediately vpon that dis-
tasture; and to heape more distractions vpon the
miserable French, John the Kings second sonne and
new made Dauphin, shortly left both his title and
life, who together were entombed at Compeigne.
These, say the French, were the bane of the State, and
the baits that made King Henry to bite, Norwithstand-
ing wee shall finde them but curiaues to shadow
the light if we looke into the proiect with an indiffe-
rent eye, for the Kings weakenes was supported by
Burgogne Armagnac and other potent estates; Bur-
gundy by Oath, made a mortal enemy against King
Henry. Orleans in England a prisoner and without
racket in hand could not bandy the Ball to marre
the French plea: and as touching the deaths of the
two Dauphins their raked vp ashes kept in the sparke
that afterward was the only light of France, for these,
(though Crowned) were not the pillars of strength
able to sustaine the great weight of that Empire:
The first a Prince of little valour, and great toyle,
presuming to know much, and vnwilling to learne,
busying himselfe with his selfe, and by his insuffi-
ciency rather troubled then managed the estate. The
other, none of the wisest and of nature so remisse,
that he was encready (as waxe) to take the stamp
of anie impresse, but as the prouerbe is, let the loo-
fers haue leaue to speake, and vs to relate our English
French busineses.

(41) All now in a readinesse, King Henry with

a puissant armie prepared his second expedition into
France, his Fleet consisting of fifteene hundred
saile, many Lords and men at Armes, the muster roll
ingrossed with twenty five thousand five hundred
twenty seven souldiers, euery fourth being a horse-
man, besides a thousand Carpenters, Artificers and
Labourers: But before his departure he ordained
his brother John Duke of Bedford to be the Protector
of England in his absence, which done vpon the 28.
of Iulie he tooke to Seas, the sailes of his owne ship,
being of purple silke most richly embroydered
with gold: and the first of August arriued in Nor-
mandy to such terror of the inhabitants that they
fled further into the maine, leaving the Countrey
bare of men and bestiall: Insomuch that twentie
five thousand families of them repayed into Brittain,
so dreadfull was the approach of the English.

(42) No sooner King Henrys foote had touched
the shoare, but to the encouragements of his Marshal
followers, he dubbed forth eight knights, and then
sending to view Harflew laid his knee against Con-
quest, the strongest Castle in Normandy, which hee
tooke the 16. of August, and gaue both it and the
whole demaines belonging vnto his brother Thomas
Duke of Clarence: And vnto Salisbury the leader of
his second battell, he gaue the Castle Ambletters,
which at the same time he had wonne, as also that of
Louers vnto the Earle Marhall, and these were
the first that were inuicled with any reueneue in
France.

(43) Came to withstand the enemy was strong-
ly fortified, well maned and victualled, so that nothing
was wanting needfull for defence: yet the King fate
downe before it, and his battery not working the ex-
pected effect, he attempted it by mine, and ruined
some parts of the Wall: Notwithstanding the de-
fendants made stiffe defence, and manfully put backe
the entrance or scale. Neuerthelesse Henry seeing
that they could not long subsist, vnwilling to carrie
it in fury, which must bee the destruction of the
Inhabitants, whom he fought to saue, and to make
his true subiects, summoned them by an Herald,
and promised them mercy: which they in hope of
reliefe vtterly despised: thereupon his entry was for-
ced, and great laughter made, till the King staied his
souldiers furies, and caused the Citizens to disarme
themselues, setting a strong guard aswell to keepe
the spoilers from pillaging, as the Townemen
from all hostile attempt: and they that did, were ci-
tril put to death or ranome, which was freele di-
stributed among his Capitaines and souldiers, by
which regular action King Henry got him the
estimation of a great Capitaine, and an vpriht
Prince.

(44) But whether by the working of the French,
or by intigation of the discontented reformalists (as
Walsingham hath it) The Scots would worke wonders
in reuiuing a dead King Richard, that should indam-
age the Lancastrians cause, and dispossesse King
Henry of his Crowne: who now absent and forward
of Conquest in France, at home was endangered by
these his emulating neighbours, and his confines in
hostile manner entered vpon, by the Duke of Al-
bany, together with the Earle Douglas the Scottis Le-
aders: These bringing with them their flag-like K.
Richard, laid stiaite siege against Roxborough, and Bar-
wicke, where all strates were attempted, by vnder-
mining the wals, and turrets, all extremities vsed and
nothing left vnattempted, that might annoy either
by Sea or by Land.

(45) But Beauford Duke of Excester being at
Bridlington in doing his deuotions, had present
newes of this present necessity, and therefore scarce
come to the end of his Orizons, he layd by his Beads
and tooke to his armour, which was not rusty with
lying, so lately put off, neither did John Duke of Bed-
ford the Protector, forsooke any time, but with fixe
thousand strong, repaired into the North, where,
with the Earles of Westmerland and Northumberland,

his

his power was increased, vnto whom also the Arch-
bishop of Yorke Henry Beves sided, with age so decre-
pith, that he was borne into the field in his Chaire,
the fame of whose coming, and the feare of their
worthy Generals so daunted the Scots, that leauing
their ladders and other engins of warre, in the night
they broke vp their sieg, and well was he that could
first attaine Scotland.

(46) The Kings affaires thus effected in the
North, the Clergies eye-fore was also somewhat
caused by the apprehension of Sir John Ouldcastle their
disturber in the South, who not contented to set the
God of Rome at nought, but likewise defaced the faces
of his Saints, trimly limmed in their Letanyes and
other like masse bookes; matter indeed of such mo-
ment, that the Abbot of Saint Albans (in whose pre-
cinct they were taken) sent these poore misfild and
scratched faced pictures, to complaine of their iniu-
ries vnto the King, but his peace not broken, for no
blood was drawne, he remitted the offence and pu-
nishment thereof vnto Chicheley Archbishop of Can-
terbury, who sent them to Paules Croffe to shew their
Contentuances vnto the people, the Preacher that
day being their mouth, inuincing the offence to be
done vnto the triumphing Saints in heauen.

(47) A Parliament assembled by the Regents
authority for the supply of money to maintain the
warres in France, a matter of as great importance was
therein to be paid, and that was the apprehension
and iudgement of the Lord Cobham, with a conside-
ration of reward for his taker the Lord Powesse in
wales, from whence fore wounded he was brought
to Westminster before the Lords, and hauing heard
his conuictions would not thereunto answer in his
excuse, vpon which record and proceffe, it was ad-
judged that he should be taken as a traitour to the
King and the Realme, that hee should be carried to
the Tower of London, & from thence drawn through
the streets vnto Saint Giles fields, and there to be
hanged, and burned hanging, which accordingly was
done. That N. D. author of the three conuersions
hath made Ouldcastle a Ruffian, a Robber, and a Re-
bell, and his authority taken from the Stage-players,
is more besitting the pen of his slanderous report,
then the Credit of the iudicious, being only ground-
ed from this Papist and his Poet, of like conscience
for lies, the one euer flaining, and the other euer fal-
sifying the truth: that Copus hath made the Lord
Cobham a Traitour: and Stow from Otterburn alle-
geth Indentures drawne betwix him and the Scots,
to bring in a Counterfeit Richard, and to inuade the
land with forraigne power, that he acknowledged no
King but the same Counterfeit in Scotland, and
made himselfe a false Christ in rising againe the third
day (as Walsingham will haue it) I am not ignorant:
but his attainture of Treasons, I leaue it to the an-
swere of Master Fox, who largely handled it: and for
his combination with the Scots, vnto the letter of
King Henrys owne hand, who hauing intelligence
of the Scots intent, and the means by which they
meant to worke, signifieth vnto his brother and
vnclie in these wordes, as from the Originall is
taken.

Part of a letter written with King Henrie 5.
his owne hand to the Duke of Excester.

Furthermore I will that ye commune with my brother,
with the * Chancellor, with my Cousen of Northumber-
land, and my Cousen of Westmorland, and that ye see a good
order and ordinance for my North-Marches, and especi-
ally for the Duke of Orleans, and for all the Remnant
of my Prisoners of France. And also for the King of Scot-
land, for as I am secretly informed by a man of right no-
table estate in this land, that there hath bene a man of
the Duke of Orleans in Scotland, and accorded with the
Duke of Albany that this next summer hee shall bring in
the manuell of Scotland to sturre what he may. Also that
there should be founden waies to the hauing away special-

ly of the Duke of Orleans: and also of the Knights, as well
as of the remnant of my forsaide Prisoners, that God de-
fend. Wherefore I will that the Duke of Orleans be kept
still within the Castle of Pomefret without going to Ko-
berts place, or to any other disport, for it is better he lacke
his disport, then we were deceived: of all the Remnant
doth as yet thinketh.

(48) Wherein we see the Complot, but heare
not a word that it should be of Cobham composing.
But as I affect not to iustifie the wicked, nor to make
crooked things strait, so am I farre from discrediting
authorities; only the eye of those times looking
through the thicke foggy Cloudes, made the Sunne
(which is bright in it selfe) to seeme in their sights all
bloody and darke.

(49) The like troubles (though not for the like
cause) happened vnto Queene Ioane in the Kings ab-
sence, and time of Bedford's regency, whose offence
was Capitall, if the accusation were true; that shee
should by forcery seeke the death of the King, shee
therefore was committed to safe keeping in the Ca-
stle of Leedes in Kent, and from thence to Pomefret
attended only with nine of her seruants: her Confessor
Frier Randolph a Doctor of diuinity was likewise ap-
prehended as her Counsellor and worker in this di-
clicul art, for which he was committed to the Tow-
er, where falling at words with the Parson of Saint
Peters (the Church of that place) he was wounded
to death; and Queene Ioane thereupon presentlie
deliuered.

(50) King Henry proceeding in his Conquest of
Normandy, about Hollantide laid sieg to the strong
Towne and Castell of Fallais, continuing the same
vnto the 20. of December, when the defendants
not able longer to resist, demanded and had Parley,
with whom Thomas Earle of Salisbury, Henry Lord
Fitz-hugh, Sir John Cornwall, and Sir William Harring-
ton Knights were by the King appointed Commis-
sioners, who after some conference, lastly accorded vpon
these conditions. 1. That if the King of France,
the Dolphin, or Constable, did not by force raise the
siege before the second of January ensuing, that the
Towne should be rendred to Henry. 2. That all
the strangers that were not properly Inhabitants of
Fallais, and had formerly fought against King Henry
in any place, besieged and taken within Normandy,
should be left to his merie. 3. That all English Pri-
soners which were in the Towne should be set at li-
berty, ranome free and acquitted of their Oathes
made vnto them whose Prisoners they were. 4. That
all natiaues of England, Wales or Ireland, that had ser-
ued against the King, should be left to his Iustice.
5. That neither Capitaine, Burgesse nor Towns-
man of Fallais should giue any reliefe to the Castell,
or victuall or munition, during the truce accorded.
6. That no person within Fallais should receiue the
Persons or Goods of any within the Castell, where-
by they or their goods might be protected. 7. That
the Capitaines and Souldiers should receiue no pre-
iudice in their Horses, Armes, or Goods; great Ar-
tillery, Shorte, powder and Croffe-bowes excep-
ted: but the strangers formerly spoken of in the se-
cond Article were exempted from that fauour.
8. That the Artillery, Powder, Shot, and Croffe-
bowes afore mentioned, should not, during the truce,
bee embazelled, wilfully broken, or made away.
9. That during the truce, the ruines made should
not be repaired, and no new workes of defence ere-
cted. 10. That no oppression be vsed by the sayd
Souldier vpon the Burgesse, and if any were found
faulty and not presently banished for the same, they
should loose the benefit which otherwise they should
haue by the accord. 11. That no Capitaine, sould-
ier, or Townesman should vnderhand conuay away
any Prisoner, ornaments, Jewels, or Church Re-
liquies, either belonging to Fallais, or to any other
Church or religious Houfe, that were brought thir-
ther for safety. 12. That no goods should be pur-
loined or carried out of the Town during the treaty.

13. That

The ignorance
of those times
being so generall
in all places,
the truth was
but diuine dis-
cerned.Queene Ioane
committed to
prison vpon su-
spicion of for-
cerie.Frier Randolph
wounded to
death by the par-
son of the Tow-
er of London.
Stowes Annals.The strong
Towne of Fallais
besieged by the
King.The conditions
agreed vpon for
surrender.
That if their
King raised not
the siege they
should rendred,
St. S.That certaine
persons should
be left to the
Kings merie.That all English
prisoners should
be set at liberty.That certaine
English should
be left to his
Iustice.That none
should relieue
the Castell of
Fallais.
That they should
haue no com-
merce with
them.
The Capitaines
should be well
dealt with.That the chiefe
munition should
not be imba-
zelled.No ruines to be
repaired nor new
defences ere-
cted.That the Bur-
gesse should not
be vied by
their souldiers
for the time of
the truce.That they should
not take away a-
ny thing from
the Church.No goods to be
carried out of
the Towne.

That no person should forsake the Towne, for being true to K. Henry they should be safe.

Neither person nor goods of the Castell to be received into the Towne. During the truce no assault to be made on the Towne. 12. Knights and Esquires to be in livery to King Henry.

A.D. 1417.

Fallais yielded to the King.

The Articles agreed upon.

That if they were not succoured by the French power, to surrender.

That they should trust to the kings royal promises. Geoffrey Chastellain excepted.

That the Governour should repair the walls.

8. Gentlemen to be hostages. The Castell repaired, the Governour should be set at liberty.

*Febru. 16.

The City of Roane besieged.

Poland, Verg.

Enguerrant de Monfret.

15000. Citizens well trained within Roane.

The River Seine blockt up with Iron-Chains.

13. That none of the Capitaines nor Souldiers, nor any Burgeisse should forsake the Towne, until the second of January next: and his Majesty of his grace and mercy, was pleased that all such as would remain in Fallais, should remain there in safety both in body and goods, so as they would be true subjects unto him. 14. That none of the defendants of the Castell should be received into the Towne, nor their goods secretly kept by the Inhabitants under any pretence or Colour whatsoever. 15. That during the treaty no assault or offence should be offered by the kings army, to the Towne or to the Inhabitants, so as they do not ayde, assist or relieve the defendants in the Castells. 1. That for the true performance of the Articles twelve knights & Squires should be delivered hostage to the King, and to be set at liberty when the Couenants above mentioned were fulfilled. These things concluded and subscribed with their names and seals, the 20. of December; upon the second of January no succours appearing, the town of Fallais was accordingly delivered, but the Castle standing obstinate, the king was as diligent, till the defendants failing in their spirits, the first day of February demanded a Parley. Whereunto Henry consented making Clarence his brother his sole Commissioner. The Articles accorded for the most part were as the former, whereto were added these which ensue.

(51) That upon the 16. of the said month of February, if the King in person, the Dolphin his sonne, or the Earle of Armagnac Constable of France, did not with force raise the siege, then Sir Olivier de Mauny Knight, Gouverneur of the said Castell, should render the same unto King Henry. 2. That the said Gouverneur and all other within the Castell should at the day assigned submit themselves to the King, and remain his prisoners, trusting to his Majesties royall promise not to receive offence either in life or goods: (Geoffrey Chastellain excepted) who was left simply to the Kings mercy. 3. That after the rendering of the said Castell Sir Olivier de Mauny the Gouverneur, should at his owne charges repaire all the breaches and ruines made in the walls during the siege, and leave it in the same fort as it was before the same was besieged. 4. That for the performance of these Articles, eight Gentlemen should remain Hostages with the King. 5. That when the Castell was prepared, Sir Olivier Mauny, and all his Company should be set at liberty, and until then to remain the Kings Prisoners, Geoffrey de Chastellain excepted. These agreements concluded, the Indenture subscribed, and King Henries seal of Armes therunto fixed, at the prefixed day according to these Articles the Castell of Fallais was rendered unto him: which done, he divided his Army into manie parts, under the severall conducts of the Dukes of Clarence, and Gloucester, and the Earle of Warwick: who vanquished Castells, himselfe the while marching to besiege Roane, where he set downe his siege, and began the assault in a furious manner: the defendants as obstinately bent to hold him out: so that to winne the Towne by force, Henry found it very difficult, as well for the strength of Bulwarks and Ramparts as for the number of hands within it, to make resistance, and therefore to reduce them by famine was his only designe.

(52) For Burgogne from King Charles had sent many worthy Capitaines with a thousand selected Souldiers to defend the City, and within it besides were fiftene thousand Citizens well trained and furnished: and the Towne stored with victuals for ten months continuance; notwithstanding K. Henry quartered about the Towne, and for his safety cast up a Trench betwixt the walls and his men: the River Seine hee blockt up with three Iron-Chains, one of them layd two foote above water, another with the leuell, and the third two foote under the water, to forbidde all reliefe unto the City by Boats.

(53) With the English, sixteene hundred Irish

Kernes were enrolled, from the Prior of Kilmaham, able men, but almost naked, their armes, were targets, darts, and swordes, their horses litte, and bare no saddle, yet very nimble, on which upon every advantage they played with the French, in spoiling the Country, rifling the houses, and carrying away children, with their baggage, upon their Cowes backs. Thus from June unto December the siege had continued, and now victuals failing, and the Towne in distresse, the Rouennois sent four gentlemen, and as manie Burgeisses, unto King Charles, and the Burgogne (then at Beauvais) to signify their miseries; fifty thousand already famished with hunger, and twelve thousand starvelings put out of the Towne, but not suffered to passe by the English, died by multitudes in the ditches, whose vnburied Carcasses did infect the Towne with contagious diseases, so that without present reliefe they must be enforced to render.

(54) Ayde was promised, and earnestly expected, but in stead of supplies, the Bishop of Beauvais accompanied with others, and the Cardinal of Vrsins sent from Pope Martin, were dispatched to King Henry, to entreat a peace, for the better accomplishing thereof, they brought with them the picture of the Lady Catherine, according to life, which King Henry well liked, yea and (as Serres saith) fell in love with: but demanding a hundred thousand Crownes with the Dutches of Normandy, Aquitaine, Anjou, and other Seignories for her dowry, nothing was concluded or done.

(55) And now the Rouennois helpeles of succour, and despairing of peace, resolved to make a braue rally upon the kings quarter: to performe which resolution, 10000. chosen men with their leaders issued out of the Towne, the vanguard (which was 2000.) being past and in fight, by misfortune the draw-bridge with over-weight of men brake, manie were drowned, slaine and hurt: neither was there any more passage that way, to releue their followers engaged in fight with the English; whereupon they made halt to the other Gates: but before they could come to give ayde, the vanguard was broken, and most of them slaine, and taken Prisoners. Upon this distresse the souldiers within mutined against Guy de Boullier their General, murmuring that he had continued the breaking of the bridge.

(56) In these distresses King Charles returning towards Paris, sent the besieged word to make what shift they could, which unexpected message strooke a sad feare into the miserable defendants hearts, who weake in men and victuals, knew no way to subsist, and thereupon in Counsell concluded to send unto Henry, which presently they did. For whose entertainment, he caused two tents to be set up at Port S. Hillarie. Their Commissioners were two gentlemen, two Clergie-men, and two Burgeisses of the Towne. Commissioners for the King were the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earle of Warwick: the demands of the Rouennois were many, but their answers were short; that no conditions would be accepted, but simply yielding to the kings mercy; whereupon the conference brake up, and these returned into the Towne, bred sundry distractions, some crying to yeeld, and other some crying to die like men, but Henry desirous to be Master of the Towne, and fearing it would be fired by themselves, if he was by force, made the Archbishop of Canterbury his Instrument, whose vocation was fittest to call again the Commissioners, and againe fell into treaty of Composition, which lastly was agreed, upon these Articles as follow. 1. That the Burgeisses should give unto Henry towards his expence in the siege, three hundred fifty six thousand Crownes of gold. 2. That Robert Linet vicar general to the Archbishop of Rouen, Jehan Tourdain who commanded the Canoniers, and Ailen Blanchart Capitaine of the Common people, should be left to his mercy without condition. 3. That all the people should sweare faith and loyalty to Henry and his Successors. 4. That

Henry should protect and defend them against all men, and confirme unto them their priviledges, franchises, and liberties; which they had enjoyed ever since the time of Saint Lewis king of France. 5. That all such as had desire to leave the Towne, might freely depart, with his garments upon his backe only, and his goods to be confiscated unto King Henry. 6. That the souldiers should bring all their Armes to a place assigned, and should depart out of the Towne unarmed with a Cudgel in their hands, first taking their Oath not to beare Armes against Henry, for a twelue month next ensuing.

(57) This agreement was concluded the 16 of June Anno 1418. when as the hungry Citizens in multitudes came to the English Campe to buy victuals, which hee abounded with Prouisions, as a fat mutton was sold for fixe souldes of Paris money. Upon the next day following, Henry triumphant made his entry into Roane; the Ecclesiasticks of the Towne, in their miters and vestures, with their reliques, singing of Hymnes, conducted him to the Cathedral Church, where before the high Altar, upon his knees, he gaue thanks to God for the Conquest of this Towne, which had remained two hundred and fiftene yeeres in the possession of the French, euen from the time when Philip King of France won it from King John of England. The day followinge Ailen Blanchart the Capitaine of the common people was beheaded, Robert Linet, and Jehan Tourdain, put to their high ranfomes, the French Garriisons pillaged, unarmed, and put out of the Towne, but safely were conducted ouer Saint Georges-bridge to goe whither they would. Guy de Boullier, who was Capitaine general of Roane, became King Henries leigeman, unto whom he gaue all his lands, and a charge vnder the Duke of Gloucester. Immediately after the rendering of Roane, sundry other places of note yeelded themselves, as Caudebec, Montfrevillier, Diepe, Feschamp, Arques, Neufchastell, Deincourt, Eu, Moncheaux, Vernon, Mantz, Gorney, Harfleur, Pontenur-de-Mer, Molleneaux, Le Treict, Tancarville, Abrechier, Mauterrier, Valmont, Nonville, Bellaucombre, Fontaines, Le Bourre, Preaux, Neuquien-ville, Logemprer, Saint Germain, Sir Cagly, Baudemont, Bray Jille, Charles, Maifull, Les Boules Guillecourt, Fantesfontaines, Le Becq, Crepin, Backeuille, and diuers other places wherein Henry placed his Garriisons. France generally troubled, and trembling at the losse especially of Roane, Henry ready to pierce forward, and Charles declining through his infirmities encreasing; the Duke of Burgogne (who bare all the sway vnder that infirme King, and therefore much hated by the Dauphin, whose reuenge he feared,) much doubting Henries rising fortunes, held it best to vphold his owne greatness, by mediating a peace betwixt the two Kings. For which end he sent his Ambassadors to Henry, praying personal Conference; to which hee assented and assigned the place, which was at Melun, where in a field well trenched, and ramparted with strong Gates, two pavillions were arreard, the one for the Kings to repose themselves in, and the other for their counsell to consult in.

(58) Charles, Isabell, Burgogne, and Catherine, the Count Saint Paul, with a thousand horse garding them together, came first. King Henry with his brothers of Clarence and Gloucester, attended upon with a thousand horse, held the appointment; and now met, the two Kings embraced each others; Henry kissed Isabell and Katherine, who indeed became a precious pearle in his eye: Burgogne a little bending his knee, did his reuerence to Henry, who took him in his Armes; and the two nations though mortall enemies, demeaned themselves so civilly, as no cause of quarrell was offered on either side, much conference passed, but nothing concluded; Henries demands seeming to the French to be so vnreasonable. The treaty thus diffolved, and all ready to depart, King Henry not well pleased, spake thus unto Burgogne: "Cofen, I may not wel digest this refusal, but be you assu-

"red that either I will have your Kings daughter, and all my demands, or else I will banish both you, and them, out of France. You speake your pleasure, said the Duke, but before you shall thrust the King, and me, out of the Realme, you will be weary of the enterprise."

(59) The treaty thus broke, and danger nothing lesse, the Burgundians altogether French, and in heart no friend to the English, reconciled himselfe unto the Dauphin, which deed was loone after the cause of his owne death; and Henry displeased with this combination, quickened his thoughts (full of reuenge) to prosecute the warre more sharply then heretofore: the first enterprize he made, was upon Pontois, unto which Towne the last day of Iulie hee sent three thousand foote, which before the breake of day and not discovered by the Centinels, set their Ladders to the Walls, mounted vpon crying Saint George, and so opening a Port let in their Companions. The signeur de C. Isle-Adam Marshall of France and Gouverneur of the Towne, affrighted at the surprize, fled out at another Port towards Paris, after whose example about ten thousand Inhabitants did the like, so as the English without resistance were Masters of the Towne, where in great riches fell to the souldiers shares. When King Charles at Paris heard of the losse of Pontois, in great feare with his wife, daughter, Burgundy, and many noblemen, to be further from the fire so neere at hand, went unto Troyes en-Champagne, leaving Paris vnder the Government of the Count Saint Paul, and English de Laistre Chancellor of France, whilst Henry went forward with his intended enterprizes.

(60) For his brother of Clarence by three weekes siegeman the Castell Gisors by composition, the Earle of Huntington lacked Preaux, burnt Bretuill, Clermont, and the Castell of Venduill, and Henry himselfe besieged the Castell of Gaillard, and Rochewen, two of the strongest holds in Normandy; which vpon compositions were surrendered, and further procured more then the French wished. For the Dauphin, the only man that stood for the publike defence of France, was miserably poore, and for want of pay could make no great shew of follo wers in the field, whose chiefe Counsellor was the Constable Armagnac an old craftie foxe, that had euer sided with Orleans against the Burgundians. And now fearing least his owne esteeme should be lessened, or that Burgundy should be the Archite to crosse him the wife Architephell, or rather indeed thrust forward by destinee to be the scourge and fall of France, he counsellled the young Dauphin to seize vpon his mothers money, jewels and plate, for his further supply to the publike use, (which immediately hee did) to aduance the estate: but Queen Isabell impatient of these wrongs received in a womanish spleen studies the reuenge, wholly neglecting the common cause, which gaue the English surer footing in France, but the Dauphin to make good what hee had done, leades the King in ielousy that the Queens desires were dangerous, and altogether feare for the alienation of the Crowne, which hee weake man, no sooner heard then beleueed, being euer ready to take her at the worst and neuer ouergone in her loue at the best.

(61) These sparkes of sedition thus blowne in the Court, suspitions increasing, and maligners still working, Queene Isabell with her sister in law, the Dutchesse of Bauiere were sent prisoners to Blois, and from thence to Eours where they were kept with strait guard, three Gentlemen in Commission to take care of their safeties: till then her fauours had gone with Orleans, and with him had contested euergainst Burgogne, but now to quit her imprisonment, shee reconciled herselfe unto him, and solicited his assistance for her deliuerance; Burgogne well perceiving how much it would aduance his part, to draw the Queene to be of his faction, brake up his siege then laid before Corbeil, and with certaine choise troopes repaired toward Troyes, from whence immediately he sent the Queene word of his coming.

King Henry displaced at their refusal. The Duke reply.

Burgogne fidelit with the Dauphin who afterwards flew him.

Pontois besieged.

Enguerrant de Monfret.

The souldiers got great riches in the Towne.

King Charles vpon the losse of Pontois fled from Paris.

Enguerrant de Monfret.

Gaillard and Rochewen two of the best Forts in Normandy.

A cunning plot of the Constable Armagnac.

2. Sam. 17.

Queene Isabell robd of her Jewels and plate.

The Dauphin draws the King to suspect Queen Isabell.

Annals of Burgundy.

Queene Isabell and her sister imprisoned.

Shee solicited Burgogne for her deliuerance.

Burgogne sends to the Queene.

The manner of her escape from her keepers.

Shee is made Regent of France.

To Serres The causes why the French were the easier conquered by King Henry.

Eccles. 2. 19.

The occasion of King Charles' distemper.

Orleanse newly married is in love with another.

Craon dismisst the Count for selling the Dutcheffe of the inconcency of her husband.

King Charles pur. luth Craon into Britaine.

Shee faining deuotion to the Abbey of *Marmouster* leated fowewhat without the Towne, made it known to her keepers, and they nor daring to contradit so great a Princeesse, mistrusting no danger, attended her thitherward with a competent guard as they supposed, where *Fosseux* and *Pergie* two especial men in the Dukes trust, were laid in the Ambush neere vnto the Abbey, and hauing notice the Queene was come to Church, came to salute her, and to signifie that the *Burgogne* was in person to attend her seruice. Her keepers conceiuing their seconds were not farre off, as men dismayed, told the Queen of some fear, & that an enemy was neere at hand; whereunto shee answered, I am not ignorant who they are, and thereupon commanded to apprehend those her keepers; her liberrie thus got shee became wholly for *Burgogne*, and by his meanes was made the Regent of France, and her picture stamped vpon the Seale of that State.

(42) By birth shee was a Germane, and daughter to *Stephen Duke of Bawier*, of an imperious spirit, and vnreconcilable enuie, not ouermuch beloued of her husband, and (as the nature of most women are) not ouermuch fauouring his fauorites, whose small authority and hatred against her owne sonne *Daulphin Charles*, sore bruised the Crowne, which her weak husband ware: his foregone infirmities and her new sprung Regency, were now as two fludgates let open to let in the deluge of France, hers is to be spoken of in the intercourse of the English; his, manie times hath bene, but not made knowne how it came: therefore a while in that subiect, before we passe forward in this place, let vs reade what others haue writ.

(43) This *Charles* the sixth, and sicke-brained King of France was the sonne of King *Charles* first named the wife, who with *Salomon* his wife might haue demanded this question: *who can tell whether his sonne shall be a wiseman or a foole?* for the flower of his youth and commendable dispositions of his middle age promised great hopes of a valiant, moderate and most happie Prince, only inclined to choller and reuenge, as by the occasion of his lunacy is easilie seene, which chanced on this manner.

(44) *Peter Craon* a Courtier, his minion, and an inward favorite of the Duke of *Orleanse* the Kings brother, blabbed out some secrecy of the said Dukes amorous passions vpon a wanton Lady, vnto his Dutcheffe *Valentine*; who but lately married, and so soon decheued of bed, took the wrong no lesse then it was, nor letted shee (as who can let a woman to speake) to tell him his faults on both sides of his head, the Duke could not hide what shee too well knew, and therefore fought to satiffie her with complements of kind words, but the Curtaine-sermons nightly enlarged vpon the same text, made him many times to lie awake with litle deuotion (God wot) to heare, and often to rise when hee would faine haue slept, which caused him lastly to complaine to the King that *Craon* had, and would betray their ouermuch trust. The cause no more, but yet too much against a Prince, *Craon* with all disgrace was discharged the Court, who not able to brooke such an open indignity, assaulted *Clifton* the Constable in a murdering manner, as the only man (as he thought) that wrought his disgrace, and escaping *Paris*, fled into *Britaigne* whose Duke was his kinsman, and an enemy to the Constable.

(45) King *Charles* transported with choller of this double offence, mindes to draw *Craon* by force out of *Britaine* to iustifie himselfe, whom the Countcell had declared guilty of high Treason, and enemy to the Crowne of France, and resolues in person to enter into *Britaine*: forthwith the expedition for men and manner of proceeding made *Charles* to loose both meate and sleepe, so as the vexation of minde and distemperature of body, carried apparant shewes in his face: in so much that the Dukes of *Berry* and *Burgogne* mistrusting the worst, counsellled that his journey might be staid; his Physicians disswade him

in regard of his health, the summer extreme hot, and his blood as then once subiect to dangerous feuers. New deuises were wrought to stay him at home, giuing it forth that *Craon* was fled *Britaigne*, and in *Arvagon* was imprisoned by the Queene. All this notwithstanding, needes would he forward, so forward is man when his fate will so haue it.

(46) He departed *Meaux* in Iulie: the yere very hot, his head couered with a great Cap of scarlet, his body wrapped in a thicke velvet lerkkin warme enough for winter, his mind distempered with choller, griefe, and despite, and his body wearied with watching, distaule, and want of rest. Thus entering the forrest of *Meaux* about noone-tide, a man bare-headed, and bare legged attired in a Coat of white rugge, stepped sodainly forth from betwixt two trees, and caught hold of his bridle, staid his horse, saying, *King ride no further but returne backe, for thou art betrayed.* *Charles* whose spirits were otherwise dulled, and his blood greatly distempered, was amazed at the voice: which seene, his seruants ranne to this man, and with blowes forced him to leaue the reines of the horse: and so without any further search the man vanished away.

(47) The troopes of his nobles diuided because of the dust, King *Charles* was followed by the Pages of his Chamber, who ouercharged with heat and distemperature, tooke no great paines to guide their horse, so that thronging together, he which bore the Kings Lance, let it fall vpon him, who had on his head the Kings helmer, and in the falling made a clattering noise. The King much musing vpon the words spoken, and now withall hearing this vnexpected noise, was from a penitue melancholly suddainly stricke into a raging Lunacy, supposing himselfe to be betrayed indeed: and transported with this frensie he drawes his sword, and made towards his Pages with a maine cry: his brother *Orleanse* not knowing the cause, halted among them, whom *Charles* likewise pursued, and with the like rage ranne at his vncle of *Burgogne*, thus spending himselfe and his horse out of breath, all incompassed the still raging man, rooke from him his sword, disrobed him for heate, and cheered him with flatterings and faire spoken words, his brother and vncles saluted him, but hee knewes them not, sits mute, sighing and panning, and with troubled amazement moues both body and head, so that all signes of Phrensie appeared in this poore Prince, and the eminent misery that was to fall vpon France, very apparant to the insceing Statists: but now to proceed.

(48) *John Duke of Burgogne* ill digesting the threats that King *Henry* had giuen, and ioined in league with the *Daulphin*, as we haue laid: was notwithstanding suspected to be a great enemy to the State, and as the Giants are faine to heape mountaine vpon mountaine, for steps of assent to pull *Iupiter* out of his throne, so by sinister Counsellors *Burgogne* was accused of some intended stratageme, as meaning to mount the Chaire where the *Daulphin* should sit: *Charles* therefore from *Montfren-Sur-fault* yonne a Towne in *Brie*, sent for the Duke vnto *Troyes* in *Champagne* to confere further vpon the effecting of their affected accord, as also to employ their united forces vpon the common enemy the English, a third cause likewise was alleaged, and that was to haue him his meanes for a reconciliation to his mother the Regent, whose wrath, besides him, no man could pacifie.

(49) The Duke mistrusting no snake in the grasse, thought all things as sure as they were faire in shew, and accompanied with many noble-men, fies hundred horse, and two hundred Archers, he repaired to *Montfren*, at whose Gate the *Daulphin* had built 2. Barricadoes, & himselfe in armes stood there to receiue the Duke, *Burgogne* approached, kneeled downe vpon one knee, and with an honourable reuerence saluted him most humbly, the *Daulphin* neglecting all courtesies to him-ward, charged him with breach

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breach of promise, for that the ciuill warres and his garrisons were not surceast and withdrawne, the Dukes (word hanging too farre backe, and somewhat troubling his kneeling, he put his hand vpon the hilt, to put it more forward, whereat *Robert de Loire* standing by, sayd, doe you draw your sword against the Lord *Daulphin*? at which words *Tannequy de Chastell* with a battle-axe stroke him on the face and cut off his Chin, and others with other wounds made an end of his life, before he could arise from his knee or get out his sword.

(50) Queene *Isabel* another cruell *Medea* and vnatural mother, hauing a double offence done her, redoubled her wrath and continued her tragick passions against her sonne the young *Daulphin*, who not only incites *Philip* now the new Duke of *Burgogne* to reuenge his murdered fathers death, but torments her poore husbands spirits, in perswading him to disherite *Charles* their sonne, and to giue in marriage Lady *Katherine* vnto King *Henry*, who now had let his foote farre into France. Duke *Philip* for his part ready for reuenge, sent the Bishop of *Arras* with other his Ambassadors vnto *Rouen* to King *Henry* to entreat a peace, and againe not many daies after their returne sent backe the said Bishop, whose message was so pleasing that *Henry* sent the Bishop of *Koeberster*, the Earle of *Warwicke* and *Guien* vnto *Arras*, who were as welcome vnto Duke *Philip*; to that betwixt *Rouen* and *Arras* messengers continually passed till a peace was concluded; which was proclaimed to continue from that day (then about the feast of the Epiphany) vnto mid-March ensuing, betwixt King *Henry*, King *Charles*, and *Philip Duke of Burgogne*.

(51) King *Henry* thus farre gone in his affaires for that Crowne, sent his Ambassadors vnto the new made Pope *Martin* the first, such was the fate of *Romes* Apostolical fathers in those faire Sun-shine and Golden daies, that the greatest Monarch was but a vassal to attend vpon their stirrup & their Crownes subiect to be spurned off, with their feete. *Henry* therefore minding to stop the violence of these narrow Seas, and to make the streame milde betwixt his two Realmes, had now none to let, but only him that was all in all, and bare an Oare in euery mans boat: & therefore from King *Charles*, *Burgogne*, and himselfe, his Ambassadors solicited his fatherlie consent, to admit him his most Christian sonne of France, and to giue his holy blessing for the confirmation of the marriage, and peace concluded betwixt those two famous Princes. King *Henry* right to the French Crowne they plainly laid forth, what calamities France had felt in their resistance, *Agincourt*, *Normandy* and *Aquitaine* (as they shew-ed him) were most lamentable witnessses, and the holde that the Lyon had got (at that day) of the *Flower de Luce*, was not to be wrested out of his fast graped pawes. But his dull care was deafe hereunto, answering that this peace was preiudiciall to the right of *Charles* the *Daulphin*, and therefore hee denied to confirme it.

(52) But with what quill these wines were vented from the titled Lees for the *Daulphin*, vlesse it was the golden vice, (a powerfull key indeed to vnlocke the Popes silent lips,) I know not; most true it is, the conditions went forward, and the place for the confirmation of couenants was *Troyes* in *Champagne*, where King *Charles*; and his Queene then lay, and whither *Burgogne*, *Guien*, the Lord *Rasse*, and others attended with five hundred horse, were sent Ambassadors from *Henry*. In their way they besieged (and after fifteene daies wan) the Towne of *Crestie* that held for the *Daulphin*, demolished the Castell, razed the wals, and departed vpon composition.

These comming to *Troyes* were honorably receiued, and louingly concluded on a final peace, where Lady *Katherine* was attended as the English Queene, and some left to guard her by King *Henries* command. His Ambassadors returned, and affection enflamed, himselfe attended with the Dukes of *Clare*

rence, and *Gloucester* his brethren, the Duke of *Excester*, the Earles of *Warwicke*, *Huntingdon*, *Salisbury*, *Guicenne* and many other nobles, (his guard consisting of fixteene hundred Launces and Archers) departed from *Rouen* to *Ponthois*, to *S. Denis*, and from thence into *Provinc*, where he was met neere vnto *Troyes* by the Duke of *Burgundy* and many other French Lords, and with all Princelie attendance was conducted into the Towne. Theioy was great with which he was receiued, especially of the King, the Queene and Lady *Katherine*, whom he found in *S. Elers* Church expecting his comming, where forthwith he and the Lady was affianced; and falling eftsoones into conference of the conditions of amity, they were consented vnto by the French and King *Henry*.

1. That *K. Henry* should take Lady *Katherine* to wife.
2. That *Charles* *Bur* should retain the name of King and Queene, and should hold all their dignities, rents, and possessions belonging to the Crowne of France, during their naturall liues.
3. That the Lady *Katherine* should haue her Dowry in England as Queens heretofore were wont to haue, that is to say, the summe of forty thousand lites, that is, two to a noble.
4. That the same summe of forty thousand lites yearly, shall bee confirmed vnto Queene *Katherine* by our lawes, according to our vsual rights, at the time of our death.

5. That the said Lady *Katherine* so ouerliuing vs, from the time of our death, shall haue for her Dowry in the Kingdome of France, the summe of twenty thousand franks yearly, out of the lands, places, and Lordships that *Blanch* (sometime wife to *Philip* *Beaufall* held and enioied.

6. That after the death of *Charles* our said father, the Crown and Realme of France shall with all rights and appurtenances remaine vnto vs, & to our heires for euermore.

7. And for as much as our said father is infirme by reason of sicknesse, and may not entend in his owne person to dispose of the affaires of the Realme, therefore during the life of our said father the faculties and exercise of the government, and disposition of the publike villitie of the Realme of France shall be, and abide to vs, so that thence forth wee may gouerne the Realme, and admit to our Councell and assistance to the Councell of France (such of the English Nobility as we shal thinke meete.
8. That also we of our owne power shall cause the Court of France to be kept and obserued in as full authority, and in all manner of places, that now or in time comming, is, or shall be subiect to our said father.

9. Also that we to our powers shall defend and helpe all, and euery of the Peeres, Nobles, Cities, Townes, Cominalties and singular persons, now or in time to come, subiects to our father, in their rights, Customes, priuiledges, freedoms, franchises, belonging, or due vnto them in all manner of places, now or in time comming subiect to our father.

10. Also that we shall to our power trauell truly, & diligently, to see that Iustice be administred in the same Realme of France according to their lawes, Customes, and rights of the same Realme without personal acceptation, and that we shal keepe and hold the Subiects of the said Realme in tranquility and peace to our power, and shall defend them against all manner of violence and oppression.

11. Also that we to our power shall prouide that able and profitable persons shall execute the offices aswell of Iustices and other offices belonging to the gouernance of the demaines of the Realme of France for the good and peaceable Iustice of the same, and for the administration that shall be committed vnto them.

12. Also that we of our power, so soone as it may commodiously be done, shall traualle to put into obedience of our said father, all manner of Cities, Townes, Castles, places, Countreys and persons within

History of Henry.

The Articles agreed vpon betwixt the two Kings.

Queene Katherine Dowry.

The Crowne of France intailed to England.

The government of France assigned to King Henry.

within the Realme of France, disobedient and rebels to our said father, lyding with them that bee called the *Dauphin* or *Armagnac*.

13. And that we may the more commodiously and freely exercise and fulfill these things aforesaid, it is accorded, that all worthy Nobles and estates of the same Realme of France, aswell spirituals as temporals and also the Nobles, Citizens, Burgeses and Criminalties of France in obedience at this day to our said father shall make these Oathes vnto vs.

14. First to vs having the faculty, exercise, disposition, and gouernance of the foresaid common profit at our helts and commandements, these shall meekly and obediently obey in all manner of things concerning the exercise of Gouernment in the same Realme.

15. Also that the worthy great and noble estates of the said Realme aswell spirituals as temporals, Citizens, Burgeses, and Criminalties of the same Realme in all manner of things well and truly shall keepe and to their power shall doe to be kept in as much as to them, belongeth or to any of them, all those things that be appointed and accorded betweene our foresaid father, our mother, and vs.

16. And that continually from the death, and after the death of our said father *Charles*, they shall be our true liegemen, and our heires, and they shall receive and admit vs for their liege, and Soueraigne, and very King of France, and for such to obey vs without opposition, Contradiction or difficulty, as they be to our father during his life. And neuer after, this Realme of France shall obey to man as King and Regent of France, but to vs, and to our heires, also they shall not be in Counsell, helpe, or assent, that we loose life or limme, or be taken with euill taking, or that we suffer harme or diminution in person, estate, worship, or goods, but if they know any such thing to be contriued or imagined against vs, they shall let it to their powers, and shall doe vs to witten thereof, as hastily as they may by themselves, by message, or by letters.

17. That all manner of Conquests that shall be made by vs in France vpon the disobedient in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, shall be done to the profit of our said father, and that to our power, all manner of Lands and Lordships, that be in places to be conquered, belonging to persons, obeying to our foresaid father, which shall sweare to this present accord, shall be restored to the same persons, to whom they belonged.

18. That all manner of persons of the holy Church beneficed in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, or any other places in the Realme of France, subject to our father, and fauouring of the parts of the *Dukes of Burgundy*, which shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall peaceably inioy their benefices of holy Church in the Dutchie of *Normandy*, or in other places next aforesaid.

19. Likewise that all manner of persons of holie Church obedient to vs, and beneficed in the Realme of France, and places subject to our father, that shall sweare to keepe this present accord, shall enioy peaceably their benefices of holy Church, as is aforesaid.

20. Also that all manner of Churches, Vniuersities and studies generally, all Collegedges of Students, and other Collegedges of holy Church, being in places now, or in time coming, subject to our father, or in the dutchy of *Normandy*, or other places in the realme of France subject to vs, shall enioy their rights, possessions, rents, prerogatiues, liberties and franchises, belonging, or due to them in any manner of wise, in the said Realme of France, lauing the right of the Crowne of France, and of euery other person.

21. Also by Gods helpe, when it happeneth vs to come to the Crowne of France, the Dutchy of *Normandie*, and all other places conquered by vs in the said Realme, shall bow vnder the Commandement, obseiance, and Monarchy of the Crowne of France.

22. Also that we to our power shall see recompence to be made by our said father, without diminution of the Crowne of France to persons obeying him and fauouring the party of *Burgundy*, to whom Lands, Lordships, Rents and possessions belongeth in the said Dutchie of *Normandy*, or other places in the Realme of France conquered by vs hitherto, giuen by vs in places, Lands, gorten, or to be gorten in the name of our said father vpon rebels and inobedients to him, and if so be that such manner of recompence be not made to the said persons in the life time of our said father, we shall make that recompence in such manner and places of goods, when it happeneth by Gods grace to the Crowne of France, and if so be that the Lands, Lordships, Rents or possessions belonging to such manner of persons in the said Dutchie and other places, bee not giuen by vs, the same persons shall be referred to them without any delay.

23. And during the life of our father in all places, now, and in time to come, subject to him, letters of common iustice, grants of offices, gifts, pardons, remissions and priuileges shall be written, and proceed vnder the name and seale of our said father. And forasmuch as some singular case may fall that may not be foreseen by mans wit, in the which it may be necessary and behouefull, that we write our letters; in such case if any hap for the good and surety of our father, and for the gouernment that belongeth to vs, as is aforesaid, and to auoid perils which otherwise might fall to the preiudice of our said father, to write our letters, by the which we shall command, charge and defend after the nature and quality of the need in our fathers behalf, and ours, as Regent of France.

24. Also that during our fathers life, we shall not call, nor write vs King of France, but shall verily abstaine from that name, so long as our said father liueth.

25. Also that our said father during his life, shall name, call, and write vs in French in this manner. *Nostre treschier filz Henry Roy d'Engleterre heretere de France*: and in Latine in this manner. *Præclarissimus filius noster, Henricus Rex Angliæ, & Florentiæ*.

26. That we shall put no impositions or exactions to charge the Subjects of our said father, without cause reasonable and necessary. No otherwise then for common good of the Realme of France, and according to the Lawes and Customes provided for the same Realme.

27. Also that we shall traucell to our power, to effect that by the assent of the three states of the Realmes of *England* and *France*, that all manner of obstacles may be done away, and this chiefly, that it be ordeined and provided, that from the time, that we, or any of our heires come to the Crowne of France, both the Crownes, that is to say, of France and *England*, perpetually be together in one, and in the same person, that is to say, from our fathers life to vs, and from the terme of our life thence forward, in the persons of our heires, that shall be one after another, and that both Realmes shall be gouerned from the time, that we, or our heires come to the same, not severally vnder diuers Kings in one time, but vnder the same person, which for the time shall be King of both Realmes, and our Soueraigne Lord, as is aforesaid, keeping neuertheless in all manner of things, to either of the said Realmes, their rights, liberties, customes, vsages and lawes, not making subject in any manner of wise, one of the same Realmes to the rights, lawes or vsages of the other.

28. That thenceforth perpetually shall be still rest, and that in all manner of wise, dissensions, hates, rancours, enuies, and warres, betweene the same Realmes of France and *England*, and the people of the same Realmes drawing to accord of the same peace may cease and be broken.

29. That from henceforth for euermore, peace and tranquillity, good accord and affection, and stable friendship

friendship shall be betwixt the said Realmes and the Subjects of the same, and shall keepe themselves with their Counsels, helpes, and common assisiance against all men that enforce them to doe, or to imagine wrongs, harmes, displeasures, or greouances to them or either of them, and that they shall be conuerfant in merchandizing freely and surely together, paying the Customes due and accustomed, and that all the confederates and allies of our said father and the Realme of France, as also our confederates of the Realme of *England* shall in eight months space from the time of this accord of peace, as is notified to them, declare by their letters, that they will draw to this accord, and will be comprehended vnder the treaties and accord of this peace, sauing neuertheless their obedience to either of the same Crownes, and to all manner of actions, rights, and reuenues, that belong to our said father and his Subjects, and to vs, and our Subjects against all manner of such Allies and Confederates.

30. That our father, neither our brother the Duke of *Burgundy*, shall begin nor make with *Charles* calling himselfe the *Dauphin* of *Vienne*, any treatie, peace, or accord but by Counsell and assent of each of vs three, or of other the three estates of either the said Realmes aboue-named.

31. Also that we with the assent of our brother of *Burgundy*, and other of the Nobles of the Realme of France, which ought thereunto to be called, shall ordeine for the Gouernance of our said father, surely, louingly and honestly, after the degree of his royall estate and dignity in such wise, as shall be to the worship of God, of our said father, and of the Realm of France.

32. Also that all manner of persons, that shall be, our father, to doe him personal seruice, not onlie in office, but in all other attendances, aswell the Nobles and Gentlemen, as others, shall be such as haue bene borne in the Realme of France, or in places belonging to France, good, wife, true, and able to doe him seruice, and our said father shall dwell in places vnder his obedience, and no where else, wherefore we charge and command our said liege subjects, and other being vnder our obedience, that they keepe, and doe to be kept, in all that belongeth to them, this accord and peace, after the forme and manner as it is accorded, and that they attempt in no manner wise, any thing that may be preiudiciall, or contrary to the same accord, and peace, vpon paine of life and limme, and all that they may forfeit vnto vs.

33. Also that we for the things aforesaid, and euery one of them shall giue our assent by our letters Patentes, sealed with our seale vnto our said father, without all approbation, and confirmation of vs, and all other of our blood roiall, and of the Cities and Townes to vs obedient, sealed with our great seale, shall make or cause to be made letters approbatory, and confirmed of the Peeres of his Realme, and of the Lords, Citizens, Burgeses of the same vnder his obedience, all which Articles we haue sworne to keepe, vpon the holie Euangelists. Yeuen at *Troyes* the 30. of May, Anno 1420. And the same were proclaimed in *London* the 20. of Iune following; for the Copies of this treaty, the French King sent to euery Town in France, as King *Henry* did likewise into *England*, there to be published by Proclamation. These Articles were concluded betwixt the two Kings, in the presence of *Queene Isabell*, the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the Kings Councill, the Prince of *Orange*, *Seigneur Chastellain*, Marshall of France, with many others the prime Nobility, both of *England* and France, both the Kings with the Queene, taking their solempne oath there, vpon the holie Euangelists, as did likewise the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the rest, *Burgundy* being the first man that laid his hand on the booke, and swaue homage to King *Henry*; who thereupon was stiled and proclaimed Regent of France.

(53) In whose presence also vpon the third of

Iune, (being the morrow after *Trinity* Sunday) the marriage of King *Henry* and *Lady Katherine*, with all pompous solemnity was celebrated, in *Saint Peters Church* at *Troyes*, the Bishop of that See, doing the Ceremonies. And after royall feasts and Princely entertainements, before the dissolution of that roiall assembly, King *Henry*, inuited the French King and others his great Peeres to a sumptuous banquet, made a pithy and pleasing Oration vnto them, thus testifying his Princely desire to aduance their weale, and demerit their loue.

(54) As the chiefe marke whereunto my cares and endeours haue hitherto leuelled, hath bene, to vnite and incorporate these two Kingdomes of France and *England* into one, which now by Gods goodnes is most happily effected; so is it still, and euer shall be, both my desire and care, that vnto posterity we may leaue it sealed in the same sort, and free from all emperchments, of factious, discords: that beingas (it is) the greatest, it may be also the happiest Monarchie of Europe. For the cleere accomplishment of which worke, there rests now nothing, but the depressing of the *Dauphin*, who is by your doome already, not only depriued of that dignity, but of succession to the Crowne, and prosecuted as a Traitor to the State; and of whom this we must be assured, that while he liues, France cannot but be in a perpetual combustion. For preuenting whereof, I both need and intreat, both your Counsels and aide, nothing doubting of your readines in either; for how can we expect any safety, or you any goodnes at his hand, who, in his young yeeres, did so perfidiously murder the Duke of *Burgundy*, his vncl? I am now, you see, your Regent in present, and Successour to the Crowne in hope; Let it not therefore sticke in your hearts, that I am an *Englishman* borne, for you know I haue much French blood in my veins, which warms my affections as well to French as *English*; but looke on me as the lawfull heire to the Diademe, both by iust Title, and your owne consents, who therefore am, and ought to be, wholly yours; and your kindnes and iust dealing bind me so to be. Yours also am I now by fresh alliance, as sonne in Law to your King, vnto whom I will performe all offices of loue and honor, as to mine owne father; and you his subjects shall I loue and cherish, as mine owne children, and will defend France and the French, so long, as you defend my right with your louing aide, and will deterre me your loue with your loiall affection.

(55) These affaires thus accomplished at *Troyes*, the Kings, the Queenes, and the rest of the Peeres in great citate rode vnto *Paris*, where all faire countenances were shewed, and great entertainment giuen to the *English*. But the *Dauphin* and his followers neither feared nor fainted, though the present courtes pleased not their palat. Their first Counsell therefore was, how to preferre themselves in so eminent danger, to sit still and doe nothing, they knew it was but to increafe and aduance the successes of the *English*; and to rise without strength, was to fall into further misfortunes, hauing no means to hold warre with so potent an Enemy. In this distraction their voice was best heard, that spake most for the safety of the *Dauphin* (whose only life gaue breath vnto the after-hopes of France) and for the strengthening of those places which might be of most aduantage to themselves, and offence to the Enemy. This then past by decree in that Counsell of warre, that the *Dauphin* should at no time hazard his person in field, and that a leuy of Souldiers should be had, to lie in Garrison in places conuenient; for Time, which neuer stands still, they well hoped might yet turne the rice for them, fortune being (said they) as subject to fawne, as to frowne; in which resolution each man tooke to his charge, and all to withstand the doings of *Henry*.

(56) As the consulted for the state of the

Ggggg

French

The Subjects of France sworne to King Henry.

The tenor of the oath.

Churches, Vniuersities and Collegedges to enioy their liberties.

Normandy to be vnder the Crown of France.

Letters, gifts, and by King

And by Henry.

King Henry during his life

The minor Crown.

The minor Subjects.

of which, Orleans, Melburg.

who were sworn to King Henry.

King Henry married to Lady Katherine.

History of Normandy.

Heinrich: but Polydore, faith, this speech was delivered before at their swearing of fealty.

Polyd. Verg.

King Henries Oration vnto the States of France.

Polyd. Verg.

The Dauphins counterplots to uphold himselfe.

Denis Sauvage in
Choregic Eland.

Enguerant de
Monfrel.

Monfrelau befe-
ged and gotten.

Jo. Millet

Hollin.

Tis. Linus
Melun befegeed
and gotten.

Enguerant
King Henry fight
in single
combat.

Translator of
Livie.

Enguerant

The French re-
fute to submit
to their owne King.

Nichol. Giles.

French fo in Paris a Parliament of the three eſtates was aſſembled, wherein ſuch as were guilty of the death of *Burgundy*, were juſtified, the diſherizing of the *Dauphin* confirmed, and warres prepared againſt theſe Townes which held for him. Againſt *Sens* the two Kings with their *Queens*, *Clarence*, and *Burgundy*, marched; which after 12. daies was rendered vpon compoſition of life, thoſe excepted as were guilty of the Duke of *Burgundy* death. *Monfrelau* was the next, which by force was entered, where the body of the Duke of *Burgundy*, vndeſtantly buried by the *Dauphinois*, was taken vp, and by his ſonne *Philip* ſent in great pompe to *Dion* in his *Dutchy*, and there honorably interred. The Towne being taken, the Caſtle held out: vnto whoſe Capitaine twenty Captiue Gentlemen were ſent, whole liues from King *Henries* mouth (ſay the French) were ſentenced to death, vnleſſe they could perſwade the Caſtellan to ſurrender; but thoſe men (ſay our *Engliſh*) to mollifie that (ſeuere doome) were all eſpecial friends of that Capitaine and ſuch, as had giuen opprobrious words to the Kings *Herauld*, being ſent vnto them in the ſiege of *Monfrelau*. Howſoeuer, in this extremity they ſollicited *Guiluy* vpon their knees, vrging their owne deaths, and his great danger if he held out; but *Guiluy*, a true Frenchman, and friend to the *Dauphin*, withſtood the aſſault, and thereupon theſe Gentlemen Petitioners were preſently hanged in the ſight of the defendants: ſo bloody is *Mars* to maintaine his owne Lawes, and ſo eager was *Henry* of his full Conqueſt of *France*, whoſe thirſting ſword had heretofore bene ſomewhat ouerlaid in blood, but neuer more (perhaps) then in this bloody act; which I with might be obliterated from the number of his other glorious actions. Yet at length was that Caſtle enforced to ſurrender vpon compoſition of life, excepting the guilties of *Burgundies* death.

(57) Then was the ſiege remoued to *Melun*, a Towne of great ſtrength, and made more ſtrong by the valours of her commanders, who were *Seigneur Barbaſon* an abſolute ſouldier, *Pierre de Bourbon* a Prince of the blood, *Preaux*, and *Bourgeois*, whole Garriſon was ſeuē hundred *Dauphinois*; and indeed no default in defence, could anie wife be imputed, but the Canon opening a breach, the *Engliſh* and *Burgundians* made an entry into the Bulwarke, and ouer the River *Seine* built a bridge with Boates; ſo that from either quarter they had paſſage one to the other without impediments, and encamped themſelues for their beſt advantage; vpon whom the enemie neuertheleſſe made diuers ſallies, with the loſſe of ſeuerall parties. King *Henry* enforced his ſiege to the vtmoſt, and made a myne vnderneath the walls, which being perceiued, the defendants countermined againſt him; where the King (too forward) as the very firſt man entering his myne, and *Barbaſon* like wiſe his within the Towne, met each other at point of ſword, where they performed nobly the parts of priuate ſouldiers, (nobly indeed, if priuate ſouldiers they had been, but Princes ſhould remember they are not ſuch) till laſtly they agreed to diſcouer themſelues, and firſt *Barbaſon* made known his name, then King *Henry* did his, whereupon the French Lord ſuddenly getting backe, cauſed the Barriers to be cloſed, and *Henry* returned to his Campe.

(58) This enterprize failing, King *Charles* himſelfe came into the Campe, to induce the defendants to render, at the preſence of their naturall Lord; which neuertheleſſe was little reſpected; for anſwere was made, that if their King were at liberty, and free from King *Henries* power, they would doe him the duty of naturall ſubiects, and yeeld him their charge as their Liege Lord: but being as he was, they deſired to be excuſed, for to the mortall enemy of *France* they would not yeeld.

(59) Whileſt King *Henry* lay at the ſiege of *Melun*, the Duke of *Bauer* (who was *Paſſegraue* of *Rhyne* Elektor) came to King *Henry* hauing married his ſiſter, and thence ſent a defiance vnto the *Dau-*

phin his kinfeman by *Queene Iſabell* his mother, the Prince of *Orange* likewiſe came thither vnto *Henry*, but becauſe he required an Oath of him, as a ſubiect of *France*, he went away diſpleaſed, ſaying, he was a free Prince, and ought neither obedience to *England* nor *France*. At which time the *Parisians* with more reſpect of their owne ſafety committed their City vnto *K. Henries* deuotion who deputed his brother *Clarence* (though Count *Saint Paul* with his French diſpleaſed) *Gouernour* thereof, and put *Garrifons* into the Baſtile of *S. Anthoine*, the *Louue*, and the *Houſſil de Neſle*. During this ſiege, mandatory letters were ſent by King *Charles* into *Picardy*, to put all places that held for him in thoſe quarters into *Henries* poſſeſſion, and to take the Oath of their obedience vnto him as to the only heire, *Succęſſor*, *Regent*, and *Gouernour* of *France*; the execution whereof was committed to the Count of *Saint Paul*, the Biſhops of *T. Rouenne* and *Arras*, the Viſcount of *Amiens*, the Lord of *Venducill*, the *Gouernour* of *Liſle*, *Pierre Marigny* Ad-uocate of the Parliament, and *George Offend* the Kings Secretary, beginning thus; *Charles par le Grace de Dieu, &c.*

(60) The diſtreſſe of *Melun*, was wonderfull great aſwell vpon the ſiegers, as defendants; the one afflicted, and their troups ſore weakened with mortality, the other oppreſſed with famine, and other defects incident to a long indured ſiege. In this State eighteen weekes were ſpent, and more had bene, but that the *Engliſh* were ſupplied with ſouldiers out of *Picardy*, whole colours diſplayed a ſarre off, put the Towne in hope of reliefe, as ſent from the *Dauphin*, but vpon their neerer approach, *Melun* was rendered by theſe capitulations. 1. That the Towne and Caſtle ſhould be deliuered to the King. 2. That aſwell the men of warre, as the *Burgelleſſes*, ſhould ſubmit themſelues to King *Henry*, to be dealt with as pleaſed the King. 3. That all ſuch as ſhould be found guilty of the Duke of *Burgundies* murder ſhould ſuffer death. 4. That all the reſt of the ſouldiers ſhould be receiued to mercy, but to be priſoners vntill they put in good caution for their true obedience in after times. 5. That the Nations of *France* ſhould be ſent home to their owne Countreys. 6. That all the mouables and Armes in the Towne ſhould bee carried into the Caſtle. 7. That all the Priſoners they had taken either before or during the ſiege, ſhould be enlarged ranſome-free, and acquitted of their promiſes. 8. That for the performance of theſe Articles, 12. of the principall Capitaines, and 6. of the wealthieſt *Burgelleſſes* ſhould deliuer themſelues in hoſtage. 9. That all the *Engliſh*, and *Scots*, ſhould be deliuered to *Henry* and left at his diſpoſition.

Theſe things accorded, an *Engliſh* Garriſon was put into *Melun*, commanded by *Pierre Farrolle*. *Pierre de Bourbon*, *Seigneur de Preaux*, and valiant *Barbaſon*, with fixe hundred Priſoners of quality, were ſent with a ſtrong guard vnto *Paris*. The guilties of *Burgundies* murder were all of them put to death, amongſt whom were two Monkes, and *Bertrand de Chantmont* a *Caſcoigne*, (a man in great fauour with King *Henry*) for that he at King *Henries* entry into *Melun*, had conuained thence one *Amien de Lau*, who was proued guilty of *Burgundies* death. The Duke of *Burgundy* himſelfe, as alſo *Clarence* earneſtly labored with King *Henry* for *Bertrands* pardon, but the King, though much grieved, and proteſting that he had rather haue loſt 50000. Nobles, yet was reſolued he ſhould die for example to all ſuch, as ſhould dare to offend, vpon preſumption of their nearnes and grace with their Princes.

(61) *Melun* being rendered, and theſe things thus diſpoſed, the two Kings with their *Queens* moſt honorable attended, returned to *Paris*, before whoſe entrance the *Citizens* and *Students* met them in moſt ſolemne manner, hauing beautified the City with flagges, ſcreemers and rich hangings throughout the ſtreets where they ſhould paſſe. The two Kings rode

rode together vnder a rich Canopie, *Henry* vpon the left hand, next vnto whom followed the *Dukes of Clarence* and *Bedford*, and vpon their left hand the Duke of *Burgundy* clad all in blacke, the Princes and Nobles of either Nation mingled together in their degrees, the Clergy with proceſſions, and their venerable reliques, going before them to *Noſtre dame Church*; and the next day the two *Queens* entered the City with as great a ſhew. King *Henries* Palace was prepared in the *Louue*, which was moſt rich and magnificent, and *Charles* his Court in the Hoſtel of *Saint Paul*, being but homely and meane, for (ſaith *Asſell*) young *Henry* commanded all, and his brethren exerciſed ſupreme authority, whiles olde *Charles* flood as a Cypher, and the French Nobilitie had nothing to doe.

(62) During the two Kings abode here, a great Aſſembly was called as well of the Spirituality, as of the ſecular Nobilitie, in whoſe preſence, in the great Hall of the Hoſtel, a State for Iuſtice was prepared, where the two Kings ſitting, as ſupreme Iudges, vnder one Cloath of eſtate, the Court was furniſhed with Princes and Officers in moſt ſolemne wiſe. Before whom, *Nicolas Rollin* aduocate from the Duke of *Burgundy*, and the *Dutcheſſe* his mother, craued audience (and had it granted) vnto an inuectiue and long Oration againſt *Charles Viſcount Narbone*, *Tanneguy Barbaſon* and others, for the cruell murder of *John Duke of Burgundy*; and not only that the murderers might be accordingly executed, but withall, that a Church might be founded and furniſhed with ſacred Ornaments for twelue *Chanons*, fixe Chaplaines, and fixe Clerkes to pray for his ſoule for euer, euery *Chanon* to haue yeerely two hundred pound *Paris* money, euery Chaplen one hundred, and euery Clerke fifty, to be leuiſed vpon the Lands of the *Dauphin*, and his aſſociates in the murder: that the ſame foundation ſhould be engrauen vpon the Porch thereof, and the like inſcription ſet vp publickly in the Cities of *Paris*, *Rouen*, *Grannt*, *Dion*, *Saint James* of *Compoſtella*, and *Jeruſalem*. This motion was ſeconded by a Doctor of Diuinity appointed by the *Reſtor* of the *Vniuerſity*, who concluded with an humble requeſt to the King and thoſe Princes, that iuſtice might be done. Wherevnto the *Chancellor* of *France*, in the behaue of King *Charles*, promiſed that no endeavour on his part ſhould bee lacking; and thereupon cauſed his ſonne to be ſolemneſly called to the Marble-Table, to anſwere his accuſation, by the name of *Charles Duke of Touraine*, and *Dauphin de Vienne*, which done three ſeueral times, and he not appearing, by arreſt of the ſame Court of Parliament, he was baniſhed the Realme, and iudged unworthy to ſucceed in any of the Seignories as well preſent, as to come. But the *Dauphin* appealed from this ſentence to God and his ſword, and ſtill was the ſame, though his fortunes were changeable. *Monsieur de Barbaſon* was vehemently accuſed to haue his hand in the murder, and therefore King *Henrie* accordingly gaue ſentence on him to ſuffer to death; but he in open Court defended himſelfe, not to bee guilty of the crime, although he confeſſed to be a true ſeruant to the *Dauphin*. Notwithſtanding, had he not appealed to the Officers of Armes, King *Henries* iudgement of death had gone againſt him: for the Law Military, as he therealleged, forbiddeth, that any man, hauing his brother in Armes within his danger, ſhould afterwards put him to death for any cauſe or quarrell, and proued himſelfe to be the Kings brother in Armes, for that he had in the *Countermines* cooped in combat with the King. Thus by a quirk of Heraldry acquitted from death, he was neuertheleſſe retained in priſon the ſpace of nine yeeres, and laſtly at the winning of *Caſle Galliard* from the *Engliſh*, was deliuered out of moſt ſtrait imprifonment, to the great ioy of the French.

(63) This execution of Iuſtice on thoſe Murderers, was a great, but not the only act of *K. Henry* at this great Parliament of three Eſtates of *France* in

Paris. For therein alſo was the final accord betwixt the two Kings, openly acknowledged by the French King, as made by his free aſſent, and with aduile of all the Councell of *France*, whereupon it was there alſo ratified by the general ſtatutes of *France*, and ſworne vnto particularly vpon the holy Euangelists, by all their Nobles and Magiſtrates, ſpiritual and ſecular, who alſo ſet their ſeales to the Inſtruments thereof, which were ſent into *England* to be kept in the Kings Exchequer at *Weſtmiſter*. King *Henries* glory thus aſcended to the height verticall in *France*, his Court was not only honoured daily both with Courtly and military ſhewes and paſtimes, but alſo was ſtill frequented both with forraigne Ambaſſadors, and domeſticke Commiſſioners, whoſe directions depended only vpon his voluntary aſſigne, himſelfe redreſſing all things at his pleaſure, placing and diſplacing Officers and *Gouernours*, cauſing alſo a new Coyne to be made, called a *Salute*, wherein were the Armes of *France*, and the Armes of *England* and *France*, quarterly ſtamped. King *Charles* the while in his Palace, was but for faſhions ſake viſited, and but by ſome of his olde ſeruants, his Sunne was drawne to nere vnto the ſetting. The great affaires of *France* thus ſetled, (as well as that vnſetled time would permit,) King *Henry* minding to Crowne his *Queene* in *England*, ordained his brother of *Clarence*, (a wife, valiant, and a great Capitaine) his Lieutenant general of *France*, leauing alſo the Duke of *Exeter* with 500. men of warres to keep *Paris*; and ſo attended with great ſtate, he came to *Amiens* and *Calais*, where taking to Sea, he arrived at *Douer* vpon the third of February, and was receiued of his Subiects as an Angell from heauen, or another victorious *Caſar* on Earth.

(64) All things in a readines for his faire *Queens* Coronation, vpon the four and twentieth of the ſame month, with all roialty the ſame was ſolemniſed at *Weſtmiſter*, and the *Engliſh* rich diademe ſet on her head. The feaſt was great, with all Princely ſeruices, and the ſtate ſuch as deſeruethe report; for the *Queene* ſitting at Table, at the right ſide of her Chaire, kneeled the Earle of *March* holding a Scepter in his hand; the Earle *Marſhall* kneeling on the left ſide, held another, and the Counteſſe of *Kent* ſate vnder the Table at her right foote; vpon her right hand at Table ſate the Biſhops of *Canterbury* and *Wincheſter*, and vpon the left the King of *Scots*, the *Dutcheſſe* of *York*, and the Counteſſe of *Huntington*; the Nobles giuing their attendance, each man according to his office and place.

(65) Preſently, after *Eaſter*, in the month of *May*, a Parliament was held at *Weſtmiſter*, whole chiefſt intent was to haue meanes to continue the Kings Conqueſt in *France*; but ſuch was the ſtate of thoſe laſt times, that, to ſtop the current of this melting mint, ſome, minding more the heapes of their money, then the ſpreading abroad of *Englands* faire Monarchy, exhibited their Bills vnto the three eſtates in Parliament, and petitioned vnto the King, to commiserate the poverty of the commons, which (as they ſaid) were beggered by their warres. For which cauſe, as it ſeemeth, no ſubſidy or ayde was demanded, but the King againe pawning his *Crowne* to his vnkle *Beaufort*, the rich Cardinall, for twenty thouſand pound, before the ſaid month was expired, with foure thouſand horſe and foure and twenty thouſand foote returned into *France* to follow thoſe warres.

(66) Neither was his haſt more then needed: for *John Earle of Bueghaman*, and *Archbald Douglas*, two valiant leaders of ſeuē hundred reſolute *Scots*, repaired into *France* to ayde the *Dauphin*, and joining with the French in *Amion*, meant to haue ſurprized the Duke of *Clarence* before he had bene aware: in which enterprize, foure ſtrangling *Scots*, taken and brought to his preſence, as he ſate at dinner, reuealed the intent and ſtrength of the Enemy, whoſe approach was verie nere at hand. This newes no ſooner

* Where they yet remaine, ſaith

Hollin. p. 198.

King Henry re-
turneth into
England.

Enguerant de
Monfrel.

Ex. Angl. M. S.
D. Robert Cotton.

Ex. Ricard. Parl.
9. Hen. 5.

The King paw-
neth his Crowne
for money.
Raim. Marten.

Alain Chartier.

* Vpon Beſſet
Eue.

Bucquaban.

ner came, but the Duke overhastily got to horse (saying, *they are all ours*) leaving his troups to follow him with almost celerity as they might. His suddaine and vnlooked-for approach, caused the Scots to take into the Church of *Bargie* for their safety, where whilst they were making defence, the rest tooke the Alarme, and the Earle of *Bucquaban* manned the Bridge, to whose ayde, *Hugh Kennedy* with an hundred horse presented himselfe.

The Duke of Clarence flaine.

Alain Chartier.

* Enguerrant.

Idem.

Denis Sauvage Cor. de Flanders.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

Denis Sauvage.

Bucquaban.

Enguerrant.

(67) The Duke of Clarence seeing no possibilitie to free the passage with his slender troupe of horse, alighted on foot, & gaue forth a furious charge, where the Earle of *Bucquaban* came to blowes, being followed by two hundred horse; and either side fighting with equall courage and rancor. Clarence gaue singular demonstration of his great valour, vntill, as he was remounting, one *John Swinton* a Scot, wounded him in the face with his Lance, and threw him to the ground, being the first man of the *English* that there was slaine, where likewise died the Earle of *Kyme*, the Lords *Gray* and *Rosse*, besides other men of marke, and fifteene hundred common souldiers, the Earles of *Huntington*, and *Sommerfet*, with *Thomas Beaufort* his brother, were taken prisoners. The * cause of this ouerthrow, is imputed to the Dukes halt in not staying for his Horsemen. Clarence that day vpon his Crest wore a Circle set with precious stones, which being taken off his Helmet by a Scot, was solde to *John Steward* of *Derby*, for a thousand Angels. For this fortunate dayes success, (wherein yet the Enemy also lost eluen hundred, and sundry of them men of principall note,) the *Daulphin* made the Earle of *Bucquaban* Constable of France. This losse receiued the Earle of *Salisbury*, (who followed with the other forces, but came too late to the encounter,) thought to requite, and bringing forward his troups, the enemy gaue ground, whereby yet he recovered the dead bodie of Clarence, and sent it to *Rouen*, from whence it was conueyed into England.

(68) After this victory the *Dolphin* besieged *Alençon*, which the Earle of *Salisbury* with his best forces sought to releue; but finding the enemy too strong, retired to the Abbey of *Becqin* whole retreat the French charged vpon him, and slew three hundred of his troups, but finding no meanes to possesse *Alençon*, raised their siege & returned to *Aniou*.

(69) King *Henry* therefore vpon notice of his brothers death, was much perplexed, for besides the naturall affection of a brother, his widome, valour, and counsell in the warres was highly esteemed by him, and to speake truth, there were very few Princes of that age to be equalled vnto him. Wherefore ordaining his other brother, *John Duke of Bedford* his Lieutenant, and leaving his faire Queene most honorably attended, vpon the tenth of June he landed at *Calis*, having in his companie *James King of Scotland*, in hope either to draw the Scots vnto his seruice, or else to withdraw their aides from the *Daulphin*, by the sight of their owne King vnder his roiall standard. But the Scots, constantly French, being demanded why they would fight against their Soueraigne, answered directly that they might not acknowledge any duty vnto *James*, who as yet liued vnder the obedience of another. His designe thus sayling, his confidence was in his right and his sword.

(70) The morrow after his arriuall he dispatched the Earle of *Dorset*, and the Lord *Clifford* with twelue hundred horse and foot vnto *Paris*, to releue the Duke of *Excester*, who was straitened of victuals by the *Dolphin*, that harassed the Countrey adjoining, taking *Bonneuil*, *Calandon*, and some other forts, and in his fortunate successes, and now conceiued hope then marched to *Chartiers* with seuen thousand men at Armes, foure thousand Crosse-bowes, and sixe thousand Archers strong, where he began the siege, whom the Bastard of *Thian* brauely resisted, and sent to King *Henry* for aide.

(71) *Henry*, after a few daies stay in *Calais*, mar-

ched to *Montrelet*; and there lodged, quartering his Army in the villages about, where he found the Duke of *Burgogne* somewhat impaired of health: three daies spent in conference, King *Henry* marched into *Ponthieu*, and the Duke to *Abbeuil* vpon some, to facilitate his passage there to be made, whereof some doubt was held by reason of the Inhabitants disposition, altogether vnstedfast, and as ready to offend, as affect. *Henry* in his way tooke the Fort called *La Ferte*, commanded by the Bastard of *Belley*, which vpon summons rendered, and being committed to the Custody of *Borfflers* a Picard, was betrayed againe by him vnto the *Daulphin*: from hence departing, he passed the riuer at *Abbeuil*, where he was roiallie receiued, and richly presented, whence he marched to *Beauuauis*, *Gisors*, and so to *Bois-de-Vincennes*, where *Charles* and his Queene resided, and receiued him with great honour, and lastly to *Paris* where he was receiued in triumph.

(72) But more minding a Conquest then the delicate pleasures of Court, after he had consulted vpon his affaires, and leuiued French forces to adde to the *English*, he marched toward *Meaux*, intending (in reuenge of his brothers death) to fight with the *Daulphin*, who had now laine before *Chartres* the space of three weekes, and given it forth he would come into the field. But hearing of King *Henries* coming, and that his Armie by the access of supplies, from *Paris* and *Normandy* was much increased, he brake vp his siege and departed: which newes related, *Henry* marched to *Dreux* and fate downe before it. The inhabitants and Garrison sensible of the danger, praied parley, and accorded to render the Towne, if the *Daulphin* did not relieue them by a certaine day, which expired, the Towne was deliuered, and eight hundred of the *Daulphins* souldiers permitted to depart vpon their Oathes, not to beare Armes against King *Henry*, nor his allies for the space of one yeere: then following the *Daulphin* (who fled still before him) in his march he tooke *Bazengy*, *Roumment*, and other places of defence.

(73) Seeing his pursuit of the flying *Daulphin* to be fruitlesse, he diuered his Army vnto *Luigny* vpon the riuer of *Marne*, where * he caufed many engines and habiliments for the warre to be made; having a designe to besiege *Meaux* in *Brie*, and inset the *Faulxbourg*, sending before him the Duke of *Excester* with foure thousand strong, to prevent the burning of *Meaux*, by the Inhabitants, and a few daies after followed himselfe. His first worke was to secure his Armie, by entrenching his Quarters, which done, and the Artillery mounted, he beganne to batter the wals, and to make his Mines, wherein neither his industry nor personall labour was spared; and within, the Bastard of *Vaurus* with many men of Marke, besides the inhabitants, and a thousand trained souldiers, were as busie and resolute for the defence. Meane while *Iagues de Harecourt*, in seruice of the *Daulphin*, with seuen hundred souldiers harassed the parts about *Vimeux*, against whom, some *English* Garrisons thereabout, assembling, slew three hundred of his retinue, himselfe hardly escaping by the swiftnes of his horse.

(74) Whilst King *Henry* lay in his siege before *Meaux*, newes was brought him that his Queene at the Castle of *Windfore* was deliuered of a sonne, named also *Henry*, whereat he exceedingly reioiced, though, as some will haue it, he liked not well the place of her deliuey, having before commanded the contrary, and prophesying, that what *Henry* of *Monmouth* should get, *Henry* of *Windfore* would lose. At the same time likewise he heard that *Auranches* in *Normandy*, was surprized by the *Daulphin*; and about three hundred *English* there in Garrison put to the sword, or taken Prisoners; to remedy which, King *Henry* sent part of his owne Armie vnto the Earle of *Salisbury* his Lieutenant of *Normandie*, who within few daies recovered *Auranches* and reuenged the death of the surprized.

(75) But

(75) But *Henries* siege lessened through the first fire in *Normandy*, and his mind busied vpon his affaires that way, fitted opportunity to *Seignieur de Offemont*, vnto whom the besieged had many times made knowne their desires to haue him their Gouverneur; on a night therefore (ladders made readie to put ouer the wals to receiue him) he secretly approached the place, but being discovered by the Centinels; and the alarm taken, he not able to recover the ladders, fell into the ditch, whence by reason of his heauy armour hee could not free himselfe, and in taking was wounded in the face: the King esteeming the taking off so braue and valiant a Captaine, as a prize of much importance. The Defendants now hopelesse of succour, and finding themselves not able to hold out, carried all their goods from the towne into the * Castell; but the assailants discovering their actions, and perceiving their feare, gaue a fierce assault, and by force made way into the Towne with their swords: then *Henry* planting his Canons, began to batter the Castell, and shortly brought it to that extremity, that besides want of bread, most of their hand weapons were broken, and all of them in a manner dangerously wounded; yet desired they not to prouoke the *English* with opprobrious words, which caused such heauy conditions to be laid on them, as the like had not bene of any surrender before.

1. That the March of *Meaux* should be rendered vpon the eleuenth of May next ensuing. 2. That *Mesier Louis de Gaf*, the Bastard of *Vaurus*, *Jehan de Romieres*, *Tramagon*, and *Barnard de Meueuille* should be left to *K. Henry* to execute. 3. That *Gueichard de Sisyay*, *Pierron de Luppe*, *Robert de Geraines*, *Philip de Gamacher*, and *John de Ourage* should be at the kings will vntill they had rendered or caused to be rendered all the Townes, Castels and Fortresses which they or any of them held in France, and then to be secured of life. 4. That all the *English*, *Welsh*, *Irish* & Scots that heretofore had bene in the Kings obedience should be left to the Kings discretion. 5. That all the rest, allwell souldiers as Burgeses should be left to the Kings pleasure, their liues only excepted. 6. That the Earle of *Commerçon*, who had bene prisoner to *Pierron de Luppe*, and at the beginning of the siege of *Meaux*, was deliuered at the instance of *Henry* for a ranfome, should now be freed without ranfome. 7. That all the Armes and goods in the March should be brought to one place there safely guarded, and an Inuentory of the same deliuered vnto King *Henry*. 8. That all the Reliques and Church ornaments should likewise be put in safety. 9. That all the Prisoners aswell in the March, as in any other place vnder any of their commandements should be set at liberty, ranfome free, and acquired of their promises. 10. That no man vntill the assigned day of rendering should goe out of the March, and that none should be admitted to enter into it, but such as King *Henry* assigned. 11. That these Articles should be subscribed and sealed by an hundred of the best men amongst them. 12. That for the true performance of the concord, foure and twenty persons elected by King *Henry* should remaine in hostage.

(76) The place thus rendered vnto the King, hee presently sent eight hundred selected persons prisoners to *Paris*, *Rouen*, and England. The Bastard of *Vaurus*, and the Gouverneur of *Meaux*, the King caused to be hanged before the Towne on a Tree, named (by the Bastard himselfe) *Vaurus*, whereon hee had formerly hanged many *English* and *Burgundians*, and his head was fixed vpon a pole on the toppe of the same tree. *Mesier Louis de Gaf*, *Denis de Vaurus*, brother to the Bastard, *Jehan de Romieres*, and *Barnard de Meueuille* were sent to *Paris*, & there executed; the goods of the March were distributed by *Henry* amongst his Captains, and deserting men. Then order was taken for repairing of breaches, and a strong Garrison left in *Meaux* and the March. After whose surrender, *Cressy*, the Castell of *Pierrepont*, *Merlau*, *Offemont*, and sundry others submitted

themselves to *Henry*, whilst the true *Dolphin* set fire on theirs; before hee could attaine to their siege.

(77) Queene *Katherine* in England daily hearing of the Kings success, desired greatly the sight of his person, and to that end prepared her voyage for France, vnder the conduct of Duke *John* the Kings brother, then Regent of England, who deputed for the time of his absence, his brother *Humfrey* Duke of *Glocester*, and tooke shippe at *Southampton*. The winds prosperous, the 21. of May she landed at *Hartflewe*, and with still encamping troups of Noblemen, by easie iourneys came to *Rouen*, and thence to *Bois de Vincennes*, whither her husband, her father and mother with great state came to meete her, of all whom shee was receiued as some Angelicall person, who together removed to *Paris*, where King *Henry* and Queene *Katherine* in the Loure, vpon the festiual of *Pentecost*, fate in their roiall robes, with their imperiall Crownes on their heades, and kept their Court with great confluence of people, *K. Henry* assigning the affaires of the Prouinces.

(78) But though *Champaigne*, *Picardie*, *Brie*, and *Normandy* with the life of France were in *Henries* possession, yet was not all reduced to his quiet obedience, a great and strong party holding out still for the *Daulphin*, who with twenty thousand strong besieged *La Charay* vpon *Loire*, and tooke it, from whence hee marched to *Cone* vpon the same riuer, whose Defendants agreed, that if *Burgundy* did not raise the siege by the sixteenth of August, they would surrender; which the said Duke accepted, and thereupon sent profer of battell to the *Daulphin*, who was likewise as readie (and by his Herald gaue his faith) to trie his fortune in the field: The day assigned, and preparation made, the Duke of *Burgundy* sent to King *Henry* for his assistance; whose answer was, that himselfe and his forces would not faile to bee with him that day, and run the same fortunes with him in the field.

(79) But great *Henries* stout mind was crossed with his new crazy body, his health being so empaiwed with a burning feauer and fluxe, that he was disswaded from the March; so the command of the Army was committed to his brother *John Duke of Bedford*, and the Earle of *Warwick*, who ioyning their forces for auoiding of contentions, through all their ranks intermingled the *English*, *Burgundians*, and *Picardes* together, and so the night before the designed day of battell, came to *Cone* and encamped neere to the Towne; yet vndaunted *Henry*, who neuer mis-carried in any of his personall enterprises, taking his leaue at *Senlis* of *K. Charles*, and the two Queens, in his horse-litter (with a guard for his person) marched (though weak) after them; but at *Meun* finding his sicknesse to increase, and himselfe (who could endure all things) now vnable to endure trauell, he returned to *Bois de Vincennes*.

(80) The *English* colours displayed in the *Daulphin* eye, and his power inferior in shew vnto them, howeuer hee had vaunted, he thought it not best to aduenture the field, and therefore dislodging from *Cone*, he marched to *Barry*, both to protract time, and to weary the enemy. *Cone* thus relieved, the Dukes marched to *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, and set down their Army for the siege; but before the cords of their tents could be sufficiently made fast, the Duke of *Bedford* had heauy newes of Great *Henries* increased sicknesse, and danger of death: wherefore leaving the Duke of *Burgundy* with the Armie, hee posted to *Bois de Vincennes*, where finding the relation too true, hee greatly lamented his dying brothers estate: but the King much reioicing of his brothers coming, cheerfully comforted his mourning friends and Nobles, and made vnto them this graue and his last dying speech.

(81) I well see you lament my death; but I doe not so: for this short life of mine shall leaue behind mee the witnesse of my faith, integrity, iustice, honesty,

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

A.D. 1422.

Enguerrant de Monstrelet.

K. Henries sicknesse.

His cheerfulness in his sicknesse.

His last exhortation.

"nefly and mercy, which shall crowne my memoiry with glory, and free mee from blame and slander, which in long raignes can hardly be auoided: but you haue iust cause to mourne at my vntimely death, and it cannot bee but a generall griefe to my people, that in such an Ocean of businesse yet depending, I shall leaue you and them destitute of a Prince able to gouern: but your sorrow ought to be so much the lesse, when you call to mind the frailty of worldly things, and that euermore there will bee somewhat wanting which wee desire. My first request vnto you shall bee this, that with an unanimous affection to aduise, foresee and provide, that the counsell which I name may be followed. I further earnestly entreat you to loue my Infant Henry, to instruct him with your wisdomes, that by your counsell, care and loue, he may be made able & worthy to weild so great an Empire. Committ my deare wife, the most afflicted Creature liuing, extend your loues vnto her in the same proportion as I haue cuer loued you. Touching the publike I admonish and exhort you to brotherlie concord, and neuer to breake league with Philip Duke of Burgundie, and if you shall thinke it good, let my brother Humphrey Duke of Gloucester gouerne England, and not depart vpon any occasion whatsoever, vntill my sonne Henry be of yeeres to sway the estate; and my brother John Duke of Bedford with the assistance of Philip Duke of Burgundy, to manage the Realme of France. Concerning Charles (commonly called the Dauphin) either he must by your sword be made to submit himselfe, or else you shall neuer be in quiet, and it were as good to render him the possession of what you haue: wherefore sleepe not, and while you haue meanes and opportunity be industrious. Lastly, I beseech, charge, and command you, (howsoever time or occasion may perswade, or iauite you to the contrary) that Normandy receiued by my industry, and your sword, being the ancient inheritance of the Crowne of England, be not alienated for any cause whatsoever. Among other things then enjoined, he willed that the Duke of Orleans, the Earle of Eu, Guacourt, and Guichard de Sifay should not be ransomed, vntill yong Henry were of yeeres to gouerne.

(82) Thus said, and drawing neere to the period of his short but glorious life; he demanded of his Physicians how long (in their iudgement) he might liue? wherunto when one of the answered, Sir, thinke on your soule, for your time is not about 2. houres: he made his confession, & his Chaplains after ward kneeling in prayer, when one of them out of the Psalms made mention of *Ierusalem*, the king no sooner heard the name, but with a loud voice he said; *Lord thou knowest, that my purpose was to conuere Ierusalem from the Infidels, if it had pleased thee to haue giuen me life: & then in a right faith, assured hope, perfect charity and sound memory, he rendered his soule to his Creator, after hee had reigned nine yeeres, five monethes, and fourteene dayes, leauing none like vnto him amongst all the Kings and Princes of Christendome, for which cause his death was not onely bewailed of the English, whom hee gloriously had ruled, but also of the French, whom hee had victoriously conquered.* This was the manner of this triumphant Monarches end, which moues men iustly to wonder at Helior Boetius, who faith, he was stricken by God for sacrilege, and died miserable: Helior friends haue occasion to wish, that his Readers should not make that miserable iudgement, the rule and measure of crediting or discrediting his other writings, yet lamentable his end was indeed, if he perished by poison, wherof there was a vehement suspicion, as Polydore Vergill hath auerred, and the carriage of the French affaires afterward makes it more then probable.

(83) His workes of pious affection were shewed in erecting the Monasteries of *Beihlem* & *Briget*, neere vnto his Manour of *Richmond*, as also his princely

gifts vnto the workes and furniture of *Westminster* Church, besides the brotherhood of *S. Giles* without *Creepe gate London*. And (which had surpassed all the rest) hee intended (such was his loue to learning, and to the place where himselfe was a learner) to haue founded in the great Castell at *Oxford*, a magnificent Colledge for *Diuines*, and Students of the seuen liberal Sciences; the ploe and ordinations of which foundation he had already drawne, and resolved to endow it with all the lands in *England*, belonging to Priors Aliens; but his vntimely death prevented both that, and many other noble workes. To leaue a domestike testimony of his affection to Armes, hee first instituted *Garter* principall King at Armes: besides other augmentations to the Order of *Saint George*. In a word, neuer liued English King with more true glory, nor cuer died any in a more vnseasonable time, nor more lamented: for he was godly in heart, sober in speech, sparing of words, resolute in deedes, prudent in Counsell, prudent in iudgement, modest in countenance, magnanimous in action, constant in undertaking, a great Abneggiuer, deuout to Godward, a renowned Soldier, fortunate in field, from whence hee neuer returned without victory. These, with many other (I might almost say, all other) vertues are attributed to this most renowned amongst English Kings; the more to be admired in him in so short a raigne, and in those yeeres, hee being but of 36. yeeres, when he breathed forth his glorious soule.

(84) His bowels were interred in the Church of *Saint Maure de Fosse*, and his embalmed Corps was cloied in Lead, and attended vpon by the *Lords of England, France, Normandy, and Picardy*, was brought vnto *Paris* (where in the Church of our Lady solemne exequies were performed) and thence to *Rouen*, where it rested till all things were ready to set forward for *England*; though the Cities of *Paris* and *Rouen* stroue, and offered great summes of gold to haue *Henries* royall remains entred amongst them. His picture artificially was moulded of boyled hides, and countenance painted according to life, vpon whose head an imperiall Diademe of gold and precious stones was set, the body clothed with a purple robe, furred with Ermine, in his right hand it held a scepter royall, and in the left a ball of gold; in which manner it was carried in a Chariot of State, couered with red veluet, embroidered with gold, and ouer it a rich Canopie, borne by men of great place. Thus accompanied by *James* King of *Scotland*, many Princes, Lords and Knights of *England* and *France*, he was conuaued from *Rouen* to *Abbeville*, to *Hesdin*, to *Menstruill*, *Bologna*, & *Calais*, the Chariot all the way compassed about with men all in white garments, bearing burning Torches in their hands; next vnto whom followed his household seruants, all in blacke, and after them the Princes, Lords, and Estates in vtures of mourning adorned; then two miles distant from the corps followed the still lamenting Queene, attended with princely mourners, her tender and pierced heart more inly mourning, then her outward sadde weedes should in any sort expresse.

(85) And thus by Sea and Land the dead King was brought vnto *London*, where through the streets the Chariot was drawne with foure horses, whose Caparisons were richly embroidered, and embossed with the royall Armes, the first with *Englands* Armes alone, the second with the Armes of *France* and *England* in a field quartered, the third bare the Armes of *France* alone, and the fourth three crowns or in a field Azure, the ancient Armes of King *Arthur*, now well becomming him who had victoriously vniued * three Kingdomes in one. The body with all pompous celebrity was entered in the Church at *Westminster* (for so *Henrie* had by his last will commanded) next beneath King *Edward the Confessor*, vpon whose Tombe Queene *Katherine* caused a royall picture to be laid, couered all ouer with siluer plate

plate guile, but the head thereof altogether of massy siluer. All which at that Abbeyes suppression, (when the battering hammers of destruction did found almost in euery Church) were sacrilegiously broken off, and by purloining transferred to farr prophaner vses, where, at this day, the headlesse monument, (worthy to be restored by some more Princely and sacred hand) is to be seene, and with these verses writtten vpon his Tombe.

*Dux Normannorum, verus Conquestor eorum.
Hares Francorum, decessit & Helior eorum.*

*Here Normans Duke, so styled by Conquest iust,
True Heire of France, Great Helior, lies in dust.*

His Wife.

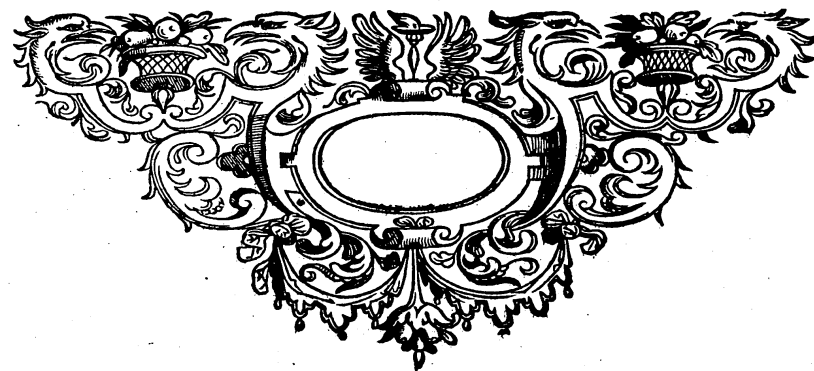
(86) *Katherine*, daughter to King *Charles* the sixt of *France*, vpon an agreement of peace forementioned, was married vnto King *Henrie* at *Troyes* in *Champaigne*, Junij 3. A.D. 1420. and after Febr. 14. was Crowned at *Westminster* with all solemnities. Shee was his Queene two yeeres, and about three months, and suruiuing him, was remarried vnto *Owen* *Theodore* of *Wales*, vnto whom shee bare three sonnes, *Edmund*, *Iasper*, and *Owen*, and a daughter who liued not long. *Owen* tooke the habite of religion at *Westminster*, the other two by King *Henry* the sixt (their halfe brother,) were honorably preferred; *Edmund* was created Earle of *Richmond*, and marrying *Margaret*, the sole heire of *John* *Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, was father by her vnto *Henry* (the only heire of *Lancaster*,) afterwards King of *England*. *Iasper*, the second brother, was created the same yeere, Earle of *Pembroke*, who requited his brothers kindnes

with continuall assistance against the house of *Torke*; and when that faction preuailed, he was forced to flee into *Flanders*, but it againe waning, he was both restored, and to his greater honour created Duke of *Bedford*, dying without any issue legitimate: This Queene, either for deuotion, or her owne safety, tooke into the Monastery of *Bermondsey* in *Southwarke*, where dying Jan. 2. A.D. 1436. shee was buried in our Ladies Chappell within *S. Peters* Church at *Westminster*; whose Corpstaken vp in the raigne of King *Henry* the seuenth her Grand-child, (when hee laid the foundation of that admirable structure,) and her Coffin placed by King *Henry* her husbands Tombe, hath euer since so remained, and neuer reburied: where it standeth (the Couer being loose) to be seene and handled of any that will; and that by her owne appointment, faith *Report*, (which doth in this, as in most things, speake vnto truth) in regard of her disobedience to King *Henry*, for being deliuered of her sonne at the place hee forbade.

His Sonne.

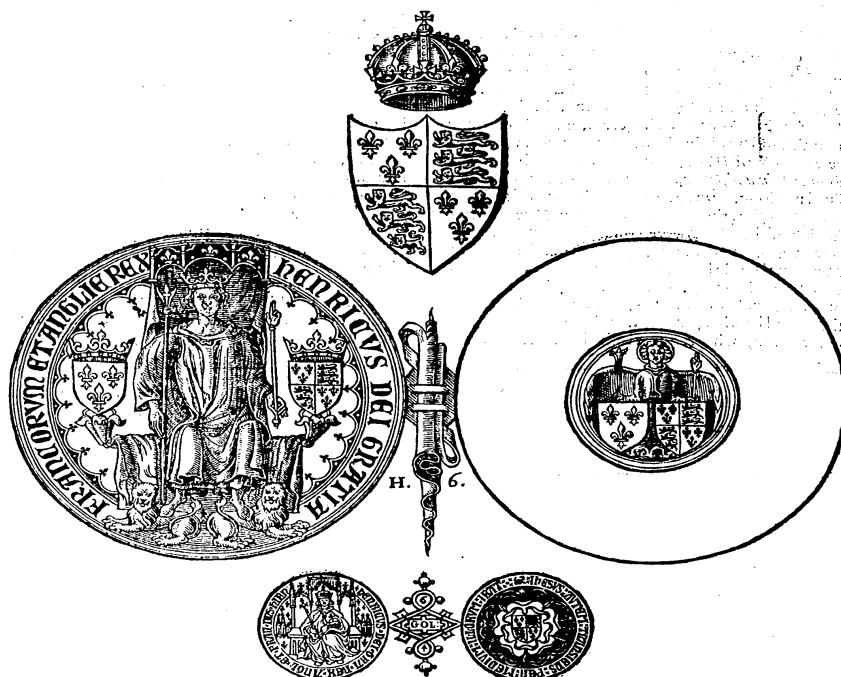
(87) *Henry* the only child of a roiall couple, borne at *Windore*, and not nine months old at his fathers death, succeeded in his dominions, though not holding his Empire with the like glory. Crowned he was with the Crownes of two Kingdomes, but vnable by much to weild the scepter of one, that of *France* was lost by the factions of his Nobles, before it was well wonne, and *Englands* Crowne twice plucked from his head before his death. Of whose adventures and variable raigne (the times when *England* lay goared in the blood of her ciuill warres) we shall speake in the ensuing relation of his innocent, but vntortunate life.

HENRIE



Henry V I.

HENRIE THE SIXTH. KING OF ENGLAND, AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE THREE AND FIFTIETH MONARCH OF ENGLAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XVI.



Ad God almighty (the *giuer and transferer of Kingdomes) thought good that the English should haue scled in the Continent of Europe, and not haue bene shutt vp within their Ilands, hee would not so soone haue depriued them of their

late incomparable Captaine and Soueraigne Henry the fifth. But it seemes that God hauing humbled the French Nation vnder Henries victorious hand, ment now again to restore them to his wonted fauor by taking away their terror & triumph, substituting his son (an Infant) in his place, Henrie of that name the 6. born at Windsor, who was crowned about the eight month of his age. The pretty hands which could not feed himselfe, were yet made capable to weeld a scepter, and hee that was beholding to nurses for milke, did neuertheless distribute the suste-

nance of law and iustice to so great and warlike Nations. Counsell supplies the defect of age. At his fathers death hee had vnclcs, men of approued valour and discretion, to whom the principall care of all publike affaires by the fathers last prouisions was committed. Humfrey Duke of Gloucester (the younger brother of two) had the * gouernement of England entrusted to his fidelity: the regency of France was assigned for Prouince to Iohn Duke of Bedford, the eldest liuing vncl of the King, as to a Prince of much magnanimity, prouesse and felicitie in conduct, with whom was * ioynd Philip Duke of Burgundie. The guard and custody of the royall Infant was assigned to Thomas * Duke of Excester: the nurture and education to his * mother, the Queene Dowager: vpon the two vnclcs (as betweene the two Poles of the English Empire) the whole globe of gouernment moued: whatsoeuer is done by the kingly power is said to be done by the King. We shall behold notwithstanding in the tragical glasse of this Henries raigne, how farre the imbecillity of the kingly person

* Dan. esp. 2. v. 21

Henry the sixth began his raigne the last day of August, being the d. y of his Fathers death. Anno 1422.

son may affect the body politicke with good or euill. If histories were ordayned to stirre affections, not to teach and instruct, neuer any Princes raigne since the Conquest did better deserue to be described with a tragical style and words of horror & sorrow, although the beginning (like the faire morning of a most tempestuous day) promised nothing more then a continuance of passed felicities.

(3) For the State of the English affaires was great and flourishing, England without tumult, the naturall fierce humors of her people confuming or exercising themselves in France, and France herselfe (for the nobler parts together with the grand City of Paris head of that Monarchie) was at their deuotion. There wanted nothing which might aduance the worke begonne. Most noble and expert Leaders as those which had bin fithioned in the schoole of warre, vnder the best martiall master of that age, the late Henry, arms full of veteran souldiers, most of which were of skill sufficient to be commanders themselves: their friends firme, no defect nor breach (by which disipation might enter to the ouerthrow of the English greatnesse) as yet disclosing themselves. Wildome, pietie, riches, forwardnesse at home, courage and like forwardnesse abroad. It is a fruitfull speculation to consider how God carrieth his part in the workes of men, alwaies iustly, sometimes terribly, but neuer otherwise, then to bring all worldly greatnesse and glory into due contempt, and loathing, that the foule may be erected to her Creator, and aspire to a Crown celestiall. The first diaduantage which hapned to the English cause (after the late Kings decease) was the death of Charles the French King, who suruiued the other but * fiftie and three dayes. This wee may worthily call the first (as it was a great, as well as the first) diaduantage, for the imbecilities of that Prince were a strength to the English; On the other side (God obseruing a talio and parilitie) the infancy of young Henry was an aduantage to Charles the Dauphin of France, now by them of his faction called King of France, as the English vied in derision to enstyle him King of Berrie, because little else was left vnto him.

(3) In England (whose condition the order of nature wils vs first to describe, because there was the seat of counsell, by which all the actions of the generall state were directed) a Parliament was assembled to establish the Crowne vpon the Infant, and to provide for the publike vics and necessities of State. Money* (alwaies one of them) was liberally granted. It was a strange sight (and the first time that euer it was scene in England) which in the next yeere hapned, an infant sitting in the mothers lap, before it could tell what English meant, to exercise the place of Soueraigne direction in open Parliament. Yet so it was, for the Queene to illumine that publike conuention of States with her Infants presence, remoued from Windsor to London; through which Citie (her selfe royally seated with her young sonne vpon her lappe) passed in maiesticke manner to Westminster, and there tooke seate among all his Lords, whom (by the ordinary mouth of that high Court) hee saluted and spake to them at large concerning the premises; where, as hee vttered the mind of his place by anothers tongue, so hee elsewhere prosecuted all affaires by other mens hands and Organs.

(4) The Duke of Bedford (as the nature of his place exacted) to settle and preferue the State of France for his young Nephew the King, together with Philip Duke of Burgoyne, who as yet continued a stedfast friend to the English Soueraignty (knowing the Dauphin busie to recouer France) strengthened the confines of their gouernment with Garrisons, assembled their powers, and laboured to retaine the hearts of their owne party. The Duke of Bedford Regent of France, had * words to them to this effect in open assemble. That they should not violate their plight and sworne allegiance, neither by them-

selues endeavour nor endure, that by others their Soueraigne Lord young Henry should be defrauded of his inheritance, or that the hatreds and enmities which now beganne to die betweene the French and English names, should through the practices of most faithlesse men be renewed, and rekindled: That they would remember how (by Gods speciall fauour and goodnesse) the two Kingdomes of France and England were vniued under one most faire and goodly Monarchie in an eternal league, and lately so established that no humane force could resist: It has albeit they had sustained damage by the warre, yet the same would be recovered with aduantage, if they honored loved and obeyed their lawfull Soueraigne Lord King Henry, and prosecuted his enemies with extremity, according to bounden duty. This Oration found plausible admission in them: Henry is proclaimed King of England and of France, and such chieffes as were present did their homages, taking oath to be true: The like Obligation and Sacrament of allegiance was put vpon all the French through the English Dominions in France.

(5) Charles (who as sonne and heire to the late King entiled himselfe King of France, by the name of Charles the seventh) being then about the fawen and twentieth yeere of his age, full of courage and new hopes, gathered what force he could: his chieffe Leues were made in Dauphynois and Italy, from whence (for money) he drew sundry troupes. But the best finewe of his Army moued in certain thousands of the Scottish Nation, which serued vnder him. The first steppe which the Charolmes, or forces of Charles made into hostile action was vnfürate, for comming to raise the siege which the English held about * Crepan they were put to flight, with the losse of about two thousand of their numbers. This was noble in Charles, and his Charolines, that their minds funke not at the horrour of such an euill Omen. It was faith Amyllus of them, resolved to encounter aduerse fortune with encrease of courage. The Regent on the other side was vigilant vpon all occasions: the power of his Regency extended it selfe without contradiction * through Vimeux, Pontieu and Picardie, from Paris to Reines, Chalons and Troyes, up to the water of Loir and the Sea: A goodly scope of territory, and absolutely the best of France. That late losse & foile of the Charolines was repaired shortly after by an ouerthrow in skirmish which they gaue to the English party, from whom (with the slaughter of about fiftene hundred) they recovered a great booty, specially of Cattell which the English had gotten in the Countries of Nuyon and Main, but thus intercepted vpon their return into Normandy, Charles (which Paul, Amyllus omitteth) doubreth that success: for * Meulan vpon Sein is by him taken where all the English are put to the sword: but the possession was short, and the reuenge speedy: Thomas Montacute Earle of Salisbury (a man (saith Polydor) more like the old Romans then people of that age, so great was his vertue and cheualric) hauing with him Iohn of Luxemburg, General of the Burgundian horsemen, recouers the place, killing all the French which were found therein.

(6) At the Citie of * Amiens in Picardie the three great Dukes of Bedford (Regent of France) Burgoyne and Britaine meet to consult of the whole course & summe of affaires. There they renewed the League, adding, that each should be others friend, and that all of them should defend King Henries right with their best forces. For the better assurance of this profitable amity, the Regent (then a Bachelour) tooke to wife the Lady Anne, sister to Philip Duke of Burgundie: while the Regent was absent from Paris vpon these iust occasions, the Parisians (who not long before had * sent Ambassadors into England, to acknowledge their obedience to King Henry) practised with Charles to deliuer their City. The Regent had notice of this dangerous treason, and with his presence retained them in duety. The chieffe Actors paid their liues for satisfaction of the trespass. In good

H h h h 2 time

* Paul. Amyll. in Car. 7. * Crepan, faith Polydor, who placeth this action in the following yeere. The bounds of the English Regency in France, saith Amyllus.

* Polyd. Verg. l. 23

* Stow. Annals.

* Polyd. Verg. l. 23

The whole field
forces of the
English in France
under the Duke
of Bedford.

*Rob. Fab.

*Poly. Verg.
lib. 23.

*Gagwin.
*Paul. Armil.
*Hist. Scot. l. 16.

The Regent's
victory at Ver-
noil in Perche.
*Stowes Annals.

*Hist. Scot. lib. 16.

This battell was
fought 7. Jul Aug.
Anna Domini.
1425. faith Stow.

*Poly. Verg. lib. 23.

*Ja Carol. 7.

The murderers
of John Duke
of Burgain excepted
in capitulations.

*Rob. Fab. Chron.

James the first
King of Scots
set at liberty out
of England.

time there arrived out of England ten thousand fresh Souldiers. Over them hee ordered Captaines, the famous Earle of Salisbury, William Pole Earle of Suffolke, Robert Willoughby and others. Himselfe lead about with him for the generall service, eightene hundred horsemen, and eight thousand foote. With these field-forces the maieme of the English estate in France was held together, though not without difficulty, and diuers adventures. In them he tooke from Charles sundry strong Townes, and Fortresses as *Crotay, Bafide, Riol, Rula, Gyronde, Bafle, Mermond, Milham, Femel, Seintee, and many other.

(7) The Regents chiefe designe was to draw Charles to fight, hoping by his overthrow to conclude many daies workes in one. For this cause he drew into Normandy. Charles was then in Tourain, where he mustered his people. The Regent profpers in the meane time, and takes by siege a place of good importance, presuming to dare the French out to a Battell. John Duke of Alanson is sent with an Army and instructions to fight if occasion served, but Charles himselfe was not suffered to hazard his person. Not farre from the Towne of Vernail, which the *English had taken before the *Duke of Alanson, and his Charles could succour it, the two Armies embattelled themselves. The fight began with shot, which seeming not quicke enough to dispatch the work, the battells came to hand-strokes, where for some houres, there was maintained a constant and doubtfull battell with great furie on both sides. The English enured to the French warres, hauing borne the first heats of their enemies, (which are in that Nation most ragell:) by perseverance vterly brake and put them to flight. The Regent himselfe with a battle-axe fought most fiercely, winning immortal honor in that bloody journey. There were slaine of the enemies side: John *Earle of Boughwhan Constable of France: Archembald Douglas Duke of Tourain and Lieutenant of France: Archembald his sonne Earle of Wigton, with many other of the Scots. Of the French there were slaine the Earle of Vantadour, and sundry others. In all there died vpon that side certaine thousands. None writes of fewer then foure or five thousand, nor any of a-boue fiftene. The great number of the slaine, is not the measure of a victory, but the vice and effects which it drawes. The Duke of Alanson himselfe was taken prisoner, with about two hundred others of speciall worth. The English paid for this noble victory, the bodies of about two thousand of their souldiers which lost life there, for it was fought vpon faire termes in the open fields, and carried by meere manhood. That which followeth till the siege of Orleans, Paul *Amylius comprehendeth in some few lines. The fierce Conquerour besiegeth Maits in Main, and with Ordinance beates downe part of the walls. It yields hereupon. The English Garrison left shreine, after the taking not being sufficient to containe the Towne in due subiection, is compelled to flie to a Tower for their safetie, the enemies which were admitted into it by the Burgers enjoying the rest. The Lord Talbot (the most noble Captaine of the English) presently arriveth to the rescue, and puts the malefactors to death. The English Empire extends it selfe to the River of Loir. Charles they call in scorne the King of Berry. Thus roundly hee.

In nine Articles and capitulations drawne and concluded at the yielding of Maits, this was one, as perhaps it was in euery like occasion, That if any persons were found within the City, which had beene consenting to the murder of John Duke of Burgain, father to Philip Duke of Burgain, in full reuenge whereof, he had hitherto adhered to the English, that they should simply bee at the Regents mercy.

(8) The chiefe things which passed in England, during these happy proceedings in France, were briefly these.

James Steward the young King of Scots, hauing beene casually taken vpon the Sea, in the reigne of

King Henry the fourth, and after his fathers death not sufficiently tendered nor respected by the Scots, remained still a Prisoner. The rather therefore to hinder the Scots, (that was the hope) from aiding the French, it was now thought fit by the Councell of England to enlarge him. Which was accordingly done vpon pledges. Not long after the which, he married the Ladie Lane, daughter to John Earle of Somerset, neere cosen to King Henry. Principall matters forward of this marriage (as by likelihood of his liberty also) to honour their family with a Kingly alliance, were the Earle of Somerset and the Bishop of Winchester, both of them Beauforts, who together with sundry other of the English Nobility, conducted the new married Couple to the Scottish Borders. Much of his ransom was abated, and his new kinsmen bestowed vpon him a store of plate, gold, and siluer, & among other gorgeous Ornaments suit of hangings, in which the labors of Hercules were most curiously wrought. But this wife King (hauing had the benefit of excellent and Princely education in England) did not suffer any obligations contracted in the time of his durance, to preponderate with him the Generall state of Scotland, whose freedome did much depend vpon the fortune of France, whereby the maine drift of his enlargers was not much advanced. The reason notwithstanding which lead this action was probable, and so much the more commendable, for that it was tempered with humanity. The forerime mischief thus howsoever intended, hereby to be avoided or qualified, Sir John Mortimer (a dangerous firebrand at home) being Prisoner in the Tower was arraigned for many treasonable speeches vied to a yeoman, (seruant to Sir Robert Scot, a keeper of the Tower of London) to draw the said yeoman to let him escape: promising him great matters. The points of his speeches were as that fellow charged vpon him in open Parliament.

1. That the said Mortimer meant to flie into Wales to the Earle of March, and with an armie of forty thousand men to enter England, and strike off the Protector's head, and the Bishop of Winchester's.

2. That the Earle of March ought by right to be King of England, and if the Earle would not, that then hee himselfe was next heire.

3. That if he could not safely reach to the Marches, he would flie to the Dauphin of France, and there serue with honor, which he was assured of.

For these ouertures of escape, and conspiracie the Knight was drawne hanged and headed: Of whose death so small a slander arose. Perhaps he that writes so doth meane that the whole was but a stratageme to rid him out of the way. Edmund Lord Mortimer Earle of March, the party whom the said knight mentioned, was sent not long after with many other Lords, and competent numbers of men, into Ireland, where he deceased without issue, whose great patrimony descended to Richard Plantagenet Earle of Cambridge, the fatal disturber of the Realme of England, vpon the pretence of Mortimers title to the Crowne.

(9) The amity with the Duke of Burgain, which the English had hitherto found so auailable toward their Conquests, hauing otherwise receiued some few slight flaws was now in danger of vter breaking vpon this occasion. Humphrey Duke of Gloucester Protector of the Realme, following councell vnworthy of his person and place, contracted himselfe with the Ladie Iaqueline of Barrois, Inheretrix of Holland, Zelaud, Henault, and many other faire dominions in the Netherlands, notwithstanding that John Duke of Brabant, her former husband was then liuing, and that the suit of diuorice commenced by Iaqueline depended still betwene them. The Duke of Burgain held with Brabant. This bred bitter humor in the Duke of Gloucester, who being not vied to meet with any rubs or confrontments, and now when in person he came with an armie to take seision

*Hist. Scot.
Gragin.

*Rob. Fab. A.

The title of
time to be
Crownes
to be called

*Hist. Scot.

Cath. Brit.

The Duke of
Gloucester
marries with
many will.

*Gagwin.
Edm. Grig.

seision of Henault in right of his supposed wife, finding himselfe hard vnto, by the aids which Burgain ministred to the Duke of Brabant, he challenged Combat of the Duke of Burgain, calling him traitour. It was accepted and hee strongly thrust vpon Gloucester, who (leaving the light Lady at her Towne of Maits in Henault) returned into England, doing nothing of that for which at that time he came. Mediation tooke vp the quarrell afterward betwene the Duke of Burgain and him. Not long after the returne of the Duke of Gloucester into England, the first marriage which had beene made and consummated betwene the Duke of Brabant, and the said Lady Iaqueline, was pronounced lawful by Pope Martin the fifth. Hereupon the Duke of Gloucester (hauing sustained many losses awell of friends as treasure in punishment of that great sinne, in taking anothers wife) forthwith marries Eleanor, daughter to Reigald Lord Cobham of Sterborough, whereby he made her amends for that vnlawfull familiarity which had formerly passed betwene them.

Meanwhile the Court of England doth well shew that the King was an infant, for it was full of dangerous emulations and sittings, the Duke of Gloucester (whose high office it was to tender the welfare of the King and State) laying sundry grievous accusations against the Cardinal Beaufort (sonne of John Duke of Lancaster) Bishop of Winchester and Lord Chancellor as being a person very dangerous vnto both.

(10) The news of these home-contentions coming to the Duke of Bedford into France, easily drew him home, though the state of that Realme could not well want his presence. For John Duke of Britaine, (notwithstanding his late renouation of league with the Regent at Amiens) ialous of the *English greatness turned fodeinly to Charles, and with him, Arthur, Earle of Richmond his brother. This puts fresh spirit into the drooping Prince. Arthur is by Charles made Constable of his France, in place of the Scottish Earle, who was slaine at the bloody Battell of Vernail. The Duke of Britaine ouerlives this reuolt but a small time. Arthur to declare his forwardness on the behalfe of Charles, assembles about twenty thousand men, and with them fodeinly besiegeth S. Iean a Towne of Normandy, vpon the frontier of Britaine; which Edmund Duke of Somerset, Gouverneur of Normandy, had lately fortified and stult with souldiers. The vnexpected arrival of the French, did greatly at the first perplex the English, but vpon better aduise, they valiantly sallied out vpon them, both before and behind, which stroke to great terrour into the enemy, that with losse of their Artillery, and many of their people they forsooke the sieg. To redeeme this dishonour, he turnes his fury vpon the Countrey of Angiou, which in many parts he depopulates and spoiles. The Regent being resolved to returne into England, leaves behind him Beauchamp Earle of Warwick, a lieutenant, who was lately arrived in France, hauing six thousand fresh Souldiers in his company.

(11) The presence of the Duke of Bedford Regent of France, was to the State of England very necessary. For the wisdom and authority of so great a Prince, being eldest vnckle to the King, and one whom many great deedes made famous, allayed the distemper which he found at his arrival. It was a worke worthy of his labour, and he also found it to be a worke indeed, and not easily effectuable. The differences were debated first at Saint Albans, then at Northampton, lastly in a Parliament at Leicester, which continued there till toward the end of Iune. The Duke of Bedford himselfe, to auoid the note of partiality, for that his brother of Gloucester was a party did not intermeddle otherwise then as in Generall words to perswade amity, but the whole cause was referred to arbitrators of greatest Nobility and prudence: by whose endeouours all those differences and greuan-

ces were equally thrust into one sacke, to be sealed vp for euer by obliuion, and without mention of amends on either side, the Duke and Bishop (the one hauing sworn by his Princelikehood, the other by his Priesthood, truly to obsecure the award,) shooke hands, and were fully for that time reconciled. After which holy and necessary worke of priuate atonements, ensued acts of feilitie and honor. For in the same Towne of Leicester the young King, not then six yeeres of age, was at the high feast of Pentecost dubbed Knight by the Regent of France. Immediately whereupon the King honored Richard Earle of Cambridge, (who by the fatal error of the Councell was at this Parliament created Duke of Yorke, the same who was father to Edward the fourth) with the order of knighthood, and about forty more with him. This Richard Duke of Yorke was hee, who brought vpon this Kingdome and nation most dolefull diuisions to the vter extirpation of all the males in either house, that is to say, his owne, and that of Lancaster, whereof the young King was head. From Leicester the King was conueighed to Killingworth, and Thomas Duke of Excester dying, Beauchamp Earle of Warwick, was constituted Guardian and Tutor to the King.

(12) The Regent hauing thus worthily provided for the quiet estate of the King and Countrey, returns to his charge in France. There went ouer at the same time a choise and great number of fresh men, vnder the conduct of that immortally renowned, the L. Talbot, whose victories (saith Polydor) were so many, that his name was not only most dreadful to the French, but most famous through the world, euen at this present. That yee may know the man not to haue beene studious of fine Phrases, vpon the one side of his sword-blade was engrauen, *Sum Talboti*, and vpon the other this boisterous blunt sentence;

Pro vincere inimicos meos.

The Duke of Alanson (taken at the Castell of Vernail) was set at liberty vpon payment of two hundred thousand Scutes of gold. At Montargis about Orleans the English receiued an overthrow with the losse of about fiftene hundred of their numbers, and in Britaine the French sustained great damages by a Captaine of the Duke of Somerset. These were petty matters: They of Maits in Maine had drawne in the French by night, who massacred the English. William Earle of Suffolke Captaine of the place sends to John Lord Talbot for succour. It came, and that so vnexpectedly, that the French were alike distrest. All but souldiers were spared, and many also of them, though thrust into prisons. The Traitors which had caused so much mischief, had their defects by death. From hence the Lord Talbot marched to other enterprises. The quality of our taskes calvs to the maine.

(13) Thomas Lord Montacute Earle of Salisbury, being with the Regent at Paris, and considering what forces of men, and all prouisions the English then enioied, bethought himselfe of some action, which might answer the greatness of his owne name, and of the publike meanes. The sieg of Orleans is by him propounded to the Councell. The credite of the Motioner was alone an argument of power to conuince the possibility. His desires were therefore furnished with all competent prouisions. They of Orleans hearing what a storme was coming (for the name of this Earle was worthily terrible) with great diligence ordaine for their defence. The Suburbs (answerable in bignesse to a good City) they leuell with the earth, that the enemy might not from thence annoy them. Men, viuals, munition, and constant intentions to fight for their liberty, and safeguard abounded. The Earle of Salisbury, the Lord Talbot, and a dreadfull puissance vnder most expert commanders present themselves before it. Orleans was and is an Episcopall See, a Parliament

The Protector
and the Bishop
made friends.
*Holinsh.

The Kingre-
ceues Knighth-
hood and dub-
beth Richard
Duke of Yorke.

A.D. 1427.
A. reg. 5.
The Regent and
the Lord Talbot
with fresh forces
passe into France.

Talbot's Mot.

*Gagwin.

*Paul. Armil.

The sieg of Or-
leans.

Parliament Towne, and Vniuersity, richly situate vpon the riuier of *Loir*, whose best glory it is, being the chiefe City which that renowned streame watereth. No enemies appearing abroad, he approacheth close to the walles. Assaults * prouing vain, he entrencheth about it, and to secure his Campe, casts vp ramparts and other works, one of which (by reason of the hugeness thereof) was called *London*, by the name of the chiefe City of *England*. The Fort which stood at the Bridge foot beyond the *Loyr*, hee seileth vpon and closeth them vp on euery side. *Charles of France* could minister no sufficient succor. God, when mans helpe failes interposeth his hand, which as all vs daily seele, so is it most conspicuous in the deliuerance of Nations. The City is driven to some miserie through the beginning want of all things; for the siege had now endured about 60 daies * not without much bloodshed on both sides. The Earle of *Salisbury* impatient of such delay, purpeth to giue a general assault. The better to consider vpon the course, hee stands to take view at a window barred with Iron which overlooked the City toward the East. Behold how God began to vncut the knot of those bands with which the *English* held *France* bound, a bullet of a great peece (which lay ready leueld at that window) discharged by the Gunners * sonne, a lad, stroke the grates, whose splinters so wounded the Earle, and one Sir *Thomas Gargrave*, that they both dyed of the incurable hurts within few daies. Heare now the common iudgement of Writers concerning this Earles losse: *Presently after the death of this man the fortune of the war changed. * Now both mortal and immortal powers began to looke fauorably vpon the State of France. This to the * English was Initium malorum: for after this mischance they rather lost then wanne, so that by little and little they lost all their possession in France: and albeit that somewhat they got after, yet for one that they wane, they lost three. So that Polydor not without cause (after many other great praices) doth elsewhere call him the man in whom the safety of the *English* state consisted. The vertue therefore of a fortunate General is ineffimable.*

(14) Howbeit the siege did not determine with his life, *William Earle of Suffolk*, the Lord *Talbot* & the rest maintained the same all the winter. The wants of the Campe were relieved from *Paris* by a conuoy, vnder the guard of Sir *John Fastolf* and fiftene hundred souldiers who arrived safe in despite of all the attempts to distresse the, which the *French* made. The City would yeeld it selfe, but not to the *English*. The Duke of *Burgundie* they were content should haue the honour. A suble stratagem, rather then an offer of yeelding, for there was likelihood in it to breake thereby the amity betweene the *English* and him. The Regent and his Counsell being sent vnto, thought it not reasonable (* *Emylius* erroneously makes the late Earle of *Salisbury* the Author of that refusal) neither indeed was it, theirs hauing beene the cost and labour. The Duke of *Burgundie* construed this repulse fowerly, which marred his taste of the *English* friendship euer after: yet the Regents answer was iust and honest. That the warre was made in King *Henries* name, and therefore *Orleanse* ought to be King *Henries*. Among these difficulties stood the *French* affaires. *Charles of France* vnderstanding the miserable straites of his deare City, & ignorant how to remedy so neere a mischance; there presented her selfe vnto him at *Chinon* a yong maid about eightene yeeres old, called *Joan of Lorraine*, * daughter to *Tames of Arck* dwelling in *Dormey* neere *Auclours*, a * Shepherdesse vnder her father, whose flockes shee tended, bids him not faint, and constantly affirms, that God had sent her to deliuer the Realme of *France* from the *English* yoke, and restore him to the fullnesse of his fortunes. Shee was not forthwith credited; but when the wife of both forts, aswell Clerkes as Souldiers had fitted her with manifold questions, the continued in her first speech so stedfastly, vterring nothing but that which was

* modest, chaste and holy, that honour and faith was giuen vnto her sayings. An * old woman directed her. *Joan* armed her selfe like a man, and requires to haue that sword which hung in * S. *Kathelines* church of *Eierboke* in *Touaine*. This demand encreased their admiration of her; for such a sword was found among the old Donaries or Votiuie tokens of that Church. Thus warlike arrayed the rides to *Blair*, where forces and fresh victuals lay for the reliefe of *Orleanse*. Shee with the Admirall and Marshall of *France* enters safe. This did greatly encourage the fainting *French*. *Joan* the maide of God, so they called her, (though * some haue written that it was a practise or imposture) writes thus to *de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, who succeeded *Salisbury* in the maine charge of that siege.

(15) King of *England* do reason to the King of heauen for his blood royall; yeeld vp to the Virginie the keyes of all the good Cities which you haue forced. She is come from heauen to reclaim the blood royall, and is ready to make a peace, if you bee ready to deserue it: yeeld therefore, and pay what you haue taken, King of *England*: I am the chiefe of this war, where soeuer I encounter your women in *France*, I will chafe them: will they or no. If they will obey, I will take them to mercy. The Virginie comes from heauen to driue you out of *France*. If you will not obey, shee will cause you great a stirre as the like hath not bene these thousand yeeres in *France*. And beleeue certainly, that the King of heauen will send to her, and her good men of Arms, more force then you can haue. Goe in Gods name into your Country: bee not obstinate, for you shall not hold *France* of the King of Heauen, the sonne of S. *Marie*, but *Charles* shall enioy it, the King and lawfull heire to whom God hath giuen it. Hee shall enter *Paris* with a goodly traine; you *William* de *la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, *John* Lord *Talbot*, *Thomas* L. *Scales* Lieutenant to the Duke of *Bedford*, and you Duke of *Bedford* terming your selfe Regent of the Realme of *France*, spare innocent blood, and leaue *Orleanse* in liberty. If you doe not reason to them whom you haue wronged, the *French* will doe the goodliest exploit that euer was done in *Christendome*. Vnderstand these newes of God, and of the Virginie. Yet *Charles* had at this time no whole Countries vnder his obedience, * but *Languedoc* and *Dauphin* against which both the *Sauoyard* and *Burgundian* prepared, but miscarried, the Prince of *Orange* the third confederate being discomfited.

(16) This letter was entertained by the *English* with laughter. *Joan* reputed no better then a Bedlam or Enchantresse. Though to some it may seem more honourable to our Nation, that they were not to bee expelled by a humane power, but by a diuine, extraordinarily reuealing it selfe. *De Serres* describes this Paragon in these words. Shee had a modest countenance, sweete, ciuill, and resolute, her discourse was temperate, reasonable and retired, her actions cold, shewing great chastity without vanity, affection, babbling, or courtly lightnesse. Let vs not dissemble what wee finde written. By her encouragements and conduct the *English* had *Orleanse* plucked out of their hopes, after they had suffered the Duke of *Alanson* to enter with new force, and with much losse were driuen to raise the siege. *Joan* her selfe was wounded at one sallie in which shee led, being shot through the arme with an arrow. Iudge what shee esteemed of that hurt, when shee vied these admirable and terrible words. This is a fauour, let vs goe on, they cannot escape the hand of God. In all aduentures shee was one and formost. The *English* lost at this siege, the Earle of *Salisbury*, the Lord *Molins*, the Lord *Penninges*, and many other. But doe not rashly beleeue *Serres* in saying, that of all forts were slaine in such sallies, as the martiall Virginie made eight thousand. Our Writers say but * sixe hundred. The Lord *Talbot* marched away with about nine thousand, whom *Joan* would not suffer the *French* to pursue. In memory of this admirable deliuerance, they of that City erected a monu-

* Serres tamet by Edward Grimston. Joans martial maid miraculously sent to deliuer *Orleanse* and *France*. * Paul. Aemyl.

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monument, where *Charles* the seuenth king of *France* and *Joan* the Martiall maide were represented, kneeling in Armour, cleauing their eyes and handes to heauen, in signe of thankes and acknowledgement.

(17) There was an interchangeable taking and recouering of Townes and places of importance vpon both sides. The Lord *Talbot* tooke *Launell*, and the Earle of *Suffolke* puts himself into *lergause*. Thither the Duke of *Alanson* with *Joan* and other great Captaines come, which they force by assault. Sir *Alexander Paul* the Earles brother was slaine, with many others in the fight, the Earle himselfe remained prisoner. The Duke added some other places to this Conquest: soone after his numbers are augmented by the repaire to him of *Arthur* Constable of *France*, the Earle of *Yandome*, the Lord *Dalbret* and others, so that now their whole Army contained about twenty and three thousand men. With these they encounter the Lord *Talbot* (who had scarce the fifth part of their numbers) at a village called *Raisy*, whom they charged so sodainly, that his Archers had no time to fortifie their batels (after their manner) with a Palizado, or empalement of stakes, so that the chiefe fight must bee made vpon horsebacke. After three houres bloody resistance, the *English* were put to the worst. * The Lord *Scales*, the Lord *Hungerford*, Sir *Thomas Ramplene*, and euen the Lord *Talbot* himselfe (being first wounded in the backe) were taken. The footmen enforced to truit to their * swords vnder the shelter of such horrements remained, retreated in order, and came to a place of safety. The *English* lost about a thousand, the *French* about 600. This blow shooke the whole fabrick of the *English* greatnesse in *France*, at the very foundations, awaking multitudes (euen of those who before had vowed fealty to the *English*, and now had colour of diuine warrant for violating that vow) to ioyne with the victors for the recouery of common liberty. There followed the present reuolt of *lundry* townes; neither was it long before *Charles* himselfe issues out in Armes, recouers the City of *Aunerre* and *Reims*; where according to the Maides direction, hee was solemnly crowned King. Hitherto shee might bee thought propheticall and fortunate. It should seeme now that the chiefe part of her employment was accomplished, yet the flourish a while longer. The Duke of *Bedford* to buttresse the shrinking state of *English* affaires in *France*, and to encounter euill fortune in the face, vpon the vnpleasant newes of *Orleanse* rescued, and *Talbots* taking, musters his whole present forces which made about ten thousand *English*, besides certaine wings of *Normans*: with these hee marcheth out of *Paris*, and opposeth himselfe to the Current of *Charles* his new hopes who meant to attempt that City, some of whose Citizens held strict and secret correspondence with him. But vpon this affrontment hee suspended the execution of that design, hauing as then no hope to achieve it. The Regent returns to *Paris*, *Joane* the *Puell* dissuaded *Charles* from fight.

(18) Places of speciall note as *Campagne* and *Beauuon* yeelded themselves voluntarily to *Charles*. The Regent hauing felted the Estate, and Garrisons of the chiefe City, passeth into *Normandy*, to provide for a safe retreat there, if perhaps the *English* (by the ineuitable will of God) should beeenforced to quit their other holdes and dominions: which hee began to suspect, for that hee had intelligence of a secret purpose, which the *French* pursued to winne the *Burgundians* from King *Henries* side. While the Regent was absent vpon this occasion, *Charles* got the Towne of *Saint Denis*, (a neighbour to *Paris*) though hee held it not long by practise. From thence hee sends the Duke of *Alanson* and *Joane* to trie their friends and fortunes at *Paris*. They found not hoped successe, for the *English* gaue them so rough an encounter, that *Joan* her selfe was * wounded; and the rest with much slaughter driuen to fall off. The Regent hearing of these attempts, entru-

seth the Coast Townes of *Normandy*, to the care of *Richard Duke of Yorke*, and *Roan* (the Capital City of that Dutchy) to *Edmund Duke of Somerset*, himselfe speedes to *Paris*, where hee commends the souldiers and Citizens for that they had not imitated the disloyaltie of their Neighbours. New supplies came out of *England*. The next enterprise was to reduce *Campagne* to obedience. *John of Luxemburg* with *Burgundians* and some *English* besieged it. Here the glory of *Joan* vnfortunately ended, for coming to the rescue shee entered indeed, but afterward falling forth, her troups were beaten, and her selfe (being betrayed, say her fauourers) taken prisoner by the said *Burgundian* * Knight, who for the value of her ransom (ten thousand pounds * *Turnoys*, and three hundred Crownes yearly rent) deliuered her vnto the *English*. The siege was notwithstanding rayled; they sent her to *Roan*, where shee (about nine or ten moneths after) was burnt to death. *Clahis* was faued by * *Perseus*, and it is not to be doubted, but that the magnanimity of the *English* would haue spared her, had they not found it necessary to deface the opinion which the *French* euen with superstition had conceived of her. Our * Writers shew how the course of her life being legally examined by the Bishoppe of *Beauuon* (in whose Diocesse shee was taken) and thence thereupon forcerie, bloudshed, and vnnaturall vie of manlike appparell, and habiliments contrary to her sex, condemned to die, was notwithstanding vpon her solemne aburing of such her lewd praactices, pardoned her life, till againe convicted of peruriours relapsing, though acknowledging her selfe a * strumpet, and faying to be with child, shee deseruedly vnderwent that punishment which shee sought to delay. The rumor of her end, and the ignominious cause thereof was somewhat incommodious to the affaires of *Charles*. It was thought that the comming of King *Henry* to *Paris* would be much more.

(19) Hee had already with great solemnity receiued the Crowne of *England* at *Westminster*, being about nine yeeres olde, a most fashionable and waxen age for all impression either of good or bad. The next yeere after his Coronation in *England*, hee passeth ouer into *France* there alio to receiue the diadem thereof. The Constable of *England*, was before his departure, assigned by Patent for terme of life to *Richard Duke of Yorke* (which gaue him a more feeling of greatnes and secretly whetted his ambitious appetite,) vpon this occasion. One *John Vpton*, of *Feuerham* in *Kent* Notarie, accused *John* *Down* of the same place Gentleman, that hee and his complices did imagine the Kings death at his Coronation. The combar was granted, and in *Smithfield* (the Duke of *Yorke* exercising the office of high Constable) they fought in lifts. In the end the Kings name was vied to part and forgie them. It is a vice to suspect too farre. The Duke of *Yorke* (a most suble man) seemes neuer in heart to haue benee true subiect to King *Henry*: yet no man faith, hee was any author in this. *Henric* (the common wealth hauing yeelded to liberal grants of money) is now ready to enter *Paris*. *England* remained vnder the gouernment of the Duke of *Glocester*.

(20) There is no doubt that the *English* there at their Kings presence, set forth their greatnes to the full shew. The yong King attended vpon with two *English* Cardinals, *Yorke*, and *Winchebster*, and great Princes of his blood, Dukes, Earles, Barons, Prelates, and the flower of our nation, with many alwel *French* and *Burgundians*, as *Normans* and others, excellent well appointed, makes a triumphant entry into the head City of that most noble Monarchy. There was no signe in the People but of ioy and welcome; the shewes were many and magnificent. Vpon the seuenth day of *December*, hee was solemnly Crowned King of *France*, by the * Cardinal of *Winchebster*, his great vncle, in the * Chiefe Church of *Paris*, called *of New Lady*. The Duke of *Bedford* entertained the minds

Joan taken prisoner.

Chronicle de Breteigne, apud Holmsh. p. 604. * Serres faithly the battall of *Vandame*. * Holmsh.

Shee burnt for witch at Roan. * Sir Lias. Fatale, Decad. i.

* See Holmsh. in Hen. 6. The French got this sentence to be reuerfed by the Pope a 6. yeeres alter.

* Stow.

K. Henry is to come in person into *France*.

Richard Duke of *Yorke* made Constable of *England*.

A.D. 1431. A. Reg. 10.

Henry crowned King of *France* in *Paris*.

* Paul. Aemyl. * Joh. Ry. Chr.

of the Affinity with a set speech, wherein he declared, *King Henry his Nephew* undoubted title to that Crowne, and commended the same to their fidelities, adding ample promises of honour and emolument. Such of the French Nobilitie as were present, did their homage. The people had good and gracious words given vnto them, and certaine quantities of money, Corne, and wine, in the nature of a donative, liberally distributed among them. Proclamations were made, that all Frenchmen who came in by a day there named, should be protected. The Kings Patents and grants touching French matters, passed vnder the seale and stile of *Henry King of the Frenchmen* and of England, which Seale (for variety) we haue prefixed, as we found it annexed, to a writing directed by the King to his Court of Requests in his Pallace at Paris; but for English affaires he vied another Seale, being in euery point like vnto that of King Henry the fourth, and (as some thinke) the very same stamp, (which therefore we haue here omitted,) as likewise some Charters of his thereare, whereunto he affixed the seale of his father. Charles of France esteemed not himselfe the lesse a King for all this, but pursues his affaire. His people tooke the City of *Chartres* by a stratagem, the Bishop whereof (because a *Burgundian*) they also put to the sword with others. Neither were the English idle. *John Duke of Norfolk*, *Thomas Earle of Arundel*, *Richard Beauchamp Earle of Warwick*, the Earle of *Suffolke*, and others, made vp this losse with aduantage. Their actions are placed by some as done before the Coronation which is likely.

The King returns into England.

The Protector breaks an insurrection at Abington in the Sheld.

*Stowes Annal.

The King hauing thus taken possession of France, not long after tooke his farewell thereof. His returne was by *Rouen*, and so ouer land to *Calais*, from whence vpon the eleuenth day of February, hee arriued safe at *Douer*. His vncke the Duke of *Glocester* was able to giue an honest, and good account of the Government during the kings absence. The suppression of an insurrection, beginning at *Abington* in *Oxfordshire* was not the least seruice. A weauer (the Balliffe of the Towne) was the vicious head, to which that corruption gathered, who had changed his own name, and called himselfe; *Jacke Sharpe of Wigmore land in Wales*. The speciall colour of his attempt was to haue massacred Priests whose heads (he said) hee would make as cheape as Sheeps-heads; that is, two or three, or ten for a penny. But the mention of *Wigmore lands*, the ancient inheritance of *Mortimer*, (then the possession of the fatal Duke of *Torke*, who afterward in the right of that name, challenged the Crowne of England from King Henry) insinuates somewhat further. The varlet forfeited his head and foure quarters for his attempt. It is to be wondered that the Councell of Estate vnder King Henry, hearing that title so oft glanced at, provided not better against the mischief. But the eyes and hearts of the wife are blinded, when God hath a purpose to referre a scourge, or to hide the fire which shall afterward be vfed to consume a nation. Vnquiet humors were aswell abroad as at home. The fouldiers of *Calais* discontented with their wages as little began to be continually troublesome. The Regent comes thither in person in Easter weeke, where he exerciseth necessary discipline severely. Foure, the most faulty lost their heads, one hundred and ten are cashiered, and banished from the Towne, as fixe coe others had formerly bene. Why dwell we vpon so petty accidents? The losse of the Kingdom of France is imminent. Let vs diligently note the degrees which God found out to deprive our Nation of that honor. In this iourney of the Regent, King Henrys interest was not aduanced. The Regent (a widower) roade from thence to *Turwin*, where (without the *Burgundians* priuiey) he married the Lady *Jaquet*, aged about a feuentene yerres * daughter to *Peter of Lutsembourge* Earle of *S. Paul* no friend to the *Burgundian*. This was nothing prosperous to the English affaires. For *Anne*, the Regents former wife, sister to the Duke of *Burgundy*, being, while

The Duke of Bedford marrieth the Earle of Saint Pauls daughter. * Holinsh. * Serres.

shee liued, a strong reason and assurance of amitie, weakened the same by her death; and this second marriage, nor pleasing the *Burgundian*, did yet more diminish it. These were but degrees.

In the meane space, the accidents of warre between the English and French, were manifold and perplex, now wee, now they feeling, or gaining, as opportunity serued: which vncertainties brought forth their ordinary progenies, fearefull outrages, and * sacrifice of all things needfull for the vfe of man. It would be wearisome, and not much necessary, to recount the particular lesser actions, neither indeede is it easie; for who can readily tell the sieges, surprises, skirmishes and the like, being so confusedly set down by Authors, wherein diuers of both Nations wanne to themselves much honour, and serued the vtes of those times, and their owne. The vttermost effect of those great labours, was that the English Regency fell not forthwith into nothing. Permanent leaders in those publike seruices were the Regent himselfe, their maine Pillar and Chief life, *Thomas Earle of Arundel*, *Richard Earle of Warwick*, *Henry his Sonne*, the Lord *Willoughby*, the thrice noble *John Lord Talbot*, (who was now at liberty,) the Lord *Scalles*, besides *Knights*, *Esquires*, and other valiant Captaines a multitude.

(21) The fortune of *Renate Duke of Barre*, is not to be omitted, for thereafterward, our King luckily married into his house. He had to wife *Isabell* the daughter, and heire of *Charles Duke of Lorraine*, by whom hee had issue two sonnes, and two daughters, the youngest of which was *Lady Margaret*, to whom King Henry afterward tooke to wife. *Charles Duke of Lorraine* dying, *Renate* thinks to succeed in that estate. *Antony Earle of Vallemant*, brother to *Charles* presumes he hath a nearer right. The matter comes to be determined by blowes. *Charles King of France* was a steadfast supporter of *Renates* claime, in lieu oflike offices performed by *Renate* to him in the times of most difficulty. The Regent and *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, stood for the Earle. Their aides preuailed so much, that *Renates* forces were beaten with losse of about a three thousand, from the siege of *Vallemant*, and himselfe with not fewer then two hundred others remained prisoner to the Duke of *Burgundy*, one of whose subiects commanded in chief at that enterprize. This * *Renate* was afterward entituled to the Crowne of *Naples* and *Sicilia*, by the testament of *Ioane* Queene of them. The King of France might seeme to haue sustained a grieuous losse by the entralment of this Duke: but the English gained nothing thereby: for his perswasions, and priuate offices on the behalfe of King Charles, did not a little prepare the *Burgundians* heart (which now was knit to the English but with feeble Arteries) to accept in time the holy impression of reconciliation. The French who liued vnder the Regency, or in danger of the English, made choise of the *Burgundian* to protect them, which could not be embarrased to them, for that he was as yet King Henrys pretended friend. Indeede this Scene and vnstable state of affaires was full of horror, which *Polydore Vergill* describeth well enough. While the English and French (quoth he) contend for Dominion, Souerainty and life is selfe, mens goods in France were violently taken by the licence of warre. Churches spoiled, men euery where murdered, or wounded, other put to death, or tortured, Maids rauished, Maids forcibly drayne from out their parents armes to be deflowered, Townes daily taken, daily spoiled, daily defaced, the riches of the Inhabitants carried whither the Conquerors thinke good, houses and villages round about set on fire: no kind of cruelty is left vnpractised vpon the miserable French; omitting many hundred kinds of other calamities, which all at once oppressed them. Adde hereto that the Commonwealth being destitute of the helpe of lawes, (which for the most part are mute in times of warre and mutinie) floateth vp and downe without any anchorage

* Job 21.

* Paul. 1m.

Renate Duke of Barre, taken prisoner.

* Polyd. Verg.

* Paul. 1m.

State of Affairs.

The miserable state of France in times of warre.

* Job 21.

anchorage at right or iustice. Neither was England herselfe void of these mischiefs, who euery day heard the woe of her valiant childrens funerals, slaine in perpetuall skirmishes and bickerings, her generall wealch continually chid, and wained, so that the euils seemed almost equall, and the whole *Westerne* world echoed the groanes and sighes of either Nations quarrels, being the common argument of speech and compassion throughout Christendome.

(22) The course certainly which the English held, did only faintly keepe aliae the Generall State of the Regency, without giuing period to the warre, either by finishing the Conquest, or feeling that which was conquered. Some would haue had large supplies of men, and treasure leuied, that King Charles might not where haue any rest: Of this opinion were *Badford* * himselfe, the Dukes of *Torke* and *Sommerfet*. This Councell was not followed, but another, in few more frugal, which fed the euils, but redressed none. Present sparings doe oftentimes draw after them infinite wails, and no husbandrie proues so ill, as vnreasonable Parimony. In the mean time, the Earle of *Arundel* and the Lord *Talbot*, carry about victorious Armes, and terrible *Angion*, *Main*, and other places with their successes. In *Normandie*, neuertheless the common people drew together in huge multitudes. There were threescore * thousand of them rebelliously knotted together in *Vexin*, *Norman*, and twenty thousand in *Caux*. Their purpose was (through dislike of the English Government, or practise of the French) to haue reacht one hand to King Charles, and to haue thrust King Henrys officers out. What is a multitude without aduice? To stoppe their insolency and course which * they held toward *Caen*, the Earle of * *Arundel*, and *Robert Lord Willoughby*, with about thirteen hundred light horse, and fixe thousand Archers, march against them, by direction of the Dukes of *Torke* and *Sommerfet*, who had the chiefe Leutenancies in *Normandie*. They diuide their forces to vfe them with the more aduantage. The Earle staves in Ambush with two parts, the Lord *Willoughby* drawes them into it with the third. A thousand of the Rebels were cut down before the fouldiers hands could be flayed to spare the rest, who basely (as it became them) threw away their weapons, and fell to the earth, crying mercy. The multitudes were suffered to returne, their ringleaders lost their liues. All that the world could collect by this popular insurrection was, that the Normans would be gladly rid of the English. Nothing else was done. This Earle of *Arundel* hauing done sundry noble deeds during the wars in France, receiued his deathes wound shortly after in a skirmish at *Gerberoy* in *Beauuoisine*, where *La Hire* (a famous Captaine among the enemies) had the day.

(23) The Regency yet held, and the miseries of France (being burnt vp by the fiery reflections of two Counter-Sunnes) were nothing diminished: Who should giue to them a Period? while the Duke of *Burgundy* continued English, it could not be. To prepare therefore a separation betweene them, such of the Nobility as went ouer to the *Burgundian* Duke told him, * That King Charles vpon all occasions (when speech was ministered) spake of him honourably, and inwardly wished him well, and that he neuer heard any mention of the murder committed vpon the Duke his father, (cause of the sonnes hatred to France) but he heartily sighed, protesting hee was neither party nor priuy therunto. These and the like mollifying salues applied to the tumors of his reuengefull affections, did worke strongly, the rather for that his minde heretofore possessed with the English amity, was now vacant in that part, the same (by the means of sundry leaculies and auserions) lying open to contrary impressions. There wanted but an outward honourable meanes to fashion him entirely to the French partie. Let vs heare * *Serres* in this point: The Deputies of the Generall Councell presse both

French, English and *Burgundians* to end all quarrels by some good composition. The City of *Arras* is allowed of them all to treat in. From the * Pope and Councell of *Pisa*, there came the Cardinals of *S. Croisse* and *Cypres*, with twelue Bishoppes. For the King of France, there was the Duke of *Bourbon*, the Earle of *Richmond* Conblable of France, the Archbishoppes of *Reims*, Chancellour of France, and many others, great, noble, wise and learned men. For the King of England, the two Cardinals of *Torke* and *Winchester*, the Earles of *Suffolke* (* *John Holland* Earle of *Huntington*) the Bishoppes of *Saint Dauds*, *John Ratcliffe* Keeper of the great Seale, the Lord *Hungerford*, *Rafse* the wife Officiall of *Canterbury*, and some Doctors of Diuinity. For *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, the Duke of *Guelers*, the Earle of *Nassau*, the Bishoppes of *Cambray*, Count *Vernambourg*, the Bishoppes of *Leige*; hue other great Earles, besides the Deputies of many his best Townes, sufficient to shew, that though hee was in title but a Duke, yet that his greatness was equall to a King. When it came to communication, the English being also in possession, urged farther for themselves the right of descent, and the act of Charles the sixth, father to this Charles, by which all the Crowne of France was sold vpon Henry the fifth, and the issue of the Lady *Katherine* his wife, and therefore they propounded no other condition of peace, but that Henry their King might haue all, and * Charles to hold of him. The French offered *Normandie* and *Guien*. There ended the hope of agreement betweene them, for neither party would accept. King Charles therefore resoluing to maime the English faction vpon any termes (how base soeuer) sends Duke *Philip* a blanke, bids him therein to prescribe his owne conditions and demands: hee did so: and his Conditions were so vnreasonable, and so many, euen a great volume full, (saith a French man) as it is strange, so great a Monarch should stoop so much to his subiects and vassall, but that necessity hath no law. They * ioine hereupon most firmly, and the Duke (a man wholly transported by profite) declares himselfe a publike enemy to all the enemies of King Charles, and friend to all his friends. This was the first parting stroke which severed the French Dominions from the English Souerainty: the euent declared, that the English had done more wisely, if they had accepted *Normandie* and *Guien*; but as the case stood, then they could not in honour do it; and Councels are not to bee measured by euents; for so the most foolish may sometimes passe for prudent. King Henry not only lost now hereby a most needfull friend, but was compelled to relie vpon his single strengthes, aswell against King Charles his naturall enemy, as against the Duke of *Burgundy*, who plainly seemed to haue betrayed the cause. To set a gloss vpon this fact, the Duke * dispatcheth Ambassadors into England to King Henry (who as * *Aemilius* erroneously saith was present at this treaty of *Arras*) to make known the reasons of his peace with King Charles, and to perswade the King to entertaine the same. This Ambassage was so odious to the English, that they forbore not to call the Duke a deceitfull man, a turn-fewer, a perjured person, and a Traitor.

(24) The popular hatred also was such against the Dukes Subiects, reliant in London, that they were beaten and slaine many of them, before the furie thereof could be flayed by Proclamation. The Ambassadors returne with honest admonitions to their Master, against which, his cares and senses were strongly mured; for King Charles had set about them as it were a Barricado of royalties, priuiledges, honours, money, Cities, Townes and whole Provinces, which he confirmed to the Duke, only to withdraw him from vs. The whole Countiees of * *Auxerre*, *Ponthieu*, *Bolein*, *Artois*, the towne of *Abbeville*, and other lands, the Cities and Townes in *Picardy*, vpon the water of *Some*, *Amiens*, *Corbie*, *Perren*, *S. Quintin*, but these last as it were in gage till

* Eugenius 4. Commissioners at Arras to compose the quarrels of the English, French and Burgundians.

* Hall. 164.

* Polyd. Verg. lib. 23.

Serres in Char. 7.

Serres.

The French and Burgundian agree. * 24 Sept. 1435 * Serres.

* Polyd. Verg. * In Carol. 7.

The incredible state at which Charles persuaded the Burgundians good. * Paul. Aemyl. * Polyd. Verg.

* four.

* Paul. Aemyl.

A.D. 1435.
A. reg. 14.
The Burgundian
renounces to the
Regent his
friendship with
England.

* Tournet of Fr.

The Duke of
Bedford Regent
of France dieth
at Paris.

* Cambden in
Bedfordshire saith
he was slain in
battel before
F'raught.

* Master Cam-
den loc. citat.

* Stowes Annals,
but Master
Cambden saith it
was Charles 6.
Cambd. ibid.

King Lewis his
Princely redi-
mony of the late
Regents vertues.

* foure hundred thousand Crownes were satisfi-
ed: Briefly, what nott the Charity of King Charles
was so feruent to make the Duke of Burgundy a true
Frenchman once againe: hee paid so deare for it,
that wee may thinke him worthy to obtaine his de-
sire; yet was it worth his cost; for *Amylius* saith
most truly, that the ceasing of that indignation did re-
leeme the French from a foraine government, as the
first assuming thereof had made the English, Lords ouer
France. But, howeouer the high and iust displea-
sure, which this Prince tooke for the wicked mur-
der of his father, (abundantly satisfied for by this
treatie) moued him first to embrace the English
amity, hee afterward most subtilly conuerted the
revenge (by way of taking amends) to the enlarge-
ment of his proper riches, power and amplitude.
After his Ambassadors returned, hee sends backe
all contracts to the Duke of Bedford at Paris, and
renounceth the alliance of England with a watch-
word, that *every one should looke to himselfe*.

(25) Each man hereupon (saith * *Serres*) shar-
pens his sword and scourges his Armes, to recouer
that by force which they could not obtaine by rea-
son; *Serres* might better haue said, *reasoning*. All
things certainly fauoured the French designs; for
this was the generall estate of the English affaires.
King Henry leaues out of his Child-hood; and when
he came to mans age, not Man enough to manage
so turbulent occurrents; the Princes of the blood
weakly vnited in loue, for the common good; the
Protector vigilant ouer England, the Regent carefull
for France, but both priuately enuid; *Richard Duke
of Yorke* (whose strengths daily increased, which
in time he meant nothing lesse then to vse for the be-
nefit of King Henry, ambitiously referuing himselfe
for a deare day; most of the great warriors slaine;
and in briefe a great inability (for want of a Soule,
willing and fit to looke so sterne and dismal adven-
tures in the face) through the whole body of the
English forces; which though otherwise they might
haue lingred out the warre, and kept their footing,
yet the death of the great Duke of Bedford Regent
of France doubled the difficulty, or rather the im-
possibility. In taking this triumphant Peere away,
God made it manifest, that he held the English vn-
worthy and vnfit to continue their Empire among
the French any longer. This Prince not long after
this reuolt of Duke Philip, died at Paris, vncertaine
to some, whether through griefe of the euils he fore-
saw, or other malady. But the Analogy and colour
of his whole former life, doth contradict their con-
ceit, who thinke that such a grief should determine his
daies, because it could not but proceed from a kind
of offeare and despaire, an humor absolutely opposit
to Magnanimitie, wherein hee abounded. How
mighty a Prince he was this his * *style* sheweth: *Re-
gent of France; Duke of Bedford, Alanson, and Aniou,
Earle of Maine, Richmond, and Kendale; and Constable
of England*. But (which excelleth his greatnes) he
was one of the best Patriots and Generals, that euer
blossomed out of the roiall *Kojlar* of England. His
valour was not more terrible to the enemy, then his
memory honorable. For (doubtfull whether with
more glorie to him, then to the speaker) * *Lewis* the
eleuenth being afterwards counsell'd by certaine en-
uious persons to demolish and deface his stately
Tombe, (withrein with him, * *saith* one, was buried all
the Englishmen: good fortune in France) which was
erected ouer his body in the Northside of the high Al-
tar, in our Ladies Church at Roan, vsed these indeed
most Princely words.

(26) What honor shall it be to vs, or you, to breake
this Monument, and to pull out of the ground the bones
of him dead, whom in his life-time, neither my father, nor
your Progenitors with all their puissance, were once able
to make like one foot backward? who by his strength, polli-
cie, and wit kept them all out of the principall dominions of
the Realme of France, and out of this noble Dutchy of
Normandy? wherefore I say first, God saue his soule; and

let his body now lie in rest: which when he was alive,
would haue disquieted the proudest of vs all: And as for
the tombe, I assure you, it is not so worthy, or commendable
as his honor and acts deserved.

(27) The Regent being now dead, the late
peace made at Arras betweene King Charles and
Philip Duke of Burgundie, presently disclosed, and
put forth effects most dangerous to the English; for
many Townes voluntarily yeeld, and multitudes of
the French (who hitherto through feare contained
themselves) starting away, all the English domini-
ons were full of priuate conuenticles, practises, and
correspondences with the Enemy. Such English as
then were in France, are not altogether sloathfull,
but yet, through a fatall either security or negligence
at home, there was not speedy sufficiencies of resi-
stance ministred.

(28) *Richard Duke of Yorke*, (whose seruices ne-
uer did good to the English common-wealth) is crea-
ted Regent of France, and *Edmund Duke of Sommer-
set* his perpetuall riuall, or perhaps an intelligent cen-
sor of his manners) continues his commands in Nor-
mandie. The Duke of Somerset* opposed the ad-
uancement of Yorke to that slipperie dignity. He was
no babe in so doing, but more fore-seeing then the
Protector, and all the Councell of England. Yet his
opposition was vselesse, and fruitlesse, for the
others carriage had woonne such a party about the
King, (whom he meant by embracing to pull down)
that notwithstanding the disadvantage of his silen-
ced title, which was alone a great cause to haue made
him euertlingly incapable of so great trust and
meanes, he prevailed. But before he could arriue,
Paris was lost. *Robert Lord Willoughby* was Gou-
nour there for the English, who had with him but a-
bout two thousand, the faith of the Citizens was
presumed vpon to make vp the rest at a pinch, for a
common resistance. On the contrary, they percei-
uing vpon what termes the English affaires stood in
France, chiefly after the late Regents death, conspire
against them. The treason was carried so cunning-
ly by some of the principall Magistrates of the
Towne, who capitulated for a generall pardon from
King Charles (which was gladly yeelded vnto,) that
the mischief sooner tooke effect, then it could be
discouered. *Thomas Lord Beaumont* began the losse
with his misfortune; for *Arthur Earle of Richmond*,
Constable of France, hauing about Paris, in hope
to recouer the same, the Lord Beaumont with certain
hundredth of English, fell into his danger about *Saint
Denis*, and were distressed. While as yet the terror
of this discomfiture (not great in regard of the num-
bers slaine, but in regard of the Circumstances) was
fresh, the French aduance their Banners vpon the
City, where a gate was opened vnto them by their
partizans. What should the English doe in this gene-
rall mischief? The townsmen, lately vassals, turne
enemies on a sodaine; women and children assaile
the English from their windowes with all sorts of mis-
fill things. Many are beaten downe and massacred
in the streetes. The Lord Willoughby Gouernour of
Paris, *Lewis of Luxemburg* Bishop of *Therouan*, Chan-
cellour of France for the English, the Bishops of *Lisieux*
and *Meaux*, with other, flie to * *S. Antonies* gate
and the Bastile, places which they had reserved for
defence till extreme necessity. Many more had been
sued in those places, but that the perfidious Citi-
zens drew chaines thwart the streetes, and empa-
ched their retreat. Heare the rest in a * *Francmans*
words,

(29) All runne to the Bastile. The Tournels are
presently fixt, and all approaches into the Bastile are
somewhat widd. Such as were within it, at first made some
shew of defence, but all things were prepared to force
them: they demand a Parle, and agree to depart with
their liues and baggage. They are conducted about the
Towne beneath the Loure, to embark vpon the Riuier of
Seine, and so passe to Roan. They could not well haue pas-
sed through the City. The people hereof aduertised runne

to the walls, and cry out with great routes, * *baisting* the
English like Dogs, whom a little before they had feared,
and honoured as their masters. Who of the English
reads these things without indignation? But they are
the perpetuall manners of the base multitude, &
the fortune therein of the English, the same which fol-
loweth all like accidents. Some will thinke that
the Lord Willoughby, and his people might haue
done more nobly, to haue taken vp their graues in
the place which they pretended to make good against
the French. Fortitude is neuer separated from Pru-
dence. Succour was despaired. The Duke of Yorke
was not as yet arriued, and in maintaining their
strengthes against the whole City of Paris, and all
the present French forces for the space of about ten
dayes, they sufficiently cleared themselves both in
point of honour and loyalty. Paris * is thus lost in
the worst time for an Army to march in. They did
wisely to chooseth vnseasonable a season, their mar-
ket might haue else bene marred; for the new Re-
gent (not so much hindered from sooner coming
by the Duke of Somerset's emulations, which some af-
firm, as by the very quality of the winter weather)
arriued afterward, accompanied with the Earles of
Salisbury and *Suffolke*, the Lord *Falconsbridge*, and o-
ther worthy persons, with an Army of eight thou-
sand men. But this Regent did neuer good in France:
Hee who so writes, might haue also safely added, *nor
elsewhere*. The English affaires were not as yet come
to the very breake-neck point. They held; (in the
late conquered parts of France) Normandy entire,
though not without much troubles, for the people
againe rebell in Cause: but that mischief was destroied
with the greater and more mercilesse confusion
of the Authors and Actors, then the former. A-
bout fise thousand of them were trampled to death
by the iust fury of the English, vnder the leading of
the Lord *Scalles*, the Lord *Hoo* and others. They burnt
all their dwellings, made booty of their goods, draue
their whole numbers out of the Country. The Lord
Scalles not long after discomfited *La Hire*, and his
Companie not farre from Roan. The war was hand-
led on all sides without full or complete armies.
Skirmishes were the ordinarie formes of fighting.
The French were schooled from feeling their rest
vpon a pitch field. Thus houered the affaires.

(30) Philip Duke of Burgoyne had as yet in person
given no proof against the English of his affection to
King Charles. Now hee addresseth himselfe to an
enterprife worthy of that expectation, the recovery
of Calais. You would suspect that hee continued
still a friend to the English, in making choice of
a seruice, wherein hee was most likely to waste his
time in vaine, and yet make shew of much forward-
nesse; but hee was really, though the rather stirred
therunto by the desire of priuate reuenge. The En-
glish, vpon his forsaking their alliance, had attempt-
ed to kinde the Gaunt, and other of the Flemish
townes (Subjects to the Duke) to rise in rebellion:
but the opinion that K. Henries fortunes in France
were desperately slooping, made their wits too dank
to take fire. The notice notwithstanding of this at-
tempt came to the Duke, which sharpened him to
revenge, whereof (as the former passages abundantly
declare) hee was not ordinarily thrifty. He brings
his Armie before Calais. Chiefe commanders there
for King Henry were the L. *Dudley* who had charge
of the Castell, and Sir *John Ratcliffe* of the Towne.
The Dukes purpose was to haue cloyed the har-
bour by sinking shippes laden with stones, and such
like choaking materials; but vpon the ebbe-water
the Calisians deliuered the haue from that perill.
The King of England aduertised that his precious
Fort and Towne of Calais were thus emperilled,
Humphrey Duke of Gloucester the Protector comes in
person with a very great Fleet (some write fise
hundredth saile) to the rescue, and in a great pui-
sance, with full purpose to giue battell, glad per-
haps that hee might now reuenge old grudges. It

is able to moue choler, to consider how Writers
torture vs with the diuersities of reports; but the ge-
nerall agreement is, that the Duke of Burgundy did
raile his siege before hee was fought with. Some* say
the very rumor of the Protector's approach draue him
away, and that the Protector came the next day af-
ter the Burgundians flight. Others excuse him (pro-
bably enough) in saying that the Flemings grew vn-
weildie to his commandements, and yet not needes
home.

(31) The Protector was master of the Dukes Camp,
and spent eleuen dayes in his Dominions, burning
Peppering and *Bell*, and greatly dammified him about
* *Gravelin* and *Bolognois*, then let him see the state of
Calis, and * returns with great honour to his charge
into England. But the English were thought to haue
created store of worke for this busie Duke at home;
where many great tumults rose, in * one of which,
his owne person was endangered at *Bruges*, *Lisle*,
Adam the Captaine of his guard being there pre-
sently slaine. Hence it came perhaps that a meane
* was found by contracts made with *Isabel* the Dut-
chesse his third wife (a most witty woman a Portu-
gesse) to hold a league with England, and yet no
breach with France.

(32) These haue hitherto bene the actions of
Men, let vs not neglect two great Ladies, because
much concerning our historie depend on their cou-
sels. *Queene Katherine*, the widow of King Henrie
the fifth, and mother by him of this sixth Henrie, a-
bout this time departed out of the world. This
most noble Lady, when her husband the King was
dead, being not of iudgement (by reason of her ten-
der yeeres to vnderstand what became her greatnes,
or hauing found perhaps that greatnes was no part
of happinesse,) secretly marieth one *Owen ap The-
dore* or *Teder*, the most noble and most goodlie ge-
ntleman of all the Welsh nation, and ended with *
admirable vertues, who drew his descent from holie
Cadwalader, last King of the Brittaines. This husband
had by her sundry children, two of which, *Edmund*
and *Gasper* doe beare a part in the royall history, and
King Henry the sixth (their halfe brother) created
the first of them Earle of *Richmond*, the other of *Pem-
broke*. This Edmund is he, who by *Margaret* the
daughter of *Iohn Duke of Somerset*, (grandchild to
Iohn of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster) had Henry the
7. the most famous and prudent King of England.

(33) In that year in which this excellent Queen
died, the young Dutchesse Dowager of Bedford (wid-
ow to the late Regent of France) married also (be-
low her degree) a vigorous English Knight, one
* *Sir Richard Woodville*, of which match yet *Serres*
needed not to haue spoken so contemptibly, calling
him an English aduenturer, of small account; the
thereby (saith he) giuing cause to laugh at her: which
centure taketh perhaps of the French leuen and pre-
iudice, because the Lady was sister to the Earle of S.
Paul, who would not make one in the peace of Ar-
ras, but held with the English.

(34) But let vs see the sequell. Out of this Ma-
rimony also sprang Queene's; for her husband (af-
terward made Earle of *Rivers*) had sundry children
by her, whereof *Elizabeth* being one, had the honour
to marry *Edward* the fourth King of England, and
hereby was both herselfe a Queene and a Pro-
genitresse of those glorious Kinges and Queenes
which followed: for from her and this match sprang
another *Elizabeth*, the renowned wife of King Henry
the seauenth, as King Henry himselfe did of the for-
mer: both those marriages proued most fortunate
to England: but another marriage which then threat-
ned present danger to King Henry, was that which
James the first King of Scots made with France, who
gaue his daughter the Lady *Margaret*, to *Lewis* the
Dauphin for wife, and sent new supplies of men a-
gainst the English: hee meant also to haue attempt-
ed some personal hostility, but that hee was most
wickedly murdered by certaine bloody Traitors in
Perth.

* Polyd. Verg. l. 133

He returns with
honour into
England.
* Serres.
Rob. Fab.

* Serres.

* Polyd. Verg. l. 133.

An. D. 1437

Katherine Queen
Dowager of
England.

* Paul. Aemyl.

* Polyd. Verg.

King Henry the
7. her Grand-
child.

* Stowes Annals.
The Dutchesse
marrieth
Woodville.

Elizabeth wife to
Edward 4. a
daughter of that
beard.

The murder of
K. James the first
of Scotland.

Perth, (suborned thereunto by *Walter Earle of Athol*, (his owne neere kinsman) in hope to attaine the Crowne; crowned indeed he was, but not (as his Withes & Sorcerers had ambiguously insinuated) with the Crowne of that Realm, but with a Crown of red-hot yron, which was clapt vpon his head, being one of the tortures wherewith he ended at once his wicked dayes and desires.

(35) Let vs now cast our eye to the doings of our new Regent the Duke of *York*, that we may be witness 3, how farre by his endeaours, the affaires of King *Henry* were advanced in *France*. The silence at this time is euerie where very great, yet had he opportunitie to haue atchieued somewhat. Two thousand French horsemen were mutined, and routed vp and downe in great disorder. *Paris* was fearefully punished with famine, and the attendants of famine, pestilentiall maladies. The Countries about lay open: the Courtiers were discontented and diuided: Nothing is yet done by our Regent, which some impute to *Edmund Duke of Somerset*s opposition, who out of enuy and disdain hindred his dispatch. Wee must in the meane time find out them that did somewhat. The Duke of *Somerset* himselfe accompanied with the Lords *Talbot* and *Fauconbridge*, with other Gallants, and a competent force of the English, besiege *Harlew*, which the Normans in the late rebellion tooke from them, and still maintained against them vnder French Captaines: King *Charles* sends some of his principall Commanders with foure thousand men to relieue the Towne; who did their best, but not able to effect any thing, *Harlew* was rendered to the Duke.

(36) In *November* *Richard Earle of Warwicke* came as Regent into *France*, being surrogated in that office to the Duke of *York*, who returned into *England*. Hee carried with him a thousand fresh Souldiers, and arrived at *Harlew*, from whence he repaired to *Roan*, the chiefe seat (*Paris* being now lost) of the English Dominions in North *France*; as *Burdeaux* was in the South; whether now the Earle of *Huntingdon*, with certaine troupes and companies of Souldiers, was sent as *Seneschall*. This new Regent busied himselfe in the generall affaires of his place. Vnder him the Duke of *Burgoyne*s forces were driuen from *Craoy*. *Abbeile* freed from the danger of a *Bastile*, with which the Duke had pent that Towne in; and the English for twentie dayes space together tooke their pleasure in spoiling the Country of *Picardy* about *Amiens* and *Artois*. These and some other actions hauing bene worthily carried during this Regents gouernment, himselfe dyeth. The Duke of *York* againe succedes him. Our interest in *France* was retained, not so much by King *Henries* ministers and Armies, as by remissenesse of King *Charles*, whom also *Lewis* the *Dauphin* (afterward King) did greatly trouble by rebellious decessions, and absentments of himselfe. The feare of the English reconciled the sonne to the father the sooner. *K. Charles* was now fallen into dislike with his people, but to redeeme his credit, hee attempts the recouery of *Pontoise* (a towne neere to *Paris*) which the Lord *Clifford* had not long before surprisid by stratageme and money (an ordinary meanes as then for the expugnation of places) and comes in person to the enterprize. There attended vpon him for that seruice about ten or twelue thousand men. The *L. Clifford* is within, and makes a braue defence.

(37) The Duke of *York* lately landed in *Normandie*, as Regent, assembl'd his maine strengthes, being about seuen or eight thousand, offers the French King battell. Hee keeps himselfe within his trenches. The Duke (according to the ancient humor, and discipline of the English, who loue to set all vpon a push) desirous to fight, vnexpectedly passeth the riuier of *Oyse*, which ranne betwene the two Campes. King *Charles* dislodged so fearefully, that the French doe not ouer boldly excuse him of flying. The Duke hauing had the spoile of the French

Kings Campe, re-fortifies *Pontoise*, and assaults a *Bastile*, where *Charles* had left three thousand Souldiers to maintain the face of a siege. It was held better to pursue the King, who was gotten to *Poisse*. There the Duke of *York* againe very nobly prouokes him to a field. It would not be; King *Charles* saw the hazards were not equal, and therefore endures his brauado. What could the Duke doe more? hee is of necessity to returne to the maine of his charge in *Normandie*, and doth so. King *Charles* ran into such obloquie and contempt with his people by this dishonourable retreat, but chiefly with the *Parisians*; that hee had not attempted againe and preuailed against *Pontoise*, it might haue ieopardied his whole estate; for there was a faction which would haue made vie of his disgrace. Hee returns in great fury to the siege, and finally enters the town, not without much bloodshed. Serues faith, that fise hundred English left their dead bodies at the breach. The King was one of the first that entred, choosing rather to be thought temerarious then timorous. This exploit established his opinion among the people. A faction of warre filled both sides, and the estate of *England* vnder King *Henry*, whose softnesse and lenitie gaue way to sundry dangerous Court-factions, needed quiet Commissioners meet at *Calais*; nothing is concluded but the enlargement of *Charles Duke of Orleans* for the summe of three hundred thousand Crownes. Hee had bene Prisoner in *England* about twentie and fixe yeeres, euer since the Battell of *Agincourt*, where hee was taken. The Duke of *Burgundie* was a speciall Actor in his enlargement, with a purpose to secure his owne greatness by benefices: this high borne Prince for the murder of his father, being naturally the head and chiefe of that deadly fewde, which had most mortally raged betwene the houses of *Burgundie* and *Orleans*. *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester* prudently foreseeing the dangers like to ensue on *Orleans* his enlargement, stoutly opposed himselfe thereunto, and that vpon important reasons which hee required to haue registred, that they might remaine on Record for a testimony and discharge of his duty in that behalfe.

1. First, for that the French King wanted discretion and iudgement to order his affaires, which defects might bee supplied by the Duke, (being a man of experience and very subtile) if hee should bee set at liberty.

2. That the said Duke might procure a vnion of the factions (now hotely maintained in *France* among the Nobility) to the preiudice of the Crowne of *England*, and hazard of the losse of the Kings territories in *France*.

3. That the Dutchie of *Normandie* (hauing sustained a great charge in maintaining the warre) seeing the Duke of *Orleans* deliuered, and no royall Army on the English part to withstand the common enemy, was likely inough to reuolt.

4. That if the Duke should be deliuered, it might be probably coniectured, that he would sooner break his oath, which he should (being prisoner) make to the King of *England*, then the oath of his allegiance to the French King his Soueraigne Lord, of whom he holdeth his lands and dignity.

5. If the Articles concluded betwene his Maiesty and the French on the Dukes behalfe, should not be performed, what remedy might his Maiesty haue or expect?

6. That considering his cosen of *Huntingdon* was to leaue the Dutchie of *Guyenne*, and for that the alliance betwixt the said Duke, and the Earles of *Arminack* and *Foix*, and the Lord of *la Brete*, was to bee suspected as dangerous, it was very necessary that good prouision should be made for defence of that Country, being his Maiesties ancient inheritance.

7. That his Maiesty hath no alliance with any Christian Prince, but onely the King of *Portugall*; being but of tender yeeres and farr off: And therefore it was not safe for his Maiestie to deliuer him, that

was

was likely to proue his Capitall enemy, and to seeke meanes to depriue him of those lands which his noble father had left him.

8. That if any of his Maiesties kinned, or other Lords on that side the Sea, should happen to be taken prisoners, the said Duke of *Orleans* might ransom 4. or 5. of them.

9. That it were fit to take aduise of the Lords, and other his Maiesties subiects in the Realme of *France*, and dutchy of *Normandie*, whether they thought it expedient that the said Duke should be deliuered or not. Otherwise the world might crie shame thereon, when men should call to minde the losse of his brethren of *Clarence*, and *Bedford*, and other noble Personages, in defending and keeping those Lands.

10. If he (the said Duke of *Gloucester*) should consent to the said Dukes deliuerance (the same being also quite contrary to the last will of his Maiesties Father) such inconueniences, as would ensue thereupon, should be imputed to him.

(38) Notwithstanding the weight of so many thousand Crownes ouer-weighed all these important and ponderous reasons; and the warre eates on still in the body of *France*, but not with so sharpe teeth, nor so full engorgement as before. Townes and people are taken on both sides. The Countie of *Amiens* was spoiled by the English Lords, *Willoughby* and *Talbot*; The Regent and the Duke of *Somerset*, march into *Angion*, where they charged their carriages with much spoile and returned. Then the Duke of *Somerset* seizes himselfe, and doth sundry exploits in and about *Britaine*. Deep in *Normandie* being besieged, was rescued by the Dolphin of *France* to our losse. The contemplation of these mutual violences touched all Christendome: for the Turke, common enemy thereof, encreased. Ambassadors are sent from all parts, to determine these bloody differences. *William de la Pole Earle of Suffolke*, was chiefe for the English. A truce was hereupon taken for eighteen months, between King *Henry* and King *Charles*, and an hope of perpetuall amity, weakly grounded vpon a match, which the Earle of *Suffolke* contracted for King *Henry*, with *Margaret* the daughter of *Renate*, titulary King of *Sicilie*, *Naples*, and *Ierusalem*, Duke of *Angion* and *Lorrain*, Prince of the blood. To effect this, the Earle couenanted that the English should abandon the possession of *Angion*, and *Main* to her father. A strange purchase of a wife, who though shee brought youth, beauty and hope of a perpetuall peace with *France*, (the more profitable opportunity whereof, the English had more brauely then happily neglected) yet was shee otherwise without portion. The Earle notwithstanding (whose drift herein could not be without manifest ambition, to make himselfe one of the greatest of *England*, by this gratification of the French, with his Masters charge and dishonour) is not abashed to expect publike thanks for this high seruice, and an whole fiftene for the charge of her transportation. Sundry Lords of Councell and the King himselfe thought him worthy, and according to his deuse and ouerture, the whole affaire was carried. *Suffolke* made *Marquise* is sent ouer with many honorable persons, both men and women, to conduct the faire and goodly (but most vnfortunate and fatal) Bride into *England*. * *Polydore* giues vs no vnfitting Character of this Lady. Shee was prouident enough, very desirous of glory, abounding in discourse, counsell, gracious behauiour, and manly courage; but not free from womens humour, which (saith he) is usually vehement and apt to change. In *England* ye may easily suppose, that shee was most royally entertained; *Humphrey Duke of Gloucester*, among others, meeting her with a traine of five hundred horsemen in a livery, that worthy Poet *John Lydgate* Monke of *Burie*, deuising the speeches for such gratulatory triumphs as were made at her entrance into *London*. The King being married lawfully-enioyes her em-

bracements, from which hee was often afterward violently separated by the miseries of a most cruell warre, wherein shee had her piteous portion. *Suffolke* in the meane time hauing the most assured fauour of the Queen pursues his ambitious purposes. Shee in the meane time was solemnly Crowned Queene of *England* at *Westminster* vpon the * thirtieth of *May*.

(39) Would to God it stood now with the quality of this argument, to turne our eyes from the view of those actions which ensued; for here the mournfull tragedies of our poore Country began. But we cannot but open those olde and most execrable fores, that, in their example, all true English blood may the rather be tender ouer their bowels, beholding such effects as the diuell and all the furies of hell were (by Gods seuerie permission) Actors in. *Fabian* giues vs the causes and contents of those effects, in these graue and few words.

(40) "It appeareth that God was not pleased with that marriage: For after this day, the fortune of the world began to fall from the King, so that he lost his friends in *England*, and his reuenues in *France*: For shortly after, all was ruled by the Queene and her Councell, to the great disprize of the King and his Realme, and to the great mauer (it is *Fabians* word) and obloquie of the Queene, who (as since hath bene well proued) had many a wrong, and false report made of her: All which miserie fell for BREAKING OF THE PROMISE, made by the King vnto the Earle of *Armenacks* daughter, as most writers agree: Which misery in this Story (shall some-deale appear by the losing of *Normandie*, (as all things elie, except *Calais*, which the English held in *France*) the diuision of the Lords within this Realme; the rebellion of the communitie against their Prince and Soueraigne; and finally the King deposed, and the Queene with the Princeaine to flee the land, and lost the rule thereof for euer. Thus hee: but all this farr short of the evils that were the brood and offspring of the following times. The Parliament in the meane time grants aides of money, that vpon expiration of the truce there might bee present abilities to maintain warre. The Duke of *York* is reuoked, and the Duke of *Somerset* (in an euill houre) is sent in his place, with such prouisions as were reputed competent.

(41) *Humphrey* the renowned Duke of *Gloucester*, Lord Protector, felt the first stroke of the euill *Angell*, which was sent to punish *England*, and to roote out her Nobles. This Duke was much hated of the Queene, and her faction, as the onely man who by his prudence, as also by the honor and authoritie of his birth and place, seemed to empach that soueraigne command, which they pretended to settle in the Kings owne person, but meant indeed (as the manner is vnder soft Princes) to reigne themselves in anothers name. Many great Lords were drawne on (at the time of a Parliament then * holden at *Saint Edmunds Bury*,) to concurre for his ruine, not perceiving, that thereby they pluckt vp the floodgate, at which the Duke of *York* entered, ouerwhelming all of them in a deluge of blood. Whether they had any true or iust feare of *Gloucester* himselfe, least perhaps he should take reuenge vpon some particular persons among them, is doubtful, though it be probable enough, that they had. Heare some things that forewent this Parliament. About five or six yeeres before, * the Dutchesse of *Gloucester Eleanor*, was conuicted for witchcraft and sorcery, and afterward endited of treason in the Guild-Hall in *London*, before the Earles of *Huntingdon*, *Stafford*, *Suffolke*, and *Northumberland*, and certaine Lords, as *Fanhope*, and *Hungerford*, with others, and Iudges of both benches; of which crimes shee was appealed by one *Bolingbrook* an Astronomer, and *Thomas Southwella* Chanoyn, which *Southwell* was charged to haue said Masses ouer certaine instruments, by which the Astronomer should practise Necromancy against the life of the King. These being taken, accused her as accessorie

Shee is married to King *Henry* and Crowned.

* A.D. 1445
A. reg. 23.

Fabian.

This contract by proxie is said to haue bene made in the twentieth yeere of King *Henry* 3. and that the Earle of *Suffolke* was chiefe, if not sole actor in breaking it.

The Duke of *Somerset* Regent of *England* in *France*.

The Duke of *Gloucester* troubles.

A.D. 1447.

* In February.

* *Stowes* Annal. The Dutchesse of *Gloucester* are charged of sorcery and treason.

* *Heft. Best. l. 17.*

The new Regent doth nothing.

* *Jaunt. of Fr.*

* *Stow* p. 616.

Harlew recouered by the Duke of *Somerset*.

The Earle of *Warwicke* comes Regent into *France*, and *York* returns.

A.D. 1438.

The Duke of *York* Regent againe.

King *Charles* and his sonne reconciled against the English.

The siege of *Pontoise*.

* *Servet.*

King *Charles* forced by the Duke of *York*.

Pontoise King *Charles*.

Charles Duke of Orleans liberty by King *Henry*.

concluded the King and King *Charles* a truce for 18 months. * *Stow* p. 616. Hee 6. 18. whereof it from the *Math. Chron.*

* *Heft. l. 33.*

* *Stow*.

ric, hee having desired the helpe of their Art, to know what would befall her. Some part hereof shee confessed, for which shee was put to publike and solemne penance in London vpon three seuerall daies, with wonderfull shame to her person, and after this was committed to perpetual prison vnder the ward of Sir Thomas Stanley in the Castle of Chester, but from thence removed to Kenelworth. Her pride, falsehood, auarice, and lechery were causes of her confusion, faith Stow; who hath set forth that businesse very diligently, though not seeming to attribute much credit to that accusation of treason. The Duke of Gloucester her vnhappy Lord and husband (whom shee by loue-cups and enchantments was laid to haue enuigiled, vjing therein one Margerie Gurdmain a witch of Ey in Suffolke, who was burnt in Smithfield) stung with this reproach, might reasonably be thought not vnwilling to doe somewhat. Howsoever that was, his destruction borrowed countenance from that opinion. The Duke therefore being come to attend in this Parliament at Burie, was arrested of high treason by John Lord Beaumont high Constable of England, the Dukes of Buckingham and Sommerfet with others. Certaine of the Kings household were appointed to guard him. Not long after he was found dead. His body was shewed to the Lords and Commons, as if he had died of a palfrey or an apoplemie. Of thirty and two of his seruants which were attached, Sir Roger Chamberlaine Knight, Richard Middleton, Thomas Herbert, Arthur Turley, Esquires, and Richard Nedham Gentleman, were condemned of high treason, and had this vncxampled punishment. They were drawne from the Tower to Tiburn, hanged, let down quick, stript naked, marked with a knife to be quartered, and then a Charter of pardon shewed for their liues of the Marquesse of Suffolke. But the yeoman *of the Crowne had their liuelihood, the executioner their cloathes. Their pardons were thus obtained by the earnest diligence of Doctor Gilbert Worthington, a famous preacher, parson of S. Andrewes in Holborne. Thomas wilde Esquire, the Dukes seruants also, being condemned and pardoned among other, had for a preamble in his letters patents words importing, * that hee had bene one among many other traitours against the King, with Humfrey Duke of Gloucester, who went about, and practised to deliuer Eleanor, late wife to the Duke, from out of prison, for which purpose he had gathered a great power, and number of men, to come to the Parliament at Berie, there to haue contriued the Kings destruction.

(42) Such was the end of this great Prince, who, notwithstanding this open shewing of his body, and these pretended crimes, was by the people of England thought to be double murdered, by detraction, and deadly practise. He was not only a true louer of learned men, but himselfe also *learned, and (faith our Author) a father of his Country. His maine opinion concerning the government of King Henries French dominions, was as mainly opposed by the Cardinal of Winchester and others, who altogether periwaded Peace, to which the noble Duke (standing precisely vpon the honor and Maiesty of the English name,) was * an absolute enemy. From this troubled fountaine of diuided Councell many following blacke adventures did flow. The Duke thus brought to his end, goodmen (faith Polydore) fearful of their owne safeties, did of their owne accord forsake the Court, into whose rooms many succeeded, who for the more part looking how to rise in dignity made open an easie way for new factions. The Cardinal of Winchester (the other halfe-arch of the Kingdome) ouerlaid not the Duke about fiftene or sixtene daies. The whole frame of government was thus drawne to repose it selfe vpon the Queene, and such fauourites, as the King by her commendation the rather liked.

(43) The Marquesse * of Suffolke, prime man in grace, was created Duke, which made him a more

conspicuous marke of enuie, then that any shadow of the King or Queene could shelter or protect. After the Cardinals death, the affaires in France (where Sommerfet was now Regent) were neither duellie looked vnto, nor the governours of the Countrey well admird. But the King and Realme of England lay, much more then France, open to the inevitable, deepe, and pernicious conspiracies of Richard Duke of Yorke. Hee (by the error of King Henry, and the euill starres of our Countrey) being of himselfe a great Prince, and growne stronger by affected popularitie, perceiving the King to be a Ruler, and not to Rule, began secretly to allure his friends of the Nobilitie, and priuily declared to them his title to the Crowne, as likewise he did to certaine Governours of Cities and townes, which attempt was so polittickly and closely carried, that his prouision was readie, before his purpose was opened. The very state of things invited this fatall conspiracie: a milder King then England was worthy of; a Councell out of fauour with the people; manifold losses and dishonours abroad; a turbulent and iealous condition of things at home. Of all which and much more, the Duke of Yorke, hauing King Henrie the fourth (the enemy of his house) for a perillous example, made his pretious vfe, cherishing the popular auersions, without seeking to redresse any euils, but representing them worse then they were, thereby to ripen that breach of loialty in the hearts of men, which his ambition wrought vpon. His displacement from the Regency of France, did not a little (perhaps) offend him at first, because the Duke of Sommerfet got it ouer his head; but it will not be long, before Sommerfets euill carriage of that trust, and the declining fortune of England, will giue him occasion to reioice at the foile of his dreaded enemy. Let vs nor be long in the rehearsal of the publike shame and damage of our nation.

(44) During the truce betweene England and France, one Sir Francis Surienan Arragonois (Knight * of the Garter) seruing vnder the Regent, vniawfullie surprized Fougere, a towne of Britaine vpon the confines of Normandy. Restitution is demanded. The Duke of Sommerfet (a proud man (faith Serres) who thinking to doe better then the rest, did absolutely ruine the English affaires) contrary to good discipline, cherishing his souldiers in their riots and disorders, neglected the iustice of nations in that point. The French make this their example, and surprize Port de Arch, and towne after towne, so many and so fast, that King Charles (who, that he might haue God on his side, and wrong on his enemies, contained himselfe with great modesty, till * he saw all quiet restitution desperate,) recouered Roan, Caen and all Normandie within a short space after.

(45) Thus Sommerfet, and the English, are compelled to quit Normandy, not only inglorious, but also in England it selfe vncommiserated. The next maine parcell of the English inheritance, beyond our Ocean, was Gascoigne. King Charles and his people desirous (against plaine right) to make all that theirs, whatsoever was comprehended within the French language, inuaded that Dutchie also, and within verie * few yeeres after (the fortune of warre, and disloyalty of the people eury where fauouring them) extorted the same out of the English-mens possession, after it had continued theirs about two hundred fourescore and nine yeeres, to the immortal dishonour and damage of our nation. The Duke of Yorke in the meane time, who thirsted for the Crowne of England, hath occasion ministred to impe more feasters into his aspiring wings. Ireland is in tumult. Thither the Duke passeth, and not only appeareth the disorder of that Nation, but * was much fauoured among them, as could neuer be separated from him, and his lineage. Thus diligently the Pioner makes his mines into the quiet and felicity of his Countrey, calling his cause the quarrell of right and iustice, as pretending that the Crowne of England appertained to his name and familie.

(46) But

Richard Duke of York

* Stow

Richard Duke of York

* Stow

Richard Duke of York

* Stow

Richard Duke of York

* Stow

Richard Duke of York

* Stow

Richard Duke of York

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Richard Duke of York

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Richard Duke of York

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Richard Duke of York

* Stow

(46) But the odor of this vile successe in France, comming into England, filled mens hearts and senses with great perturbation. The Queene and Suffolke suffer obloquie for these effects in the general iudgement. The common wealth is not silent. A Parliament is called to be holden at Westminster, which from thence was assigned to be kept at Leicester. The place lies not; few appeare. It is brought backe to Westminster. There the whole body of publike councill meetes. Many * Articles are exhibited by the lower house against the Duke of Suffolke, wherein hee is charged with euill demeanor, misprision and treason: who thereupon is committed prisoner to the Tower: from thence, within foure or five weeks hee is discharged, which more augmented the general indignation then his commitment had ministred satisfaction. The perillous Duke of Yorke warms himselfe at these blazes, and vnderhand cherishesthem as opportunity wil permit, hauing his cunning factors and instruments fitt for such occasions secretly spread ouer the Realme, to instill the poysons of discontentment, and desire of change into the giddie multitude. When wee reade in our vulgar Chronicles, that about this time Adam Molins Bishoppe of Chichester, Keeper of the Kings Priuy Seale (through the procurement of Richard Duke of Yorke) was by shipmenaine at Portsmouth, and yet no cause of so foule and wicked a murder expressed, it cannot but offend any curious Reader, who would receiue satisfaction rather by the reas of actions then by the euents. His guiltinesse in the fact was so apparant, that K. Henry in his answer made a yeere or two after to the Dukes dissembling, and deceitfull letter, confidently mentioneth the same, where thus hee speaketh. Sooth it is that long time among the people hath bene vpon many strange language, and in speciall anone after your disordinate and vnlawfull laying of the Bishoppe of Chichester, diuers, and many of the vntre shipmen and other, said (in their manner) words against our state, making menace to our owne person by your sayings, that yee should be fetched with many thousand, and yee should take vpon you that which you neither ought, nor as wee doubt not will attempt, &c. What could led the Duke to commit this so impious a deed, may easily now be coniectured, being none other but the common hatred hee bare to all such wise or valiant persons, as might in any sort vphold the most iust and gracious Henry, and this sincerity in the Bishoppe could not be but a grieuous crime in the Dukes ambitious eyes, whose greatnesse was euen then too intollerable; for where was the Kings iustice when such a fact might hope of impunity? The Duke did effect it by his bloody complices as hee did many other most detestable and perfidious things, while hee was absent in Ireland. Thomas Thame notwithstanding calling himselfe blew-beard being a Fuller of Canterbury, and attempting to gather the people, mis-carrieth in his treason, and for that was hanged and quartered: this was a preambule to the following tumults. The Duke of Yorke whole and onely hopes were reposed in the general perturbations of this Country.

(47) The Duke of Suffolke (a principal pillar of K. Henries safety) being let at liberty, attends the King and Queene in their Parliament at Leicester. Behold the humour of the Commons which were sowed with the pestilent leauen of Yorke conspiracy. They cannot endure the sight of this Prince, because his readuancement seems done in despite of them. Calumniation & odious surmises are exhibited against him: hee must downe to make way for K. Henries most vnworthy ruine. The most vile part of this Parliamentary accusation was, that they should charge that for a crime vpon Suffolke which themselves had vniuersally in another former Parliament assented vnto and ratified. Which was the deliquy of Anion and Cain vpon the marriage, concluded (for the good of England, if others had not inuerted or interrupted the successe by their remercy) with Renate,

father of Queene Margaret. Neither did the enuie onely of the secret Turkish overlaid this noble Gentleman, but the impotency of the Duke of Somerset's faction, whose rashnesse and vanity hauing lost all Normandy, would gladly find any others shoulder, vpon which to cast the imputation, either in part or whole. In that former Parliament assembled immediately vpon Suffolkes returne from that treaty with Renate out of France, this was the summe of the whole proceedings. Suffolke (as hee was very eloquent) made knowne to both houses, his counsels and seruices, and the effect of his Embassie, praying they might be approued, and enrolled for his discharge. Whereupon * the next morning, Burley Speaker of the lower house, and the body thereof repaired to the Kings presence, then sitting among the Lords, and there * humbly required, that the request of the Marquesse (afterward created Duke of Suffolke) might be granted: and the Lords made the like petition, kneeling on their knees. The King condescended to their desires, and so the whole matter was recorded for his acquittall.

(48) What can bee more euident? or who can enough admire the vanity of popular mutabilitie? The Duke the (principall marke, though the Bishop of Salisbury, the Lord Say, and others were also accused) vnable to stand the push of so general an opposition, must be banished. The King vnwillingly giues this sentence against the Duke, or rather against his owne life and safety: five yeeres are limited to his exile. Being vpon the sea, hee is taken by his enemies, who at Deuon read stroke off his head vpon the side of a Cocke-boat. This diuine murder (for it was none other, the Kings authority being not vfed therein) committed vpon so great a Prince, was the lesse pittied, for that hee was noised among the people to haue bene a priuy actor in the Noble Duke of Gloucesters death, who perished (faith a * learned Author) by the fraud and practise of a woman (belike) Queene Margaret. The Bishop of Salisbury before said more impiously, and irregularly lost his life in the following tumults, being murdered (after he had finished diuine seruice) by his owne Tenants, who dragged him from the Altar to an hill-top, and there (while hee was making his last prayers) cleft his sacred head: The Lord Say Treasurer of England fell likewise into the peoples fury, and had his head cut off by the commandment of that execrable rebell Iacke Cade, at the Standard in Cheape, as yee shall hereafter learne.

(49) This William Duke of Suffolke * was indeed a great and worthy person, for when his Father and three Brothers had valiantly powred forth their liues for their Country in the warre of France, hee serued in them sence and thirty yeeres, in (queneene of the which hee neuer returned home, hee was once taken prisoner, being then but a Knight, and paid for his ransom twenty thousand pounds sterling, hee was fiftene yeeres priuy Councellor, and thirty yeeres Knight of the Garter. Notwithstanding all which, the same Author truly addeth: That as for these causes hee was in highest grace with the King, so hee was the more disgraced or hated of the people, and for * certaine very light matters, and those not very apparant, hee was driven into banishment, and (as you haue already heard) was intercepted vpon the sea in his passage to France, and by his aduocaries killed. What honest heart doth not melt at the relation of these violent contempts of all religion, honour, reason and iustice? yet are they but the drops which doe forego those many bloody shewes, which the cloud of Yorke's faction raine vpon our miserable Nation. They who murdered this great triumphant Gentleman, were certaine persons who wasted vpon the Seas in a Barke called the Nicholas of the Tower, which belonged to John * Holland Duke of Excester, Constable of the Tower of London, whom Gods reuenging hand shall not leaue vnpunished.

(50) The Turkish hauing thus rid Suffolke out of the way, thought it now a fitt season to spring their

* This was in A.D. 1446.

* Stow's Annals.

The Duke of Suffolke going into banishment is wickedly murdered.

* Cambr. in G. lib.

The bloody effects of the Duke of Yorkes popularity.

* Cambr. in Sp. lib.

The noble and great defects of the Duke of Suffolke.

* Cambr. in Sp. lib.

* Stow's Annals.

The Duke of Gloucester died.

A strange spang of life selected for treason.

* Record. apud Stow's Annals.

* Record. lib.

* Polyd. Virg. lib. 23.

* Hall in the Dukes Articles against the Cardinal.

The Cardinal of Winchester deceased.

* A.D. 1448. A. reg. 26.

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The Kentish rebels vnder lady Cade glue out the name of Mortimer.

Cade's demands.

Stowes Annals.

* Pygo.

The first ciuill conflict vnder this King, where Cade hath the victorie.

Honz: a worthy Alderman of London perwading the resistance of Cade is in danger of his life.

* Rob. Fab.

practise. Hereupon the Commons of Kent (who haue feldome refrained in such turbulent times) while the Duke of York was as yet in Ireland, take Armes. One Iacke Cade is their Capitaine: hee had bene the seruant of a Suffex Knight, Sir Thomas Dagre; kils a woman with Child; abshireth the land; turns French; swearing seruice to them, and now returning, is the instrument to hang out Mortimer's name, like a flagge to draw a party, faining himselfe to be a Cousin to the Duke of York. A pestilent deuise, to found the affections of the multitude, and to proclaime the Title to the Crown, which the Duke (as heire of that family) afterward challenged, for who would not aske, what should moue him to vse the name of Mortimer? This Cade whom some (by contraries) call John Amend-all (that is, John Marre-all) hauing drawn great numbers to follow him, encampes at Blacke-Heath by Greenewich, and in his writings calls himselfe the Capitaine of Kent. His pretences (as of all like disloyal actions) were the common good and such other. The King at the report of these stirres is stirred. The Capitaine of Kent demands.

1 That Richard Duke of Yorke be called out of Ireland, and (with certaine others named for sales and colour) be principally used in Council.

2 That as the Duke of Gloucester was falsely proclaimed a Traitor, so the Authors of his death might be punished.

4 (For the third Article contained no demand, but only scandalous matter to aggravate hatred against the dead Duke of Suffolke, and his liuing adherents:) That all the extortions (so the Rebels phrased it) daily used among the common people, might be laid downe: that is to say, the greene waxe, which is falsly used to the perpetuall destruction of the Kings true Commons of Kent. Also the Kings Bench, which is too greivous to the Shire of Kent, without prouision of our Soueraigne Lord, and his true Councell. And also in taking wheat and other graines, beefe, mutton, and all other victuall, the which is importable to the said Commons, without the briefe prouision of our said Soueraigne Lord, and his true Councell, they may no longer beare it. And also vnto the Statute of Laborers, and the great extortions, the which is to say, the false Traitors, Sleg, Cromere, Uley, and Robert East.

(5) Thus traitorously to the Kings welfare, and scandalously to his most gentle government, writes this arrogant Capitaine of Rebels. The King vpon view of these braues, begins to feeble the indignity and danger. An Armie is raised, Cade retires to Senenoke in Kent. The King supposing hee had fled, sends after him * Sir Humfrey Stafford Knight, and other Gentlemen with some forces. Wee reade none of these things without a suspition, that the King was alwayes betrayed by such hypocrites about him, as would not haue him prosper. Marke the euent. At Senenoke Cade abides, probably not without encouragement from secret Traitors, and after long fight slew Sir Humfrey with many others. Hee armed himselfe in the dead Knights habillements with guile spurs. The King and Queene hearing of this mishap, leaue the Tower of London to the custodie of the Lord Scales, and of that renowned Esquire Matthew Gough; and London it selfe to the Lord Maiors fidelity, themselves departing to Kenilworth. The headlong crewes of London fauour the Rebel, and giue entrance. Robert Horne Alderman, like an honest free man, would haue had them resisted. This free necessary speech endangered his life; honourable in his memory for the hazard onely, what should hee haue bene if hee had gloriouslie lost it? but money buyes out his perill with the Tyrant, who fined him at * five hundred Markes. The time was very slippery and loose; for the Essex men also were encamped vpon Mile-end by London: All men are afraid of their owne estates; such secret well-wishings attended vpon the Arch-Rebels pretences. The King before, hee had

left London was enforced (by such hollow friends as were about him) to commit the Lord Say Treasurer of England to the Tower, after that the valiant and loyal Sir Humfrey Stafford was slaine, and the newes of his vnlucky defeat were confirmed.

(52) Cade therefore being admitted into London vpon the second of Iuly with his forces, (where for a short while to delude the people with a shew of conscience, they abstained from robberies) strikes with his sword vpon London-stone, saying; Now is Mortimer Lord of this City. At night hee returns into Southwarke: One * Robert Poynings of Southwarke Esquire was his sword-bearer and Caruer. It is needlesse to be particular in this Rebels behaviour: The next day hee returns, and the Lord Say is beheaded in Chespeide (as is before said) at Cades commandement, and his body cut into quarters. The King being by the losse of so trusty and graue a seruant, not a little weakened.

(53) The next tragedie was Cromeres an Esquire, and high Sheriffe of Kent (the Lord Sayes sonne in law) who is drawn out of the Fleet (and to appease the Essex Rebels) sacrificed by beheading without any triall at Mile-End. The City stirres not for all this. Malpas and Gersie, two rich Citizens, at whose houses Cade had feuerallly dined, being spoiled and robbed by him (left perhappes it might appeare, that he who durst commit treasons, had not also the heart to commit felonies) teach what others are to expect. The Maior, Thomas Chalon and the wiser wealthy ones, ouerruled by faction till then, see their danger now, and secretly send to the Lord Scales for aide. Matthew Gough at night is come among them as sent by him. The Kentishmen, hearing their entrie was barred, runne furiously to armes. Cade endeavors to open his way by force; but in despite of all his power, the Citizens made good & defended London-bridge against him, though with the losse of many valiant and honest men, for the conflict endured all night till nine in the morning. Among such as were slaine on the Kings side, were John Sutton Alderman, Matthew Gough himselfe, and Robert Heyland Citizen. This Gough (an Esquire of Wales) was a man of excellent vertue, manhood, and zeale to his Country, and of great renown in the warre of France, where hee had serued with speciall commendations faithfully, for the space of about twenty yeeres. His deserts at this time deserued a Statue in the City, for whose safety hee spent his last blood. To giue a quick end to these miseries, impunity is proclaimed for all offenders, and sent to them in the Kings name by the Archbishoppe of Canterbury, Lord Chancellour, vnder the great Seale of England: the rebels are scattered with this assurance of their safeties, and euery man retires in peace from following so pestilent an Impostor. A thousand Markes (when Cade afterward attempted new troubles) are promised to him, who kils or takes this counterfeite Mortimer. Alexander Edm, a Gentleman of Kent, had the happinesse to discouer and kill him at Hothfield in that County: his wretched carcase was brought to London, where his false head was set scintell vpon London-bridge, and his quarters were aduanced for terror in severall parts of Kent. There died also by the stroke of iustice twenty and sixe more, whereof eight were executed at Canterbury, and the rest elsewhere in Kent and Suffex. The multitude it selfe * came naked in their shirts to the King on Blacke-heath, humbly praying mercy which they obtained.

(54) The Kentish rebellion thus pacified, farre greater and farre more dangerous troubles ensued, as it * saith in humane bodies, which relapsing into sicknesses, are (taken so much the more terribly. These troubles had their fontaine and mediate Originall, from Richard Duke of Yorke, no degenerate sonne of that Richard, whom King Henry the fifth had created Earle of Cambridge, and enriched with much wealth, honoring him above others in regard of his blood and

A. D. 1450.

Cade's death.

The Duke of York comes out of Ireland.

* Stowes Annals.

* Stowes Annals.

* Stowes Annals.

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* Stowes Annals.

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* Stowes Annals.

and parentage about * no bountie nor benefis could change a treacherous disposition for (as you haue heard before) he conspired to murder his benefactor King Henry the fifth, as the Duke of Yorke (his true progenie) labored to depose this King Henry his aduancer. The humors of the popular body, were, in the last commotion, not obscurely discovered. The Common weale had perhaps some few enormities through the abuse of Magistrates and men in place, but yet such, as the malady was infinitely lesse pernicious then the remedy. Vpon this intelligence the Duke comes suddenly out of Ireland, and to begin his usurped censure and dictature, apprehends * John Sutton Lord Dudley; Reginald Abbot of Saint Peters, at Glasbury, and another, whom he imprisons within his Castle of Ludlow. Intolerable beginnings of more intolerable sequelae. Edmund Duke of Somerset was the man, who (after Suffolks death) most supported the Kings side by * his vigilancie, care, dangers, and good Counsels, endeavouring by all means to cleare the Realme from factions, and to preferre the King and state in quiet.

(55) Yorke seeing this, doth find that Suffolke perished in vaine, if Somerset held like graces against whose person he had a particular pretence of quarrell, for that the City of Caen in Normandy, which was the Duke of Yorkes charge, was rendered vp to the French by him, when the English affaires grew desperate in those parts; Sir David Hall Knight, being at that time Capitaine there for his Lord and Master the Duke of Yorke, and not allowing it, although the renowned Talbot himselfe was present at the render, and became an hostage for performance of the Capitulations. Yorke hereupon consults with his speciall friends, Richard Earle of Salisbury, and Richard his son, (who was afterward that most seditious & great fighting Earle of Warwick,) Thomas Courtney Earle of Devonshire, Edmund Brooke Lord Cobham, and others, how Yorke might get the Crowne of England, and for that cause how to ruine or fret out the Duke of Somerset, who standing, they were to looke for strong opposition. In the end, they conclude to take armes, but yet to smother the mention of the Duke of Yorkes title, giuing out to the world for the reason of their doings, that they meant all honour and obedience to King Henry, and only to remoue certaine bad men from about his person, who afflicted the people, and made a pray of the Common-wealth: which, to gaine the more credit, and to blind the good King, the subtle Duke declares by Proclamation; * wherein, thus speaketh that Ambitious Hypocrite. God knoweth from whom no thing is hid, I am, haue bene, and euer will be his true liege man; &c. And to the very purpose it is so, I offer my selfe to sweare that on the blessed Sacrament, and receiue it, the which I hope shall be my saluation, at the day of doome. &c. In that it was the euill hap of the Duke of Somerset, that Normandy was lost during his Regencie, his enemies had the more commoditie to incommode him with the people, who forbore not at his returne to offer to him sundry dishonours and iniuries, till vpon paine of death they were restrained, for breach of which Proclamation, one had his head cut off in west Cheap London.

(56) The King (notwithstanding all his Cosens arts and dissimulations) seeing the hooke through the bait, and the snake through the grasse, by the aduise of his trusty friends, chiefly of Edmund Duke of Somerset, thinks not fit to relie vpon his enemies good nature, but hauing a strong power, and store of honorable men to conduct them, he marcheth toward Wales against the Duke. The King did here in wisely, but not so much as the cause required. Yorke hauing notice of the Kings approach turns aside, and with all speed marcheth toward London. That City, (the vaine hope of all Rebells,) would not harken; Thereupon he slides with his people into Kent, the nest of his hopes, and at Brent-Heath neere Dersford (a towne about twelue miles from London) encampeth, meaning to fight. The

King is not slow, but leauing his march toward Wales, pitcheth vp his roiall pavilion vpon Blacke-Heath, with a purpose to reach his cosen of Yorke more duty. Behold the fortune of England. God puts an excellent opportunity into the Kings hands of tearing vp the danger of his house by the rootes, for the Duke was farre inferior in numbers. Such therefore as secretly fauoured him, fearing his overthrow, were willing to aduise a reconciliation. Messengers goe betwene the hosts. The Duke, in his wonted manner, pretends loialtie and particular iniuries; as that the Kings seruants, Sir John Talbot at Holt Castle, Sir Thomas Stanley in Cheshire, and others in other places, were set to barken vpon him. That by * two of the Norrices, Bulkeley, Gruff, Bould and other Gentlemen he was forbidden to land at Bewmaris, or to haue any refreshment, affirming that he (the Duke of Yorke) was against the Kings intent and as a Traitor. The King stoups so much as to answer the letter, letting him to knowe: That the suspition vniuersally conceived of his behaviours moued those effects: neuertheless, in regard of the humble obedience which was now protested, he, for the easing of the Dukes heart, doth declare, repulse and admit him as a true, and faithful subject, and as his well-beloued Cousin. The Duke then aduanceth his practise one step further, and writes to the King, that Iustice might be done vpon all persons of what degree soeuer, which were guilty, or noied to be guilty of treason: aiming at the Duke of Somerset, whom he doubted not to ouerwhelme with sleights and calumnies, as hee and his had done the Duke of Suffolke.

(57) The King is contented (such weak or treacherous counsels herelied vpon) that Somerset (for his satisfaction) should be commanded Prisoner to his owne house, and Yorke (hauing first dislodged his armie) should come in person, and put himselfe into the Kings hand. When hee came, hee exhibits a great complaint against the pride and auarice of the Duke of Somerset, and cunningly accusing none but him, hee seeks the good-will of all others. A cunning drift any, considering that hereby he deriued vp on his enemy all the enuie of the people, and left him single to withstand the effects. Somerset (a Prince of great spirit and wit) not thinking it reasonable, as well in regard of his owne honour as the Commonwealthes interest, to endure such indignity, presents himselfe to the King against his accuser, and refusing not to be render-mouthed in the so apparent perill of the King and Realme, whose quier was vndermined, answers Yorke face to face, and in plaine termes accuseth him of highest treason, as hauing conspired to depose the King, and take vpon himselfe the Soueraignty: vehemently vrging: That the Duke of Yorke might be committed and arraigned, to the intent that by his deferred death, and the dismemberment of his bones, ciuill warre might be extinguished, praying finally that God would not suffer the enemy of the Kingdome to escape the hand of iustice.

(58) This had in likelihood bene done, but that the publike faith seemed to stand engaged for the Dukes indemnitie, hee hauing come in vpon the Kings word, and also for that the hearts of men were not well assured to the King, which by executing Yorke would perhaps haue bene more vnsted, because (not looking into the depth of the Kings perill) it would haue bene thought that hee had bene destroyed to gratifie Somerset, and not to secure the Realme. There was hope likewise to recouer Aquitaine, for that Burdeaux had offered to returne: Lastly, the Dukes sonne and heire, Edward Earle of March (afterward King) was reported to be ready with a great force of Welshmen to succour his father. Vpon these and other reasons, the Duke is no longer restrained, as vpon Somersets most weighty accusations hee had bene, and to assure the gentle and indulgent King, of his allegiance, he makes his submission, and solemnly TAKES HIS OATH to be true, faithful and obedient subject. This was done vpon

The Kings army being greater then the Dukes, peace is vnshapely made.

* R. litera Regis & Duci.

* Poly. v. 8. li. 23.

* The Duke of Somerset confidently accuseth the Duke of Yorke of treason.

The Duke of York takes his Oath to be true to King Henry.

upon the tenth of March in the Church of S. Paul in London, the King himselfe, and most of the chiefe nobility being present, as the Dukes of Buckingham, Norfolk, & Sommerfet, nine Earles, the Viscounts, Beaumont and Wells, manie great Barons: Of the Clergy, the Cardinal of Yorke the Archbishop of Cantuarie, the Bishops of Winchester, Elye and London.

(59) Let vs view the forme and words of this Caution vpon which King Henric (measuring other mens hearts by his owne) aduentured to repose his life and Kingdome, which are these.

"I Richard, Duke of Yorke, confesse and beknown as thus I am and ought to be humble subiect, and liegeman to you my Soueraigne Lord, King Henric the sixt, and owe therefore, to beare you faith and truth, as to my Soueraigne liege Lord, and shall doe all duties to my loyes: and shall not at any time will or assent that any thing be attempted or done against your most noble person, but wherefoever I shall haue knowledge of any such thing imagined or purposed, I shall with all speed and diligence possible to me, make, that your highnesse shall haue knowledge thereof, and, ouer that, doe all that shall possible be to me to the withstanding, and let thereof to the uttermost of my life: I shall not any thing take vpon me against your roiall estate or obedience that is due thereto, nor suffer any other man to doe as farre forth as shall be in my power solet it. And also I shall come at your commandment, whensoever I shall be called by the same, in humble and obedient wise, but if I be letted by any sickness or impotencie of my person, or by such other cause as shall be thought by you my Soueraigne Lord reasonable. I shall neuer hereafter take vpon me to gather any rowt or to make any assemblie of your people without your commandment, or licence, or in my lawfull defence, in interpretation or declaration of the which my lawfull defence I shall report me at all times to your highnesse, and if the case require to my Peers, any thing attempt against any of your Subiects, of what estate, degree or condition that they be. But wherefoever I find my selfe wronged and agrieved, I shall sue humbly for remedie to your highnesse, and proceed after the course of your lawes, and none otherwise, sauing in mine owne lawfull defence in manner abovesaid, and otherwise haue to your highnesse as an humble and true subiect ought to haue him to his Soueraigne Lord. All these things abovesaid I promise you truly to obseue and keep by the holy Euangelists contained in the booke that I lay my hand here vpon, and by the holie Crosse I here touch, and by the blessed Sacrament of our Lords body, that I shall now with his merite receiue. And ouer I agree me, and will that if at any time hereafter, as by the grace of our Lord God I neuer shall, any thing attempt by way of feate, or otherwise against your roiall Maiestie and obedience, that I owe thereto, or any thing take vpon me otherwise then is aboue expressed, I from that time forth be vnabled, held, and taken as an vntrue and openly forsworne man, and vnable to all manner of worship, estate or degree, be it such as I now occupie, or any other that might in any wise grow to me hereafter. And this I haue here promised and sworne, proceedeth of mine owne desire and free volente, and by no contraining nor Coaction. In witness of all which things abovesaid, I Richard Duke of Yorke aboue write subscribe with mine owne hand and seale.

This Oath he also tooke at Westminster and Conuentione at sundrie times. Who now can consider the effects of this so publike and solemne Oath, and doth not tremble in curie part? Let vs haisten to their view, least God perhaps may quietly seeme to haue bene mockt to his face by a vaine ambitious man.

(60) To diuert these home-breeding rancors and practises, by employing the wits and bodices of men in other more honest things, the Earle of Candall (sonne to Captaide Budie who had vpon necessitie submitted his Seignouries to Charles the French King, but referred his person out of that obedience) and the Lord L'Esparre, came secretly from Burdeaux and pray an Armie, for that Burdeaux and the Gas-

coignes would returne to the English, if they might be supported. An Armie is decreed for their reduction. John Lord Talbot the first Earle of Shrewsburie of his name as General in that enterprize, lands in Gascoigne, where he doth sundry exploits, and the fame of his former cheualrie flying before with terror, makes many places the rather to yeeld. Burdeaux her selfe secretly opens a gate vnto him, which the French Garrison perceiving fled out at a Postern, but many being overtaken were slaine by the Lord L'Esparre and the English. New supplies and victuals arrive, whereof the Earle of Shrewsburies younger sonne, (Viscount Lile by his wife,) was a principall conductor. Burdeaux thus thoroughly man and fortified, the Earle is advertised that the French lay at siege before Castillon, a place of importance vpon the riuier of Dordogne. Thither the Earle marcheth, and with too great a confidence charging the enemy vpon vnequall termes, was there slaine, together with his sonne the Viscount Lile and others. Burdeaux receiued such as fled. The English fortunes and hopes which began to quicken, made this vnhappy Calastrophie in Iulie, to the infinite losse of our nation and griefe of the Gascoignes, who generally misliked the French, and inclined to the English, hauing fo honorable, and for so long a time governed those dominions. This was the end of that great Earle, after he had for the space of twentie and foure yeeres serued his Prince and Countrey in the French warres, with highest commendation; a most noble and most valiant man, by whose vertue the English name did chiefly become terrible in France. Burdeaux is seife, and all other places after this, were by siege brought againe vnder the French King, who persecuted those affaires in person. From that time forward the English neuer obtained there any hold or further footing, the felicity of this attempt breaking all combinations of the Gascoignes. This Dutchie of Aquitaine contained foure Archbishops, foure and twenty Bishops, fifteen Earldomes, two hundred and two Barons, and aboue a thousand Capitaineships and Bailiwickes. The losse of so goodly an inheritance which had continued English for almost three hundred yeeres, the world may easily coniecture how iustly it was greeued and lamented for. In this faine estate of the English, the Queene vpon the thirteenth day of October was deliuered of her first sonne who was named Edward, prouing the child of sorrow and infelicity.

(61) It were to be wished we might now rather number the following euils of England, then describe them; for what can we learne out of such vnnatural and sauage destructions, but matter of horreur and detestation? But such they must be handled, (the law and necessitie of our task exacting it,) the sooner to be quit of so vnpleasing objects, it will be best abruptly to thrust into the narration. The Duke of Yorke (wickedlie careless of an Oath so religiouslie and publickly taken,) to make his way to the Crowne more easie, hath now procured his chiefe and most fearefull enemy the Duke of Sommerfet to be suddenly arrested of high treason, (doubtfull whether by any authority but his owne) in the Queenes great Chamber, and sent to the Tower of London, vpon pretence that he had capital matter to charge him with. Yorke principall friends (vpon confidence of whom he dared to high things) were Richard Nevill Earle of Salisbury second sonne of Ralfe Nevill Earle of Westmerland, whose daughter the Duke of Yorke had married. This Richard was Earle of Salisbury in right of Alice his wife, sole heiress to Thomas Montacute, the famous Earle, slaine at the siege of Orleans. The Dukes other maine hope was Richard Nevill (sonne of the former Richard Nevill,) who in right of his wife, the Lady Anne (sole sister, and heiress of the whole blood to Henry Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick) was by this King Henric the sixth created Earle of Warwick in a most vnhappy houre both for the King & kingdome, being a most valiant and a man of an vndaunted mind, but sitting faith.

(62) The

(63) The King in the meane space, while the Duke of Sommerfet was thus endangered, lay sicke; and Yorke (as Regent) swayed and ouerlaid in Court; but when the king (perceiving malice and practise to be the chiefe bales of Yorkes accusations) had recouered his health, and resumed the gouernment, Sommerfet is set at liberty and made Capitaine of Calles; Yorke and his adherents repaire to open force: They leuy their armie about the Marches of Wales, with which they repaire toward London, the maine object of Pretendents. The King hearing of his enemies approach, is accompanied with Humfrey Duke of Buckingham, Edmund Duke of Sommerfet, Humfrey Earle of Stafford, Henry Percie Earle of Northumberland, James Butler Earle of Wiltshire, and Ormond, Beauport Earle of Dorset, Jasper Thedder Earle of Pembroke the Kings halfe-brother, Thomas Courtney Earle of Devonshire, the Lords Clifford, Sudley, Berners, Rolfe and others, and with them enters into Saint Albans in warlike manner, hauing certaine thousands of common souldiers. Thither also the Duke of Yorke and his adherents came. This was toward the end of May: The Dukes request to the King was, that he would deliuer such persons to be deferedly punished as he would name. The King (to let them know who he was) returns this confident answer. That hee and the rest were Traitors, and that rather then they should haue any Lord from him who was with him at that time, hee himselfe would for their sake in the quarrell vpon that day lide and die.

(64) The Yorkists hereupon assaile the Kings people within the Towne, and Warwick breaking in through a Garden, a sharpe battell is begun. The losse fell lamentably vpon King Henries side; for besides the Duke of Sommerfet, there were slaine the Earles of Northumberland and Stafford, the L. Clifford, with sundry worthy Knights and Esquiers, of which forty and eight were buried in Saint Albans, there being slaine aboue fure thousand of K. Henries party, and of the Yorkists aboue fixe hundred. The King himselfe was shot into the neck with an arrow; & other of his chiefe friends were likewise fore wounded and taken. The Earle of Wiltshire, and Thomas Thorpe, Lord chiefe Baron of the Exchequer, with others (saue themselves by flight. The Duke of Yorke, the Earles of Salisbury and Warwick with the King, (whome they in shew did vse most reuerently, and as if they had meant nothing vnto him but good faith) vpon the morrow ride to London, where in Iulie immediately following, a Parliament is holden in King Henries name. The fore-runner whereof was a Comet, or blazing starre, which appeared in the moneth of Iune, the beams whereof extended themselves into the south. The first popular act of this assembly, was to restore the memory of Humfrey Duke of Gloucester to honour, declaring him to haue bene a true subiect to the King and Realme.

(65) The next prouisions which the Yorkists made, were for themselves, and their owne security, willing and commanding that the Duke of Yorke & his partakers should incur no blame by reason of the iourney at Saint Albans: the whole fault whereof was laid vpon the dead Duke of Sommerfet, the Lord Chiefe Baron, and one William Ioseph Esquier, who (say they) kept from the King a pacificatory letter which the Duke of Yorke had sent. It is a wonder and a shame to reade how officiously these violent Lords (meaning nothing lesse) behaued themselves to the King, of whose maiesty they will needs seeme to be the onely Champions and conservators. The Duke of Yorke in the same Parliament creates himselfe Protector of England, the Earle of Salisbury is made Lord Chancellour, and the Earle of Warwick (his sonne) Capitaine of Calles: they spared as yet to touch King Henries life, because the people did wonderfully honour, esteeme, and reuerence him for his singular holinesse, and for that he had great friends left alive, and a sonne. In the meane space, that they might without trouble, and at their pleasure, vncrowne or kill him, they

by little and little displaced the ancient Counsellors, and substituted their assured fauourites. Another Act of that absolute force and fraud, which they exercised in this dreadfull perturbation of all things, was the drawing of John Holland Duke of Excester out of Sanctuarie at Westminster, conuaying him to Pemfret Castle in the North.

(66) Henry Beauport Duke of Sommerfet, (sonne of the former) the Duke of Buckingham, (whose sonne and heiress the Earle of Stafford was slaine at S. Albans) and other the Kings friends, perceiving whereunto this faire flew tended, consult with the Queene at Greenwich concerning her husbands danger, and how to preuent it. Hereupon the Duke of Yorke is displaced from the Protectorship, a ridiculous title to be assumed, where the king was aged about fise and thirrie, and had no other fault or vnfitness, but that he was too good to lide among them. The Earle of Salisbury was also deprived of his Lord Chancellorship.

(67) The King hauing thus recouered his dignity and authoritie, but not sufficient meanes to suppress his dangers, the French take courage at our intestine diuisions, and landing at Sandwich with fiftene thousand men (part of their forces) they kill the Maior, Bailiffs, and other Officers of that Towne, with sundrie Gentlemen of the Countrey, spoile all they could lay hand vpon, and among all they rob two great vessels laden with merchandise, which lay there bound for London and departed. Another part of them, burnes Foway and certaine other townes in Denonshire. On the other side the Scots hostilie entred into Northumberland, but vpon notice that the Duke of Yorke approached with a power, they returned, hauing not as yet done any great harme.

(68) These indignities and losses might haue vnited the disioined affections of true English hearts, which was greatly desired by such as loued their Countrey: For which purpose the King, Queene, and their chiefe friends, being at Conuentione, the Duke of Yorke, the Earles of Salisbury and Warwick are sent for by the Kings letters vnder his priuie Seale, to giue their attendance, whither they come, but they (either warned of some plot contriued against them, or fearing it, or faining to feare) suddenly leaue the Court, without leaue, the Duke departing to Wigmore in the Welsh marches, the Earle of Salisbury to his Castell of Middleham in the North-Countrey, and the Earle of Warwick to Calles, whose bodies though thus diuided, their minds continued most firmly factionated. But the King (a patterne of Christian goodnes) being tender ouer the generall estate of his Countrey, and wonderfully desirous to reconcile differences among his subiects, that they might the better withstand their imminent forein enemies, returns to London there to consult how to effect his holy wishes. The great Lords are persuaded to meete there; which they did; but yet not without store of followers, for the Duke brought with him foure hundred men, the Earle of Salisbury fise hundred, the Earle of Warwick fixe hundred: The Dukes of Excester and Sommerfet eight hundred, the Earle of Northumberland, the Lords Egremont and Clifford fiftene hundred. This was the fashion of that swording age.

(69) In March the king and Queene with a very roiall company alight at Westminster, to accomplish, if it were possible this charitable and necessary worke of atonement and reconciliation. Godfrey Bolein was at that time Lord Maior of London, (being the ancestor of two renowned and vertuous Queenes of England, Anne second wife to King Henric the eight, and Elizabeth their daughter, through whose great vigilance and prouidence, the City stood so well guarded, that the Kings peace was diuifull kept, notwithstanding the great Lords of both the factions (Yorkists and Lancastrians,) were with so great troupes of followers lodged within, and about

The Dukes Oath and submission.

*Ex vniu. Cad.

Hope conceited to recouer Gascoigne.
* Serret.

King married to Saint Margaret Duke of Burgundy

The Earle of Devonshire the younger Duke of Devonshire

And the Arcebis

*Camden Shropshire, page 114.

The Earle of Devonshire the younger Duke of Devonshire

Prince is best

the Duke of Devonshire the younger Duke of Devonshire

A.D.

Duke of protector Realme.

in 1510.

*Camden

A. reg. 34.

The Duke of Yorke is discharged of the vntured Protectorship.

The French take Sandwich in Kent and Foway in Denonshire.

The King at Conuentione, from whence the Duke of Yorke and the Yorkists departed suddenly.

*Camden Shropshire, page 114.

In January. A.D. 1458. A. reg. 36.

The Lords meet the King at London to compose all quarrells.

Godfrey Bolein at this time Maior of London the ancestor of two Queenes.

K kkkk 2 the

* Rob. Fab. Cbr.

* Rob. Fab.

The quarrels ended by the Kings award with few of common liking.

* Martias.

The probable condition of things after the reconciliation.

* Valid. Verg. l. 23 makes it doubtful, casual as usu.

The Earle of Warwick affailed, and escaping speedes to Caleis.

the fame: for during the whole time of their abode he had * five thousand Citizens in Harneffe, himselfe riding daily about the City and suburbs, to see the publike quiet preferred: and for the night watch there were assigned to three Aldermen two thousand cosset-men.

(69) During this watch, a great Councell was holden by the King and Lords, whereat length by the diligent traualle, good exhortation, and prudent aduise of the Archbishops of Canterbury, and of other learned and godly Prelates, the parties offended were induced to a communication, and afterward to a final accord: the points whereof, considering they held so short a while, (for as * one faith truly, *the dissimiled lone day hung but by a small thread*) it were fruitfull to dwell in their rehearsal. The King himselfe (a singular testimonie of the opinion which all parties had of his integrity) was whole arbitrator of their differences. Certaine satisfactions were awarded to be made by the Duke of Yorke, with the Earles of Warwick and Salisbury, for the death of Edmund Duke of Sommerfet, and others slaine at S. Albans. And the same Duke of Sommerfet, the Earle of Northumberland, and Lord Clifford (slaine in that battell by the Yorkists) are declared for true liegemen to the King at the day of their deaths, as well as the Duke of Yorke, the Earles of Warwick and Salisbury. So both parts stand *in fide et recte in curia*. Many other articles and awards were made, to foder and glue together their alienated harts and affections. The reioicement caused by this seeming peace (which on the behalf of the kings persō was vndoubtedly sincere and true) was wonderfully great among all good Englishmen, who flocked to the publike celebration thereof. For vpon our * Ladies day in Lent, a solemne procession was made within the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul in London, where the King (adorned with Crowne and robes of maiestie) went in person, before whom went hand in hand the Duke of Sommerfet, and the Earle of Salisbury, the Duke of Excester, and the Earle of Warwick, and so of either faction one and one, and behind the King himselfe, came the Queene and Duke of Yorke with great familiarity in all mens fights. O religion, O honour, O sinceritie, that your diuine vertue should not haue contained these spirits in the harmonie of sweet obedience; but if you could not, what alas should? England must be more severely scourged, then that so goodly a blessing of publike reconciliation should continue, whereby the proud tops of her nation (offensive to God and men) being taken off, the way might be opened to other names or races, which as yet were nothing thought on.

(70) There is no reason to doubt, but that the Duke of Yorke (a man of deeper retirement in himselfe) secretly continued his purpose for the Crowne, notwithstanding all these his vernished pretences, and did only therefore not as then put for it, because he presumed the time was incommodious. Against the Queene (true head and life of the contrary part) aswell in regard of her selfe, her husband, and young sonne, may in likelihood be thought to haue laid downe any thing, rather then the wakefulnesse and ialousie, which former perils and the enemies present strength might worthily keepe alieue in her. The thinnie almes therefore, which couered these glowing coles, were thus againe first vnranked and set to blaze.

(71) The King and manie of the Lords, still being at Westminster, there hapned (or perhaps * was plotted) a fray betweene one of the Kings seruants and a follower of the Earle of Warwick, who hurt the Kings seruant. Hereupon his fellowes of all sorts (as Cookes with their spits &c.) in great disorder affailed the Earle himselfe, as he was coming from the Councell, and had there slaine him, but that the euill fate of England and his owne, rescued him to doe and suffer greater mischiefs. The Earle hardly gets to his Barge, and reputing all things vnfore-

about the King, gets ouer to his place at Calais. The Yorkists directly charge the Queene with this, as with a plot drawne for the Earles destruction. Not long after this, the young Duke of Sommerfet is sent Captaine to Calais. Warwick will resigne no roome, notwithstanding the Kings command, allcaging he was made by Parliament: Sommerfet is reiected with danger to his person. Warwick partly maintains himselfe, and such as stucke to him in that charge, with spoiles which he got at Sea; How lawfull it appears not; though Warwick is said to haue been Admirall by Patent, though now reuoked. The Ordinarie bookes haue, that he, with foureteene saile of men of warre, set vpon three Carricks of Genoe or Genoa, and two of Spaine, greater then the Carricks: three of which Merchant-fleete (which how they should be lawfull prize, we see not) he vanquished after two daies fight, with the losse of about an hundred men of his owne, and a thousand of theirs: The booty was worth, at meane rates ten thousand pounds; such also as followed the Duke of Sommerfet coming into his hands, he beheaded at Calais. These were strange darings in the Earle of Warwick, whom yet the vnskillfull, and drunken multitude so highly praise: but what are these in regard of them which will presentlie follow?

(72) The Duke of Yorke in the meane time, and Warwick with his father, the Earle of Salisbury (the Triumuir of England) consult of their affaires: Salisbury is reuolued with sword in hand to expollate the danger and iniury offered to his sonne at Westminster. The Queene (a Lady of incomparable magnanimity and foresight) confident in this, that now King Henry, or the Duke of Yorke must perish, and that one Kingdome was not wide enough for both their Families, betittres her selfe to maintain the possession of a Crowne, and to aduance to the same her owne flesh and blood Prince Edward, by ruining his house, whose whole building consisted of Lancastrian beneficence. She consults, she sends, she speaks, she giues, and strengthneth her selfe with friends on all sides, chiefly in Cheshire, causing her sonne to distribute silver swannes (his badge or deuise) to all the Gentlemen of that County, and to many other through England. Salisbury sets forward from his Castell at Middleham with foure or five thousand men. James Touchet, Lord Audeley encounters him vnadvisedly vpon Blare-heath neere Muckelstone. The fight was long and bloody, but in the end K. Henric euill fortune gaue the better of the day to the Earle of Salisbury, where, besides the valiant Lord Audeley himselfe, were slaine not fewer then two thousand and foure hundred, but the chiefe losse fel vpon the Cheshire men, who were the Princes Lieuterie.

(73) The Earle of Salisbury in this fort opened to himselfe a way to Ludlow, where the head of their combination, Richard Duke of Yorke, busied himself to gather forces: being met, they conclude, that seeing the matter was now become deadly, they would deale in cloudes no longer, but fight it out to the extremity. Men are drawne out of all parts with large hopes & promises of sharing in their fortunes, and the Earle of Warwick bringing with him from Calais (which he left with his friends) that valiant Captaine Andrew Trollop, and a band of stout and choise Souldiers, comes to the generall Rendeuou of the Yorkists, the Castell of Ludlow. The King in the meane space, (and not before it was need and time) hath assembled a great puissance of faithfull Subiects, and being * attended with the Dukes of Sommerfet and Excester, and other of his chiefe friends marcheth against his enemies. His first worke was, to offer them generall pardon. It is refused, and called by them a *stasse of reede, or glasse Buckler*. The sword must decide the quarrels; whereupon the king commands his Standards to aduance: while he was in his March, * a letter fraught with the wonted

* Rob. Fab. who all say a much greater number of ships.

The chills begins againe.

Excell at the heart where Henric did hatch them.

Chief lieth there and the Duke of York.

The Duke of York with his kindeste Armes.

* what.

* Dated at low 10.04.

1459.

horrible of Christi- Sacraments speale the

children.

like as- which may be said or of Campe.

write without

Wing. La.

Chief lieth there and the Duke of York.

The Duke of York with his kindeste Armes.

* what.

* Dated at low 10.04.

wonted hypocrites) is delivered to the King. There are in it among many other insinuations these also: *Of Christian King, right high and Mighty Prince, and our most dread Soueraigne Lord, wee sent vnto your good grace by the Prior of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, and diuers other Doctors, and among other by M. William Limwood doctor of Diuinity, which ministered vnto us fearefully the blessed Sacrament of the body of Iesus, whereupon wee and euery of vs depofed of our said truth and duty.*

(74) Thus these prophane and ambitious men play with God, who in the end will feuerly be a- uenged on them for their impietie: but the letter made no ouerture of any courie, vpon which they would yeeld to lay downe Armes, allcading, they would make their way to the king for redresse of abuses, & that they were enforced to stand together for their own defence, against such great Courtiers and Fawourites, as (say they) intended their destruction; meaning indeed such persons whose vigilancy and manhood might protect and guard him from their practise and violence. The King is now in fight, whom the Triumuirs Yorke, Warwick and Salisbury being strongly entrenched before, Ludlow, * meane to assaile. Andrew Trollop (who had in the Kings pay done great seruice vpon the French) was acquainted with all their counsell, and finding himselfe extremely deceived, (for hee thought and so by the Earle of Warwick was made to believe, that the preservation of the King was intended, and not destruction) abandons the Yorkists Campe at midnight, & with a choise number of trusty men presents himselfe and seruices to the King, who graciously receiued him and his. The truth of the Triumuirs plot, and bottome of their conspiracies was thus made clearly knowne: The Yorkists vpon notice of Trollops act, despairing of successe, at that present fle. The Duke of Yorke with the Earle of Rutland his younger son into Ireland, the Earle of March his eldest sonne and heire, Warwick and Salisbury, with much difficult escape to Calais, which place (as * one faith probably) if Henry had in time taken from his enemies, they had without question bene forthwith irrecoverably ruined.

(75) The multitude which ferued vnder Yorke found mercy, but their Tenants were many of them executed, maimed, or generally ranfact. The town of Ludlow it selfe was spoiled to the bare walls, and Dutchesse of Yorke depriued of all her goods. What lesse could bee the effects against the friends of such aduerfaries, vpon so publike an act and aduantage? The point is followed more sharply vpon the great Offenders in the next Parliament which was holden at Conuentre: there Richard Duke of Yorke, Edward Earle of March, Richard Earle of Warwick, Edmund Earle of Rutland, Richard Earle of Salisbury, Alice Countesse of Salisbury (in whose right her husband was Earle) two or three Lords, 9. Knights, and certaine other, were openlie of high Treason attained, and their whole estates confiscated.

(76) Calais, a most important piece, being in the meane space violently posselt by Warwick, the Duke of Sommerfet, the Lords Roffe and Audley, are sent with forces to take it; their successe was euill, for the Duke was glad to fle, his Souldiers were robbed by Warwick: men of their harnesse, the Lord Audley is taken into the Towne, and the Lord Roffe hardly escaped. Letters are hereupon written into forraigne parts, entreating * that no reliefe bee ministered to the Traitors who kept Calais against the King, and all men are at home forbidden to transport any victuall or refreshment thither. Euidēt it is, that the Councell of England rather wished that the Town and Castell had bene French againe, then as it was; neither therein erred they, for it could not be so mischievous to the maine of their cause, as now it was. The Duke of Sommerfet being in Guines, a neighbour Caste, dorth daily by his Souldiers skirmish with the Caliseans: Warwick meditates other things. Hee must speake with the Duke of Yorke, at whose commandement

all Ireland (where hee abode) seemed to be readie; but is aduertised that the King had certaine shippes, which lay at Sandwich to transport supplies and succours to the Duke of Sommerfet. Hee meanes not to leaue such a perill behind him vnremoued; hauing therefore espied his time, hee wils his people to slippe ouer in the night to Sandwich, which they accordingly did,ooke the Lord Rivers, and his son Anthony wooduile prisoners, and brought away all the shippes, except one called Grace de Dieu: one Sir Baldwine Euford Knight, hauing (after this) assumed to doe seruice vpon the Earle of Warwick, and to take him, returns empty. Warwick failes now to Ireland. The King makes the Duke of Excester Admirall, and giues him commission to apprehend the Earle of Warwick. The Duke with a great nauie puts forth to Sea from Sandwich. Behold the ill carriage of things. At Dermouth many of his Souldiers, pretending want of money and victuals, forsake him. Meane while the Earle of Warwick passeth by the Duke, not daring to assaile him, nor he willing to assaile the Duke, for that hee was Admirall and of the Kings blood. Such was the act and cunning of the Yorkists to pretend reuerence vnto that, which most of all they thirsted to shed: Five hundred fresh souldiers attend at Sandwich to bee shipped ouer to the Duke of Sommerfet for safe conducting him into England. Warwicks men sodainly come vpon them, flew Montfort their Captaine, and many other, and disarmed the rest. Such was the distracted estate of our poore Country at this time, through the pride and restless ambition of one or two vnhappy men. But though nothing was more plaine then that the Duke of Yorke fought the crown of England; yet nothing is truer, then that they as yet pretended nothing lesse for the veneration of King Henric purty of life, would haue preuailed with the people greatly to their preiudice.

(77) The King failing thus to obtaine the person of Warwick, or his Towne of Calais, the Yorkists send ouer certaine Articles into Kent, in which (as if they were the onely Patriots and best Subiects of the world) they claime of certaine generall enormities concerning iniuries done to the Church, and the ill ministracion of iustice, abuse of purueyers and takers, the Kings povertie by the corruption of his officers, and the like plausible stuffe: where they speake of the King, they sequester him from all exception, as being of so noble, so vertuous, so righteous, and so blessed disposition: (these are their words and the truth) as any Prince earthly. Where they speake of their enemies, (that is, the Kings principall friends and faithfull subiects) they name the Earle of Salisbury, the Earle of Wiltshire, and the Lord Beaumont which must euer be an honour to their memories, and put the blame (if it were blame-worthy) of such attaindors which were enacted against the Yorkists at Conuentre, vpon these three Lords specially. Where they speake of themselves & their intentions, they profess almeerity and loyaltie to King Henry, and that they onlie meant to come vpon their guard to speake with him concerning the common wealch, and their owne safeties, and that now they would attempt the same againe, in the name of the Land, and not to suffer such mischiefs to raigne vpon rhem. The conclusion of their cunning and painted pretences hath these fained holy words: *Requiring you (the people) on Gods behalfe, and praying you in your owne, therein to assist vs, doing alway the duty of Liegemen in our persons to our said Soueraigne Lord, to his estate, prerogative and preheminece, and to the surety of his most noble person, whereunto wee haue euer bene, and will bee as true as any of his Subiects alieue: whereof we call God, our Lady Saint Marie, and all the Saints in heauen, to witnesse, and record.* But of the thing it selfe (that is to Crowne the Duke of Yorke) they make not the least mention: what wanted in these men to the height and depth of humane malice? They preuaile with the multitudes; a shallow braind, but a great

The Earle of Warwick men take the Lord Rivers and some of the Kings Nauie at Sandwich.

The King arms to Sea, but cannot take the Earle, who returns from Ireland to Calais.

The Yorkists send ouer Articles to seduce the people.

The Earle of
Warwicke lends
his side an Oath.

great and many headed beast. The Lord *Fawconbridge* is sent to found their affections, and to draw the purulent matter to an head: he finds great forwardness. The Earles of *March*, *Warwicke* and *Salisbury* aduertised of all things, land in *Kent*. But the people onely were not deluded; for *Thomas Bourchier* Archbischoppe of *Canterbury*, and other graue men, beleueed they meant foorth; which that they might the rather doe, the Earle of *Warwicke* made open oath vpon the Croffe of *Canterbury*, that they had enured borne true faith and allegiance to King *Henry*. A strange humor in the *English*, that could neither brooke bad nor benigne Princes. The King had before their comming quit the City of *London*, as not greatly trusting the affections which the people therof bare toward such as the *Yorkish* faction had made odious about him, and appointed the *Renduou* of his forces at *Northampton* where he abode. The enemy (shewing friend) aduanceth thither. It is a shame to reade that some of the great Prelates would simply bee drawne to countenance such an enterprise: but their intentions were different; they hoped to reconcile enmities, the Earles, to make *Torke* King. Meanwhile their complices labour to take the Tower of *London*, within which there were for King *Henry* the loyal Nobles. The Lord *Scales*, *Hungerford*, *Peche*, *Louel*, *Delaware*, and *Candale* a *Galscoigne* with sundry others.

(78) At *Northampton* things were carried thus: The King meaning there to abide his aduersaries, when it was not thought meete to admit the Earle of *Warwicke* to his presence, (which thing was colourably sued for to raise a ground of iustificacion for battell) they prepare on both parts. The Earles of *March* and *Warwicke* (with like or greater cunning, then they had desired admission to the Kings speech) let cry through the field, that no man should lay hand vpon the King, nor common people, but vpon the Lords, Knights and Equeirs.

(79) The hoasts ioyned. No broke they gaue but seemes to wound vs also. Let vs swiftly turne our eyes from so vnnaturall slaughters. The * *L. Grey of Ruthen* began the difcomfiture of the Kings side, for hee (let the world iudge with what commendation,) hauing the point, did quit his place and fled to the Earles. The Kings armie is defeated, and vterlic broken. Many were slaine and drowned, *Polbydore* and *Grafton* say ten thousand: The chiefe of the Nobles who there lost their liues, were the Duke of *Buckingham*, *John* Earle of *Shrewsburie* (* a most hopefull young Gentleman, and in all points like his heroicke Ancestors) *John* Vicount *Beaumont*, *Thomas*, Lord *Egremond*, and among sundry other prime men, * *Sir William Lucie*, who making haft to the fight, was vpon his first approach chopt downe with an axe. The Kings Ordinance could not play, there fell so great a raine.

(80) This wofull battell was fought vpon the ninth of Iuly. The King (as a man borne to all calamities and miseries, though hee not therefore the lesse, but the more happy through that excellent fortitude of mind, with which hee inuincibly sustained them) comes into his enemies hands; but the Queene and the Prince, and the remains of their scattered fortunes fle into the North, there to reinforce their powers, and to * *subdue* (as hee caused them to be proclaimed) the Kings Rebels and enemies. The Tower of *London* after this misfortune renders it selfe. The Lord *Scales* is wickedly murdered vpon the *Thames* by Wherrimen, belonging to the Earle of *Warwicke*, as hee intended to passe to * *Sanctuary* at *Westminster*. The Earles when they were possessed of the King, continued their admirable hypocrites (which God will terribly plague them for) thereby to leade the people on, and had to him these words.

(81) Most noble Prince, displease you not, though it hath pleased God of his grace to grant vs the victorie of our mortall enemies, who by their venomous malice

have vntuly stirred and moued your Highnesse to exile vs out of the land, and would haue put vs to small shame, and confusion: wee come not to vngrieue or grieve your said Highnesse, but to please your noble person, desiring tenderly the high welfare and prosperitie thereof, and of all your Realme, and to be your true Liegemen while our liues shall endure. Our foules are amazed at these artes, and men blinsh to publish to the world things so vnworthy.

(82) The * *Florentine Secretary* was scarce borne at this time, but the *Diuel* was as great a Master then as afterward. The King and Earles in the meane time goe to *London*, where a Parliament was summoned in his name to be holden in October following. The Duke of *Torke* (aduerstified of his victorie) speedes from *Dublin*, the chiefe City of *Ireland*, to bee at that Parliament, where we shall at last see the true face of his purpose, his owne selfe taking away the maske which hitherto concealed it.

(83) *Seotland*, by reason of late affinity with the house of *Beaufort*, whose chiefe and toppe was the Duke of *Sommerfet*, (descended from *John* Duke of *Lancaster* by the Lady *Katherine*) was a speciall backe, and second to King *Henry* in all his tempestuous aduersities; but now that refuge was also hazarded: for King *James* the second, partly in fauour of King *Henry*, and partly as making vse of the troubles in *England*, laich siege to *Roxburgh* (Belinden the *Scot* calleth the same Castle * *Marchmont*) being in the custody of King *Henries* enemies, where while himselfe (whose * skill and delight in shooting of Ordinance was great) comming down the trenches to see the * *Lion* (a new great piece which had lately bene cast in *Flanders*) and the other Artillery discharged, one of them brake, and with a shiuer thereof slew the king, and dangerously wounded the Earle of *Angus*. This vnhappy accident hapned vpon a Sunday, the * third day of August. The Queen of *Seotland* neuertheless maintaineth the siege, and aswell obtaines that place, as the Castle of *Warke*, both which shee (in reuenge) threw to the earth. *James* the third, a child of seuen yeeres old succeeded to his father, aswell to the cherishment of the distressed *English*, as to the Crowne.

(84) The Parliament being begunne, about the * eight of October at *Westminster* in King *Henries* name, thither comes with flying speed, *Richard* Duke of *Torke*, who brake open the Kings lodging Chamber, and placed himselfe therein, (insuffering the King to prouide elsewhere. Then makes hee his claime to the Crown of *England*, and publisheth it in open Parliament together with his pedigree. The whole house (such among them excepted as were priuie to the Dukes intention) was * greatly dismayed both for that hee did set himselfe in the Kings seate, and for this his vnexpected challenge: But the Duke though at first hee greatly meant to haue deposed King *Henry*, and with speed to bee crowned himselfe at *Alhallontide* next, yet finding such amazement and silence, hee sends them his pedigree and his claime in writing, that they might the better consider, yeelding (as it seemes) to be ordered therein, according to their generall agreement during the treaty whereof hee would not visite King *Henry*, all eading himselfe was peerlesse in *England*. The maine points of his Title were as followeth. King *Edward* the third had issue, *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, *William* of *Hatfield*, *Lionell* Duke of *Clarence*, *John* of *Gaunt* D. of *Lancaster*, *Edmund* D. of *Torke*, *Thomas* D. of *Gloucester*, and *William* of *Windsor*. *Edward* Prince of *Wales* dyed, liuing his Father, and left issue *Richard* the second King of *England*, who died without issue: as did also *William* King *Edward*: second sonne.

(85) *Lionell* the third sonne had issue *Philip* his daughter and heire, married to *Edmund* Mortimer Earle of *March*, who had issue *Roger* Earle of *March*, who had issue *Edmund* Earle of *March*, *Roger*, *Anne*, and *Eleanor*, which *Edmund*, *Roger*, and *Eleanor* died without issue. *Anne* (the heire of that house) married *Richard* Earle

* *Mathew*.

The house of *Seotland* is *Henries* first diffidit.

* *Roll* *Part* *transl* *Lib* *11*.

* *1* *off* *Lib*.

* *Grafton*.

James the King of *Scot* slaine with a shiuer of a piece. A.D. 1455.

An reg. The Duke of *Torke* was out of the class. Crowned Land.

* *Rob* *Fab*.

The maine in the Duke of *Torke*.

foregoe of *Henries* 1st.

Chron, *11*.

Earle of *Cambridge*, the sonne of *Edmund* Duke of *Torke*, fifth sonne to King *Edward* the third, which Earle of *Cambridge* had *Richard* commonly (saith the Booke), called Duke of *Torke*.

(86) *John* of *Gaunt* the fourth son and younger brother to *Lionel*, had issue *Henry*, who immediately after King *Richards* resignation, unwrightously (saith the Booke) entred vpon the same, for that *Edmund* Earle of *March*, sonne of *Roger* Earle of *March*, and of *Philip* daughter and heire of the before said *Lionel* Duke of *Clarence*, elder brother to *John* Duke of *Lancaster* was then aliue, and that aswell the said *Henry*, eldest son to *John* Duke of *Lancaster*, as his descendents haue hitherto holden the Crowne of *England*, &c. vniuersally, for that himselfe the said *Richard* Plantagenet Duke of *Torke* was the lawfull heire, being the sonne of *Richard* Plantagenet Earle of *Cambridge*, and of *Anne* before said.

(87) This was the effect of the Duke of *Torke* title, which for the points of the Pedegree was very true, though in barre thereof the friends of King *Henry* (without denying any part of the premises, being all of them more euident then that they could be honestly denied) had not a little to say for him: for they could among other things alledge, that *Richard* the second resigned vpon his Crowne and Regality at large; and that none else making claime but *Henry* Duke of *Lancaster*, hee was thereunto by the consent of all the three Estates admitted; that *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge* was for high Treason attainted and executed, and his issue made incapable of any inheritance, that this *Richard* his sonne now challenging the Crowne of *England*, being restored by the mere clemency and goodnesse of this King *Henry* the sixth, had voluntarily acknowledged him for his lawfull Soueraigne, and sworne the same, and that the said *Richard* was finally for treason attainted, and adiudged vniuersally: they could hereunto haue added sundry Acts of Parliament, made to establish the right of the *Lancasterian* line, the succession of three Kings, all *Henries*, that is to say, the fourth, fifth and sixth, the politticke aduersities of the first of those Kings, the noble victories of the second, and the holy life of the third; which three Kings liues contained of raigne about threescore yeeres, in which number this was the nine and thirtieth of King *Henry* the sixth, who was descended of the male line, and the Duke of *Torke* but of a female: of which female line none had euer been in possession of the Crown. Great and weighty points, (if any) and the rather to bee considered, for that King *Henries* person being (in very truth) Prisoner, no act of his to establish *Torke* title could bind in law or conscience, and the lesse, for that hee had a wife, and by her a sonne, who was at liberty, and ready with Armes to free his father, or hazard to destroy the whole *English* name. But they who on *Torke* behalf abstractiuelie disputed these highest questions, knew a rule of law, which saith, *Tura sanguinis nullo iure ciuili dirimi possunt*; and the *Lancasterians* were not without their speculatiue and remote considerations, to countenance the particulars of their cause. Thus we see that in Monarchies (though the noblest forme of Regiment) where lineall succession is the rule of inheritance, there sometimes fall out as great and as indeterminabile difficulties, as where Election designteth the Successor: whereof the *French* tragedies which our Nation made among them, and now these in *England*, are without all exception, the most fearefull instances. For *France* had heretofore her time of affliction, but now (O dearest *England*) it was thine.

(88) While this weighty controuersie was debated, a Crowne which hung for garnishment in the middle of the roofoe, where the *K* knights and Burgesses of the Parliament met to consult, and the crown which for like cause stood vpon the highest Tower of *Douer* Castell, * fell sodainly down, which was vulgarly construed * to portend that the raigne of *K*. *Henry* was at an end, and that the Crown should be transferred from one royall line to another. But the Queene, her sonne Prince *Edward*, and her fast friends in the

North (the seare of their hopes) being nothing discouraged at their late ill fortunes, prepare all the forces they can recouer *K*. *Henry* and the Kingdome, which thing whiles they are pursuing, the conclusion of the Parliament concerning the crown, was, That *Henry* the sixth should raigne, and bee King during his life, the remainder to rest in *Richard* Duke of *Torke*, and the lawfull heires of his body in general taylor, King *Henries* heires to bee excluded. The Duke in the meane time is proclaimed heire apparant, and called Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, Earle of *Chester*, and Protector of *England*. The agreement was engrossed, sealed and sworn vnto. The Queene will haue nothing to doe in this bargain, being too dangerous and preiudicious to her selfe, her husband, and her sonne; and therefore when the King (at the Duke of *Torke* instigation) sent for her to reparaire vnto him, shee relying vpon the Dukes of *Sommerfet* and *Excester*, and other the Kings friends, utterly refuseth: *Henry* continueth king. The Armes therefore, which shee took for his deliuerance, haue the more iustice. The Duke of *Torke* missing the prey hee expected, leaues the king with the Duke of *Norfolke*, and the Earle of *Warwicke* at *London*; himselfe with the Earles of *Salisbury* and *Rutland*, and certaine forces, * fetherth forward to *Wakefield* to pursue the Queene and her sonne, sending direction to the Earle of *March* that hee should follow with all his power. The Castell of *Sandall* (handeth pleasantly vpon a small hill, in view of the faire town of *Wakefield*; there the Duke of *Torke* (comming thither vpon Christmas Eue) repositeth himselfe, and expecteth the increafe of his numbers. The Queene aduertised, thinks it widome to fight before the Duke grow too strong; and thereupon marcheth forward, hauing an Army of eightene thousand men, led by the Dukes of *Sommerfet* and *Excester*, the Earles of * *Deuonshire* and * *Wiltshire*, the Lords *Newill*, *Clifford*, *Rosse*, and in effect all the Northerne Nobility. The host (or so much thereof as they thought necessary to shew) presents it selfe before *Sandall*, to prouoke and dare the Duke to battell. His blood impatient of these braues, & ignorant perhaps that the enemy had so great a multitude, will needes fight, though the Earle of *Salisbury*, and *Sir Daud Hall* (an ancient seruant of his, and a great souldier) gaue him aduise to stay, till his sonne (the Earle of *March*) approached with such Westmen and Marchers, as hee had in great numbers assembled. But God would forbear him no longer, but like a seuerer Master meanes to take a present account: at which hee found whether all the kingdomes of the earth are worth the least sinne, much lesse a wilfull periurie.

(89) The Queene therefore addeth stratageme, and wit to her force, to the intent hee might not escape her hands; whereupon the Earle of *Wiltshire* vpon one side of the hill, and the Lord *Clifford* vpon the other, lie in ambush to thrust between him and the Castell; the Dukes of *Sommerfet* and *Excester*, stand embattelled in the open field. Their pollicy had the wished successe; for the Duke being not fully five thousand strong, issieth out of the Castle downe the hill. The battels which stood in front, ioyned furiously, when sodainly the Duke of *Torke* sees himselfe inclosed, and although hee expressed great manhood, yet within one halfe houre, his whole Armie was discomfited, himselfe and diuers his deare friends beaten downe and slaine. There lay dead about him the Lord *Harington*, *Sir Thomas Newill* (sonne to the Earle of *Salisbury*, *Sir Daud Hall*, with sundry Knights and others about two thousand, & two hundred; among which were the heires of many *Southern* gentlemen of great account, whose * blood was shortly after reuenged. Let vs not linger vpon the particular accidents of this battell, but consider what it wrought for King *Henries* aduancement; yet these few things are not to bee vnremembered. The Earle of *Rutland* (a younger sonne to the

Henry to bee king for terme of life, and the Duke of *Torke* after his death.

* *Minse* *Decem*. The Duke of *Torke* pursueth the Queene in the North.

* *Stowes* *Annal*. * *Graft* *Chron*.

The Queenes Army comes to *Wakefield*.

They ouerthrow the Duke of *Torke* and kill him.

* *Graft* *Chron*.

* Graft. Chron.

* Graftons Chron.

* Stowes Annals.

A.D. 1461.

A. reg. 39.
The Earle of
March pursues
his fathers de-
signes.

* Phil. Comin.

The battell at
Mortimers Crosse
where Edwards
was victorious.* Graft. Chron.
Stowes Annals.

the Duke of *York* being about twelue yeeres old, was also slaine by the Lord *Clifford*, (who ouertooke him flying) in part of reuenge for that the * Earles father had slaine his. A deed which worthily blemished the Author; but who can promise any thing temperate of himselfe in the heat of martiall furie? chiefly, where it was resolved, *not to leaue anie branch of Yorke line standing*, for so doth *one make the Lord *Clifford* to speake.

(90) That mercilesse proposition was common (as the euent will shew) to either faction. The Duke of *Yorke* head, crowned with paper, is presented to the Queene. Cruell ioy is seldome fortunate. *Cesar* wept ouer *Pompeis* head, but the Queene (ignorant how manifold causes of teares were reserved for her owne share) makes her selfe merrie with that gaskly and bloody spectacle. The Earle of *Salisbury*, after wounds received, being in this battell taken prisoner, is conueighed to *Ponfract Castle*, from whence the common people (who loued him not) *violently haled him, and cut off his head; which perhaps was not done without the good liking of others. The Dukes head, together with his, were fixed on poles, and set vpon a gate of *Yorke*, and with them (if *Grafton* say true) the heades of all the other prisoners which had bene conducted to *Pomfret*.

(91) This battell (called of *Wakefield*) was fought vpon the last day of *December*; of whose weathers complexion if their courages had participated, mischief might haue made her stop here, which now is in her swiftest course.

(92) For the Earle of *March*, sonne, and heire to this late valiant Duke of *Yorke*, hearing of this tragicall aduenture, giues not ouer: but, hauing gathered an armie of about twenty thousand to march against the Queene, he findes employment neerer hand: being certified, that *Jasper Theder* Earle of *Pembrooke* (halfe brother to King *Henrie*) and *James Butler* Earle of *Ormond* and *Wiltshire*, had with them a great force of *Welsh* and *Irish* to take him. The youthfull and valiant Earle of *March*, whose amiable preface and carriage made him gracious with the people, (and the rather for that he had the generall good word of *women,) means to try his fortune against the laid Earles. He sodeinly therefore turnes backe from *Shrewsbury*, and at a place called *Mortimers Crosse* neere *London*, where the enemy abode, he sets vpon them; it was *Candelmas* day in the morning, at which time there appeared (as some write) three Sunnes, which sodeinly ioined in one. This luckie prognosticon, and ominous Meteor exceedingly fired the Earle of *March*, and was (some say) the reason, why he vied for his Badge, or roiall deuise, the *Sunne in his full brightnesse*. The Battels maintaine their fight with great furie; but, in the end, the Earle of *March* obtaines the victorie, killing of his enemies three thousand, and eight hundred men; the Earles slued themselves by flight. The sonne of honour and fortune did thus begin to shine through Clouds of blood and miserie, vpon *Edward*, whome shortly we are to behold King of *England*. There were taken * *Sir Owen Theder* (father to *Jasper* Earle of *Pembrooke*), who was beheaded by *Edwards* commandement, as also *Sir Iohn Skudamor* knight with his two sonnes, and other.

(93) The Queene on the other side (hauing ordered her affaires in the North, settled the estate thereof, and refreshed her people,) within a while after drawes neere with her Northern armie to *S. Albans*. There came before them an euill fame of their behaviour to *London*, whose wealth lookt pale knowing it selfe in danger; for the Northern armie, (in which were *Scots*, *Welsh*, and *Irish* as well as *English*;) made bold by the way with what they liked, making small distinction of sacred or prophane, after they were once past the riuer of *Trent*, Captaine *Andrew Trollop* being their Coronell. King *Henry* himselfe in person, with the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the

Earles of *Warwicke* and *Arundel*, the Lord *Bonville*, & other, with a great puissance encamped at *S. Albans*, to giue the Queene battell, and stop her farther passage toward *London*. But the Lords of her faction being ready to attempt on her behalfe, assaile the Kings forces within the Town, and after some sharpe affronts, break through, and driue their aduersaries out with much bloodshed, till they fell vpon a squadron or battalion of the Kings, wherein there were about foure or fise thousand men, which made good their ground for a while with great courage, but in the end the Queenes side clearly wanne the day. There perished in this conflict about two thousand.

This hapned vpon *Shroue-tuesday*, the seuenteenth of *February*. The King, Queene and Prince meet ioifully, where he knights his sonne, (being eight yeeres old,) and thirtie others. The Lord *Bonville* and *Sir Thomas * Kiriell* of *Kent* being taken in the fight, were beheaded, but all the other great men escape. The common people of *London* doe notwithstanding stand wholly for the beautifull Earle of *March*, and stand the more confidentlie, because they had sure intelligence, that he had vanquished the Earle of *Pembrooke* in the *Marches* of *Wales*, and that the Earle of *Warwicke*, escaping from *S. Albans*, had met with the Earle of *March* neere *Costwold*, and that both with ioint forces were marching toward *London*. These newes made the King and Queene retire into the North, and leaue that Citie and the Southern Countreys to their Enemy, till they might recouer a fairer opportunitie or more sufficiencies. *Edward* vpon notice of the Kings departure, entred *London*, and giues period to *Henries* reigne, which is accounted to take end after he had successfully ruled this Land the space of thirtie eight yeeres, sixe moneths, and foure daies.

His Wife.

(94) *Margaret* the wife of King *Henrie*, was the daughter of *Reyner* King of *Ierusalem*, *Sicilie*, and *Aragon*, Duke of *Andegavia*, *Lorraine*, *Barre*, and *Calabria*, Earle of *Prouince*, *Cenomania*, and *Gnize*. Shee by proxie was espoused vnto King *Henrie*, at the Citie *Touaine* in the Church of *Saint Martin*; *William de-la-Poole* being Procurator to the king in the presence of the French king and his Queen, which king was vnkle to the Brides Father, and the Queene Aunt vnto her mother. Shee with great pompe was conueyed to *South-hampton*, and thence to the *Abbey of Tichfield*, where the yeere of grace 1445. and twentietwo of *Aprill*, shee was solemnly married to king *Henry*; and honorably attended by the greatest Estates of the Land, was crowned at *Westminster* the thirtieth of *May* following. Shee was exceedingly beautified in face, and of goodly feature, of a great wit and deepe pollicie, but of stomacke faire aboue her sexe, as in the managing of those troublesome times did too well appeare. Shee was his wife twentie sixe yeeres, and twentie nine daies: and (after her husbands depulsion from his regall throne) her forces being vanquished at the battell of *Tewkesburie*, in a poore religious house, whether shee had fled for the safetie of her life, was taken prisoner, and so carried Captiue to *London*, where shee remained in durance, till Duke *Reiner* her father did purchase her liberty with great summes of money, vnto whom shee returned, and lastly died in her natie Countrie.

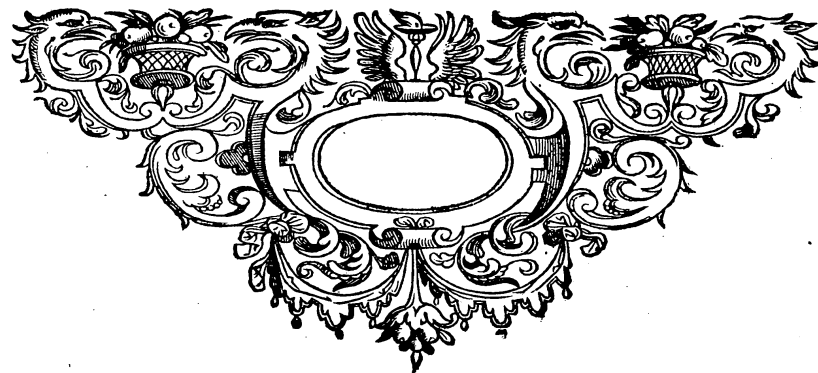
His Issue.

(95) *Edward* the only Child of king *Henrie* and Queene *Margaret* his wife was borne at *Westminster* the thirteenth day of *October*, the yeere of *Christ* 1453. and the 31. of his fathers Raigne, and the next yeere following vpon the fiftenth of *March*, by authoritie of Parliament, was created Prince

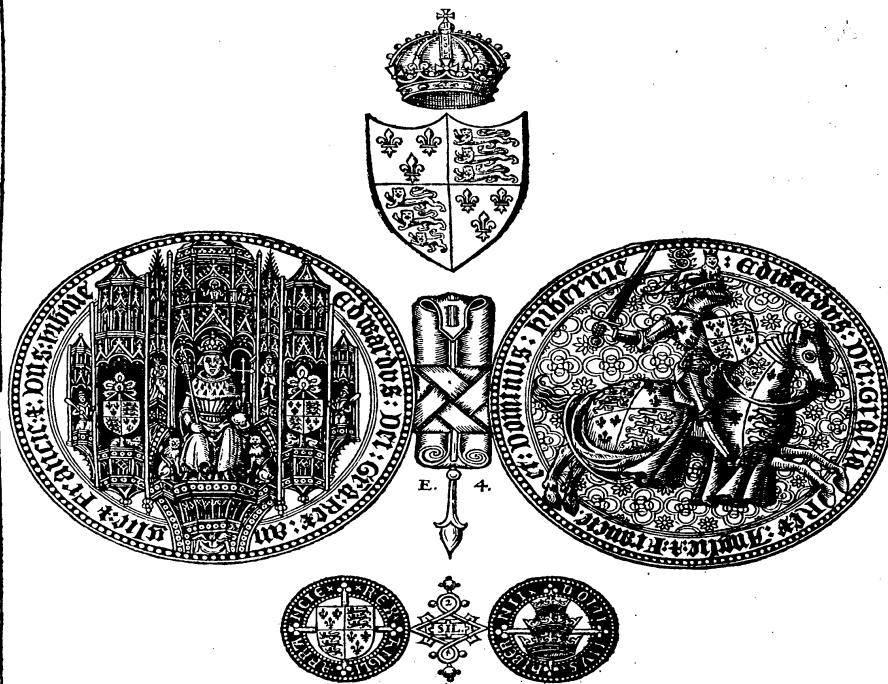
Prince of *Wales* & Earle of *Chester*. For the title of Duke of *Cornwall* (as it is noted by warrant of record) is reputed vnto the Kings eldest sonne, the very day of his natiuitie, and by vertue of a speciall Act is presumed and taken to be of full and perfect age, so as he may sue that day for his liuerie of the said Dukedome, and ought by right to obtaine the same; hauing his roialties in the Scannary, wrackes at Sea, Customs &c: the first Duke thereof was *Edward* commonlie called the *Blacke Prince*, whome his Father, King *Edward* the third created in great Estate Duke of *Cornwall* by a wreath on his head, a ring on his finger and a siluer verge. He proued a Prince of great hope and forwardnes, being skilfull in martiall knowledge, matters of gouernment, and Lawes of the Realme. At the age of seuentene, the better to

bandie against his Fathers Competitor, King *Edward*, (the Maul of the Lancastrians claime) affianced in *France*, *Anne* the second daughter of *Richard the Make-king*, Earle of *Warwicke*, whose other daughter was married to *George Duke of Clarence*. This Prince when the day was lost at *Tewkesburie*, fought to escape thence by flight, but being taken, was brought into the presence of king *Edward*, whose resolute answers enraged the Conqueror so much, as he dashed him (an vnprinclie party) on the mouth with his gauntlet, and *Richard* the crooke backe ranne him into the heart with his dagger. His body was buried without all solemnity among the poore and meane persons slaine, in the Monasticall Church of the blacke Friars in *Tewkesburie*. Anno Domini 1471.

EDWARD



EDWARD THE FOVRTH. FIRST KING OF THE HOVSE OF YORKE, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE FOVRTH MO- NARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSVE.



CHAPTER XVII.



Edward Duke of
York and Rich-
ard Earl of War-
wick come unto
London.

Edward, borne at Roan in Normandy, and bearing the title of *March* in England, having wonne the battell at *Mortimers* Crosse (though the *Lords* his Confederates had lost that of *Saint Albans*) from *Ludlow* halted towards London, & on his way was seconded by *Richard Neull*, the stout Earle of *Warwick*, to the great encrease of his number and power, which so terrified Queene *Margaret*, now ready to possesse the South, that with her husband and sonne, in a perplexed feare, she returned againe into the North; vpon which aduantage *Edward* now Duke of *Yorke*, presently played. For *London* vnresolved whether Prince to obey (the one very powerfull, and the other in possession) dayly

consulted for their safest estate; when on the sudden *Edward* with *Warwick* entred their gates, whose warlike viages so daunted the aduersely affected, that they beganne with the first to make him way to the throne, & the Noblemen likewise made him offers of their seruice, to establish his claime, neither were the Clergy to learne the obseruance of time, or to sway with the man vpon whom the world smiled. All these set in Counsell to confer of the state, Duke *Edward* made knowne his title to the Crowne, and in well set termes declared, how the body of the whole Parliament formerly had thereunto consented, and *Henry* himselfe subscribed with his owne hand; whose title, though now carried through three descents; yet what right *Lancaster* had they all knew, and how insufficient this last man was for rule, *France* to their dishonour did witnesse, where all was lost through his neglect, whose simplicity euer minded more his priuate

The City of
London
vnto which
part to yee

Prince
Edward
the
right
to the
Crowne.

uate deuotions, then the potent managing of a Souldiers command.

(2) These things urged (and most of them true) their voices went current, that *Edward* was the vn doubted King, whereunto the *Londons* the sooner yielded, for that his dreaded Northerne Army was then encamped in *Saint Johns* field: neither was any reueration made (as before) of *Henries* naturall life, but hee is now absolutely neglected as vnworthy of his Crowne, how acceptable seuer he had reigned till then, whose following miseries were not so much lamented, as his constant patience was admired in vndergoing the same. *Edward* thus mounted, before his foot had well touched the first steppe, was vpon Sunday the second of *March*, among his Northerne Souldiers proclaimed King; *William* *L. Fauconbridge* Earle of *Kent* declaring his claime, and disabling *K. Henry* of *Stile* or *Gouernement*, whose weak head (as hee alleaged) had ouer long blemished the English Crowne.

(3) Vpon the next day, with all pompe hee was conueied to *Westminster*, and set vpon the Kings seat in the Hall, where holding the scepter of *Saint Edward* in his hand, the voice of the people was againe demanded, and againe granted; such was the hap of vnfortunate *Henry*, and condition of the multitude euer to dislike the present, and to affect the new: but no interim left to disswade or attempt, the next day his stile and title was againe proclaimed by the name of *King Edward the fourth*, being the fourth of *March* and "about the 20. yeere of his age."

(4) These sodain alterations made the richer sort somewhat fearefull, especially, those whose heart stood firm for *K. Henry*, (who was now in the North new mustering of men) and among those, *London* afforded many, as *King Edwards* zealous suspected, whereof one *Walker* a substantiall Citizen and Grocer was a sufficient prooffe, who for wordes spoken concerning his owne sonne, that hee would make him heire of the Crowne (meaning his houle hauing that Signe) was the eighth day of this Kings raigne apprehended, and beheaded in *Smithfield*. And albeit his words intended no treason, (the Grocer not once dreaming to touch *King Edwards* title) yet the time being when the Crowne lay at stake, the terture of the Law made them his death. This rough beginning moued many to doubt, that they had wronged themselves in wronging *King Henry*, which opinion was more confirmed in that hee retained "a great summe of money borrowed of the Staplers-Merchants, and disbursed in his affaires, whose restitution he vtterly denied with an austere commandement to surceale the demand. But hearing how *Henry* was beloued in the North, & what followers were gathered to recover him the Crowne, vpon the twelfth of *March* with a complete Armie hee sets forth of *London*, accompanied with his brethren, and many other Nobles: with whome marching towards *Pomfret*, he there appoints the Lord *Fitzwater* to keepe the passage of *Ferribrig*, omitting no directions of a worthy commander.

(5) *King Henry* for his part though nothing so warlike, yet thought it best policy to imploy such leaders as desired reuenge against the house of *Yorke*; such were the Duke of *Sommerfet*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, and the Lord *Clifford*, whose fathers had been slaine in the first battell of *S. Albans*, which last, though in degree the least man, yet sought to raise his fame with the first, and therefore to leaue no attempt vnassayed, hee so sodainly charged vpon the Troupe appointed for *Ferribrig*, that the Lord *Fitzwater* vnarmed (only with a pollax in his hand) came hastily to the Brigg, thinking a fray had been among his owne Souldiers, where, with the Bastard of *Salisbury*, hee and many of his men were slaine by the enemy.

(6) The brute of which gust blowne into stout *Warwicks* eare, hee mounted his Courser, and posling to *Edward*, puffing, blowing, and almost out

of breath, said, *Sir I pray God haue mercy on their soules which in the beginning of your enterprize haue lost their liues: I see no succour in the world, but in God, to whom I remit the vengeance.* And so alighting, forthwith slew his horse with his sword saying, *Let him flie that flie will, I will tarry with him that will tarry with me:* which hee confirmed by kissing the crosse of his sword, the vsuall complement of countenances made by martiall men. The valiant Lord *Fauconbridge* fearing lest this beginning would giue an edge to the sequell, got ouer the riuer at *Casleford*, three miles from the bridge, meaning to inclose the takers vpon their backs, which *Clifford* perceiuing, sought to auoide, and whether for halte, heate, or paine, put off the gorget he wore, when sodainly an arrow without an head, shot from the Bow of some laide in ambush, pierced through his throat, and stucke in his necke, which for a period vnto his life.

(7) The next day more fatal for *Englands* blood, was celebrated with speares in stead of palmes, vually borne on "that Saboth of Lent", in whose dawning the Lord *Fauconbridge*, who commanded the forward (the Duke of *Norfolke* being sicke) tooke the field on a plaine, betwixt the townes of *Tipton* and *Saxton*, where *King Edward* ioyning his whole forces (being forty eight thousand, and six hundred sixty persons, as *King Henries* were also threescore thousand) caused proclamation to bee made, that hee who feared to fight, might forthwith depart, but if any Souldier abiding, should seeke to flie or turn backe, hee should bee slaine by his next fellow, and the slayer to receive a great reward, besides the stipend of a double pay.

(8) Both Armies ready to ioyne, a small fleet of snow hapned to fall, which with the wind was carried into the face of the *Lancastrian* host, whereby their sight was much impeached, which aduantage *Fauconbridge* soone espying, forthwith commanded his Archers to shoot each man a flight, and then to stand without further proffer. The Northern men feeling the arrows, but not seeing the Archers, made haste to acquite them with the like, and shot their whole sheues of arrowes without intermission, but short of the marke by threescore yards at the least, which storme being past, and all their store spent, the worthy *Fauconbridge* aduanced forward, and within reach of his Archers sore galled the enemy, making a double aduantage of what they had done: for their owne quiers being full, when the others were empty, they gathered vp & shot theirs, against their owne shooters, yet left some of them sticking to gall the legges of their pursuers: by which onely stratagem, as was constantly auerred, the bartell and day was lost and wonne.

(9) The fight was bloody and continued tenne howres, for all being English, acquit themselves English-like, no taking of prisoners, nor looking for ransom, but all to retaine, and to get honour that day; wherein died the Lords *Beaumont*, *Neuill*, *Willoughby*, *Wells*, *Seales*, *Gray*, *Dacres*, *Fitzburgh*, *Berkingham*, and *Clifford*, (who died the day before) the two bastards of *Essex*, Knights, Esquiers & Gentlemen a great number, and in all (on both parts) thirty five thousand ninety and one; so that not onely the field lay stained with English blood, but the riuers ran red for a great distance, so markable is this battell of *Englands* ciuill wars.

(10) *Henry*, who neuer was victor wherefoeuer hee came, hearing this losse which seemed irreparable, with his Queene and sonne halted into *Scotland*, where, of *James* the young King hee was royally entertained, with comfort of assistance to recover his estate, in regard whereof hee surrendered the strong town *Barwick* into the Scots hand, and concluded a marriage betwixt Prince *Edward* his sonne, and Lady *Margaret* the sister of the said King. These things thus effected, milde *Henry* conceiued some new budding hopes, and Queen *Margaret* his wife, L 1111 (indeed

Earle *Warwick* approach and speech to King *Edward*.

The L. *Clifford* slaine with an headlesse arrow.

A D. 1461.
Difference of
Authors hath
here bred some
confusion of
yeeres.
" Match 29.

K. *Edwards*
proclamation
much forwarded
his seruice.

The bartell as
Tipton.

A politicke pra-
ctise in warre.

Palme Sundayes
bloody battell.

K. *Henry* with his
Queene & sonne
flee into *Scotland*
John *Lilly*.

Lady *Margaret*
of *Scotland* pro-
mised in marriage
vnto Prince
Edward.

Queene Margaret
past into
France.

A.D. 1461.
King Edward
crowned.

King Henry and
Prince Edward
disherited by
Parliament.

A.D. 1462.
Queene Margaret
returned into
Scotland.

Bastard Ogle
concometh
the French.

An.D. 1463.

Queene Margaret
entrench North
umberland in
hostile manner.

King Edward
cometh to
York.

The skirmish
upon Hegly
More.

The slaying of
Sir Ralph Percy
at his death.

Montacute vi-
Gory at Hexham.

May. 15.

Lords taken and
beheaded.

The disgrading
of Sir Ralph
Gray.

To Stow.
King Henry put
to flight.

indeed the better warrior) passed thence into France, where, of King Lewis and her father Reiner she obtained more men, then her coffers were able to relieve with pay; the bane of all courage in adventures of warre.

(11) Victorious Edward, after those his prosperous successes in the North, in triumph returned to London, and the eight & twentieth of June with great solemnity was Crowned at Westminster, where in St. Peters Church, the next day it was againe most solemnly feir on his head, and the third day so Crowned he came to Saint Pauls in London, and therein was censured with great applause of the People. In November following a Parliament began, wherein King Henrie, Queene Margaret, and Prince Edward their sonne, were disherited of their right to the Crowne; the Dukes of Excester and Sommerfet, and the Earle of Devonshire, with an hundred and forty more, were attainted also and disherited; so fortune dallieth in setting the dice of her favours, or frownes.

(12) Queene Margaret stored with men, but in want of money, with her French powers made into Scotland; whose coming was most welcome to the two Kings there, and thence, with great shew of enterprize, hoisted her sailes for England, but having touched the bay of Tynmouth (whether vpon better aduise, or feared with their owne shadowes,) shee with her French put backe to the Sea, where such a fore tempest tooke them, as had not Queene Margaret in a small Caruell got vnto Barwicke, shee had not liued to see the new King, nor scene the vnfortunate losse of her husband, her son, and Realme, nor the miserable calamities of her owne old age; her French by Bastard Ogle were beate into Holy land, many slaine, and foure hundred of them put to their ranlomes.

(13) This fainting French enterprize, though it dulled the edge of some spirits, yet did it nothing daunt the courage of the Queene, her better hopes being fixed vpon the Scots valour; so, (leaving Prince Edward for safetie in Barwicke,) with her husband and Scots shee entered Northumberland, tooke the Castle of Bamburgh, and so passed forward vnto the Bishopricke, their forces daily increasing through the confluence of such English, as fauoured King Henrie.

(14) King Edward hearing these stirres in the North, made his preparation both by Sea and Land, and with his brethren and Nobles came to Yorke, from whence he sent John Neuill Lord Montacute, with a power of men, as somewhat mistrusting the loialties of the Northumbrians, who passing forward, vpon Hegly-More was suddenly encountered by the Lords Hungerford and Roos, with whom was Sir Ralph Percy, a most valiant Knight; but Montacute, accompanied with such as would neither looke backe, nor stand gazing on, abode the encounter, and at the first push put backe two Lords, and finally slew the said Percy, who no waies would depart out of my field; but in dying fayd, I haue slaine the bird in the besse, meaning his oath made to King Henrie.

(15) Lord Montacute sunne thus mounting in the Horizon, cast forth the rayes of his rising fame, which as he well hoped would higher attend. And therefore learning by cipials, that Henries host lay incamped vpon a plaine called Liuels, neere vnto Hexham by the Water Dowill, he halted thither, and so valiantly assaulted their Camp, as after great slaughter, in chafe were taken Lord Henrie Duke of Sommerfet, the Lords Roos, Mollins, and Hungerford, all which were beheaded, and Sir Ralph Gray who first solemnly disgraded, his guilt spurs cut from his heeles, by the Master Cooke, his sword broken ouer his head, his Coate armour rent, another reuerfed put on by the King at Armes, was so led to his execution. King Henrie himselfe got away (as Stow saith) into Lancashire, where, with some few he liued full hardly in Caues, and vnknewne, more then a yeere, but

(saith Grafton) hee fled into Scotland which is more like.

(16) Edward thus cleared of the Cloud threatening storme, thought best ere others did light, to provide for himselfe, and therefore hee raised Bulwarks, built new Fortresses in places of danger, put forth his cipials vpon the Marches of Scotland, and commanded that none should keepe Henrie or Margaret in secret, whose sight, hee feared, would draw the affections of many, which otherwise stood in case of obedience. But ouer-borne Henrie (whether past all feare, or informed by delitie) in disguised apparell past into England, where he was soone apprehended by one Cantelow; but Stow saith by Thomas Talbot in Cletherwood besides Bangerley Hippingstones in Lancashire, being betrayed in Waddington Hall as he sat at dinner, and thence brought to London with his legs bound to the stirrups, arrested by Warwicke, his guilt spurs taken off, and committed Prisoner to the Tower of London.

(17) The Lyon thus pent, his pawes cut of pared, and Queene Margaret in France with her father Reiner; King Edward now quiet set his minde vpon Government for the good of his Realme. In his Court of Kings Bench he vied to sit in person certaine daies together, to see how his lawes proceeded with Iustice; ordained penall Statutes against excessive pride in Apparell, especially against long picked shooes then vually worne, which grew to such an extreme, that the pikes in the Toes were turned vward, and with siluer chaines, or silke laces tied to the knee. But among many good prouisions, one proued very bad, as the sequel shewes; for concluding a league with King Henrie of Castile, and John King of Aragon, he granted a licence to transport certaine numbers of Cotswold Sheepe, which are since growne to such an exceeding increase, as the Clothes made of their woolles is a great hindrance to our Marchants, which aduerture in the Leuant Seas.

(18) His next care was to finde a fit Queene, both for the hope of issue to succeed, and for alliance and power to assist (if need were) against Henries claim. First therefore minding to send into Scotland, to desire in marriage the Ladie Margaret, (sister to king James the third) thereby to frustrate Henries further hope; was made to belieue that the said Ladie was, by reason of sicknesse, not capable of conception, which altogether declined his affection from that way. Next, as some say, a motion was made for Lady Elizabeth sister and heire apparant vnto Henrie king of Castile, as a match most conuenient, considering king Edward had thereunto a Claim, whose great Grandmother was one of the heires of Castile, being the daughter of Don Peter the king, besides which high match, and combination of Alliances, a hope was conceiued that the Dutchie of Guien and Aquitaine, might be recovered by the assistance of these Castilians, without great charge or trauell to the English. But the tender spring of the one, and the lusty growth of the other, would not be grafted into one stocke to beare fruit, shee little aboue fixe, and he about twenty three, farre vnfit to abtaine till shee could giue him content.

(19) A third Princeesse was assaid, against whom could be no exceptions, for birth, beaultie, yeeres, or alliance, which was Lady Bona, daughter of Lewis Duke of Sauoy, and sister to Charles the French Queene, at that time residing in the French Court. This double string was thought most fit for king Edwards bow; for the Duke more remote, might strengthen him abroad, and the French neerer home would be made a good neighbour, having the night-bird still singing in his care: especially to cast a rubbe in king Henries way, whose hopes lay most vpon Lewis, for that Reiner of Aniou, stilling himselfe king of Naples, Sicilland Ierusalem, had more honour by that verball stile, then rents or reuenues to maintaine his estate, or any subiection acknowledged by them; so as if king Lewis were Edwards, Aniou was not to be feared.

King Edward
care and peace
our.

King Henrie
guilt cometh
into England
is apprehended.

King Henrie
ly vied, and
cometh
Prisoner to
Tower.

King Henrie
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Tower.

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King Henrie
ly vied, and
cometh
Prisoner to
Tower.

feared. This match being most approued in council, none was held more fit to sollicit the businesse, then Lord Richard Neuill the great Earle of Warwick, a man esteemed for power a Demy-King, and for magnificence and hospitality matchlesse: in whose house at London (as some haue verified) sixe oxen were spent every day, and most Tavernes in the City full of his meat.

(20) Warwicke in great state arrived at Tower, & his message knowne, was accordingly entertained in the French Court, where he wrought the Queen her selfe to be the chiefest Agent; who drew on her sister Bona, with recommending the state and stile of a magnificent Queene (a found very tunable in a Ladies eare,) and her husband Lewis, with assurance of a potent and wife Allie, a pleasing theme to soft natured Princes, as the French King was. And indeed to all these vnderooke all good contentments; so as on that tide all things were cleare, and Warwicke dismissed with Courly French complements; the Earle Damp-martin was to passe into England for the final confirmation.

(21) But whilest Warwicke had beene industriously wooing in France, King Edwards affection in England was working another way; for being on hunting in the Forrest of Wychemode beside Stony-Stratford, hee there found other game, that made game in his eye, which was the Ladie Elizabeth Gray attending the Dutchesse of Bedford her mother, who then sojourned at his Mannour of Grafton, whither hee repaired for his recreation. Shee had beene attendant vpon Queene Margaret the wife of King Henry the sixth, and had beene married vnto John Gray Esquier, knighted, and slaine at the battell of S. Albans vpon King Henries part, who now was a suiter vnto the King, for something taken away in the extremity of that time, to be restored towards the maintenance of her estate. But howsoeuer her suit pierced his eare, her sweetly composed feature strangely affected his heart; more formally shee was, and lowly in countenance, then either tall or exceedingly faire; yet both sufficient to meete in one person, of an excellent witte, a sober demeanour, a modest looke, a feminine smile, and her speech vttered in such a naturall eloquence as her answers euer set on edge King Edwards desires, which howsoeuer distastfull to the appetite of his wanton bed, (affirming with blushes, that as shee accounted her selfe most vnworthy of the name of his Queene, so shee held her selfe of more worth, & her chaste honour dearer then to be his Concubine) yet held they him in chafe till shee had taken him in the snares of her loue.

(22) Their many meetings and louers complements, made the old Dutchesse of Yorke (the Kings mother) much to suspect it would be a match; to hinder which, with a parents authority shee entred discourse, alleging it honourable, safe, and of much profite to linke with some great Prince in forraigne lands, both for the increase of possessions abroad, and (as the case stood) to be assisted at home: that Warwicke had gone so farre in his suite in France, as if in himselfe now were the stay, the feared their displeasures would not be staid. To marry his Subiect shee held it vnprincely, especially one without reuenues, alliance, or riches, no other thing mouing, but a wanton doteage on the person; and although that in Lady Elizabeth nothing was to be misliked, yet was there nothing so excellent, but the same was incorporated in farre greater Ladies, more meet as shee thought of a Queenslie estate. A virgin (quoth she) is most fitte for a sacred Prince his wife, whose head is annointed with holy Oyle, and whose Maiesty is outwardly more sublimethen the Leuiticall Priests: yet were they forbidden to make widowes their wiues, lest the holy callings should bee defiled with the staine of Bigamie.

(23) When his Mother had said, and expected his answer, the King who had taken counsell of his

owne desires, and knew himselfe to bee out of his mothers rule, partly in earnest, and partly in pleasure, made her this reply: That marriage being a spiritual type, ought rather to be conioyned where God had framed the parties to content (as this of his was) then in regard of any temporall respect whatsoever. That his choice was pleasing to himselfe, and would be to his subiects he certainly knew, whose amity before all other Nations hee most preferred and desired; neither could hee giue them better occasion of loue then in this, that being their Soueraigne, hee disdained not to marry into their Tribes; and so likewise for his Issue, there could not any Prince be better beloued then he that was their naturall Prince, so borne of both parents. That if forraigne alliances were so needfull, hee had many of his kin, to contract them, and that with content of all parties; but for himselfe, to marry for possessions, or to please others with displeasing his own affections, hee saw it so widome, hauing already sufficient of the one; and the other offended, euen sweet pleasure would seeme sowre pills; especially, the choice that is made by another mans eye. That there are many comparable to her, said hee, I make no question, and am the more glad, let them haue them that like them, I will not repine, neither I hope will any abridgement of that which I allow vnto others: the Prouerbe is (Mother) that marriage goes by Desirings, but to be wiued against a mans own liking is an earthly Purgatory. And therefore my Cousen Warwicke I am sure, neither loueth me so little, to grudge at that loue, nor is so vnreasonable to looke that I should in choise of a wife, rather be ruled by his eye, then by mine owne: as though I were a Ward, that were bound to marry by the appointment of a Gardian: I would not bee a King with that condition, to forbear mine owne libertie, in choise of mine owne marriage. As for possibility of more inheritance by new affinity in forraigne land, it proues oftner the occasion of more trouble then profite; and wee haue already title by that meanes, to so much as sufficeth to get, and keep well in one mans dayes. That she is a widow, and hath already children, by Gods blessed Lady I am a Beghelour, yet haue some too, and so each of vs hath a prooffe, that neither of vs is like to bee barren. And therefore (Madam) I pray you bee content, I trust in God, shee shall bring a young Prince that shall play on your lappe to your great pleasure, and your selfe shall blesse the wombe that bare such a babe: and as for your obiection of Bigamie, let the Bishop hardly lay it in my way, when I come to take Orders; for I vnderstand it is forbidden a Priest, but I neuer wist, that it was forbidden a Prince.

(24) The Dutchesse seeing the King so set on his owne choice, that shee could not pull him backe,ooke it in such disdain, that vnder pretext of her duty to Godward, shee desired to frustrate the match, and rather gaue furtherance that Lady Elizabeth Percy should bee his Queene, whome not long before hee had with wanton dalliances enticed to his bed; for which act, vnder pretence of a contract with her, whose husband hee was before God, (as shee alleged) his mother openly obiected against this intended marriage, in the discharge (forsooth) of her owne conscience, which was the cause of such an obstacle, as either the Bishops durst not, or the Kings proceed to the solemnization of this wedding, till the same were clearely purged, and the truth openly testified: whereupon Dame Elizabeth Lucy was sent for; which Lady albeit shee was by the Kings mother, and others to auerre the same, yet when shee was solemnly sworne to speake truth, shee confessed that they were neuer assured indeede, howbeit shee affirmed his Grace spake so louing words vnto her, as shee verily hoped he would haue married her, and that if it had not bene for such kind words, shee would neuer haue shewed such kindnesse vnto him. This point cleared, and no impediment resting, the King

His mothers
desire to cross
his purpose of
marriage.

Lady Lucy indi-
cated to claime
marriage of King
Edward.

K. Edward married Lady Elizabeth Grey.

The descent and parentage of the Lady Elizabeth Grey.

Queen Elizabeth crowned.

The Queenes kindred highly preferred.

Earle Warwick fore offended against K. Edward.

Temporizing between the King and Earle of Warwick.

Francis Goodwin Catol. of English. Bishops.

John Neill created Marquisse Montacute.

Rich. Grafton. A. D. 1468.

A marriage movced betwixt Earle Charles and Lady Margaret.

Philip. Com. l. 3. cap. 4.

The marriage celebrated.

King tooke to wife this latter beloued Lady Elizabeth Grey, who had been formerly married vnto his enemy, and many times prayed full heartily for his losse, in which God loued her better then to grant her her boone, reseruing greater honour for her selfe and her posterity.

(25) She was honourably descended, especially by the furer side, whose mother was *Jacquelin* daughter to *Peter of Luxemburg*, Earle of *S. Paul*, and Dutcheffe to *John Duke of Bedford* Regent of *France*; after whose death the married Sir *Richard Woodville* knight, and among others bare vnto him this *Elizabeth*, *Englands* faire Queene, who being priuately married at the Manour of *Grafton*, was afterwards crowned Queen at *Westminster* with all due celebrations, vpon the fixe and twentieth of *May*, Anno, 1465. Her father then by this new made sonne in law, and Soueraigne Lord, was created *Lord Rivers*, and made high Constable of *England*, her brother *Lord Anthony*, married to the sole heire of the *Lord Seales*, and her sonne *Thomas Grey* borne to her first husband, was created *Marquisse Dorset*, and married to the heire of the *Lord Bonville*.

(26) But when *Warwicke* had knowledge the wanton King had got a new wife, and his courting of *Lady Bona*, to bee but a ball to make *Edwards* play; hee stormed not a little, whose credite hee tooke to be crackt in the French Court, and himselfe rather thought to haue dallyed in this motion, then to deale by commission from his King, for which cause hee conceived so inward an indignation, that his affection was withdrawn from King *Edward*, and thenceforth ranne vpon *Henrie* retained in prison, to which end he temporized with the present king, applauded the Queene, and bare countenance in Court with no discontented shew: The King as wary as *Warwicke* was, cast no eye of dislike, or of any suspition, gaue him countenance in Court, and in familiar conference heard him before others; yet left the stem of his greatnesse should outcrop his crown and his brethren the spreading branches shadow his designs, hee tooke the Chancellorsship from *George Neill*, the one of them, then Bishoppe of *Excester*, afterward Archbishoppe of *Torke*, and from the other *John Neill* Baron *Montacute*, the Earle-dome of *Northumberland*, bestowing the same (at the suite of the Northumbrians, set on by himselfe) vpon *Henry Percy*, whose father was slaine at *Touton*, and himselfe at that present fled into *Scotland* for safety. Whereupon *Montacute* was removed, and to auoid suspition was created *Marquisse*, a greater name, but farre lesse in power. And to haue a stake in store howeuer the dice chanced to turne, hee sought to ioine friendship with forraigne Princes, hauing offended *France* for the refusing of his Queenes sister: so as hee sought, and obtained the amity of *Henry* King of *Castell*, & of *John* King of *Aragon*, and tooke a truce with his neighbour the *Scottish* King for fifteen years following.

(27) But these confederates for the more part too farre to be called for by whistle, fortune beyond expectation set him another euen at his elbow, which was *Philip Duke of Burgundy*, Prince of *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Zealand*, whose only sonne legitimate, (*Charles* Earle of *Charolais* a widower, and without any sonne) hee fought to conioine to King *Edwards* faire sister, not so much for any loue hee bare to the house of *Torke*, himselfe being a *Lancastrian* by his mothers side, as to bandy against *Lewis* King of *France*, whom he had lately ouercome in a battell at *Monleherm*, and as then stood vpon his defence, as hee was sure King *Edward* did. This motion King *Edward* and his Councell well liked, only *Warwicke* with stood it, in fauour of the French: but the Lady *Margaret* lent ouer according to her estate, and *Warwicke* left fuming with a discontented mind, after some complements of mirth with his brethren the Archbishoppe and *Montacute* at his Towne of *Warwicke*, brast forth into warlike consultations

for the deposing of *Edward*, and restoration of *Henry*, whose wrongs (as hee leaded) did crie for right at their hands. The Bishoppe lightly consented to side for King *Henry*, but the *Marquisse* would hardly bee drawne from King *Edward*, which *Warwicke* perceiving, laid his lime twiggcs yet another way.

(28) For being a man of a deepe reach and witte, hee well law that *George Duke of Clarence* the Kings second brother, bare not the best liking to the sway of the times: him therefore hee sought to allure to his fist, which once mand, *Edward* should loose the best Faulcon for his game; him therefore by Probbles hee meant first to proue and according to their digest, purposed to proceed. So falling in familiar conference with *Clarence*, beganne to complaine of some vnkindnes in the King, both in breach of some promises, and staine of his honour in the French Court. The Duke as discontented as *Warwicke*, interrupted his tale before it was told, why my Lord (quoth *Clarence*) doe you looke that a Leopard should haue no spots in his skinn, or a Cameleon no colours, but one, in faith you are decciued, and loofe but your labour to wash the natural Blackmore: for will you haue him kind that is by nature vnkind, and to be respected of him, that respects not his owne blood: or thinke you (a Cosen and Allie) to be raised by him, that seeth (if not seeketh) his owne brethren false. For the heire of the *Lord Seales* (you see) hee hath married to his wifes brother, the heire of the *Lord Bonville* and *Harington* to his, wifes sonne, and affianced the heire of the *Lord Hungerford* to the *Lord Hastings*, marriages indeede more meete for his two brethren and kinne, then for such new fondlings as hee hath bestowed them vpon. But by my *George* I sweare, if my brother of *Gloester* would ioine with mee, wee would make him know that wee are all three one mans sons, and of one and the same mother.

(29) Earle *Warwicke* hauing that which hee greedily sought after, seconded the resolution with his owne assistance, imparting now boldly what confederates he had made, and to ioine more faithfully in this his designe, hee proffered *Clarence* his eldest daughter *Lady Isabel* in marriage, faire and well qualified with the one halfe of his wifes inheritance, the being sole heire vnto *Henry Beauchampe* Earle of *Warwicke* her brother, and nothing inferior to any of those whom *Edward* had bestowed vpon others, which no sooner was spoken, but was as presently embraced, and the plotte conferred how to proceed, which was concluded; forthwith to saile vnto *Calles* (whereof the Earle was Captain, and where the virgine Lady lay) as well to confirme the contract betwixt them, as to be absent whē the commotion should beginne, as the safer from suspition and the surer to strike when the Ball came to hand, to stir which, the Archbishoppe and *Montacute* were appointed for the North.

(30) The occasion pickt to make Malecontents, was the abuse of Charity vnto an hospitall dedicated to Saint *Leonard* in the City of *Torke*, whose renewen flood most vpon come yearly receiued from Farmers in the Country, as an oblation of their first graine. This, the factious made their onely ground vnder a holy pretext (forsooth) that the poore were defrauded, and the Master and Priests onely fed & waxen fat. To redresse which one *Robert Hulderner* entred in action, and with fiftene thousand strong enterprised for *Torke*, in which City the Lord *Marquisse Montacute* was President for King *Edward*, who with a small number, but well chosen, issued off against the enemy, put them backe, and stroke off the head of their Captaine before the gates of *Torke*: but whether hee did it in policie to grow more in trust with the King, or else of duty of oblige, not moulded thoroughly to the commotion, is vnccertain. But certaine it is, the Rebels were nothing daunted at *Hulderner* death, but rather made resolute to

Earle Warwick plotted K. Edwards death.

Warwicke deposed Clarence and the King's brother.

Earle Warwick.

A. D. 1468.

The occasion found for motion.

Robert Hulderner.

Warwicke's death.

to continue what they had begunne.

(31) To which end they choofe them two Chieftaines of greater account, and eminent calling, which were *Henrie* sonne and heire to the Lord *Fitz-hugh*, and *Sir Henrie Neill*, sonne and heire to the Lord *Latimer*, the one of them being Nephew, & the other Cosen-germane vnto the Earle of *Warwicke*, these but young, and not altogether experienced in Armes, choofe for their Tutor *Sir John Conyers* a Knight of such courage, skill and valiantnes, as in the North-parts few were his like: who meaning to strike at the head, determined to march forthwith to *London* proclaiming in his way, that *Edward* was neither a iust Prince vnto God, nor a profitable King vnto the Common-weale.

(32) King *Edward* hearing of these Northern proceedings, and that his brother and *Warwicke* were preparing against him, sent for the Lord *Herbert* whom he had created Earle of *Pembroke*, to be his Generall in the North (who partly to defuere the Kings liberality in advancing him to such honour, and partly in emulation he bare toward *Warwicke*, being the sole oblate (as he tooke it) why he obtained not the wardship of the Lord *Bonville* daughter and heire for his eldest sonne) did not a little reioice of that his imploiment. And therefore accompanied with *Sir Richard Herbert* his brother and eightene thousand well furnished *Welshmen*, marched towards the enemy, and after him was sent *Humfrey Lord Stafford* with fixe thousand Archers to second him in his warres. Their Lords meeting together, had notice by epials that the Northern made forwards towards *Northampton*, to intercept whom, the Lord *Stafford* lately made Earle of *Devonshire* was imploied and *Sir Richard Herbert*, who with two thousand horse laid themselves covertly by the side of a wood, and suddenly fell vpon the rereward, the rest hauing passed: but the Northern verie nimbly turned about; and bad the *Welshmen* sich welcome as few of them returned to tell of their entertainment.

(33) The King vnderstanding of this hard beginning, mustred his subiects on euerie side, intending to cope with the Northern himselfe. And *Earle Warwicke* as forward to forward his fortunes, gathered his friends, with purpose to encounter with *Pembroke* and his *Welsh*. But before any supplies came to either of both; it chanced the Armies to meete at vnawares, vpon a faire plaine called *Danes more* nere to the Towne *Hedgecot*, three miles from *Banburie* and presently fell to a bickering, wherein *Sir Henrie Neill* Knight, sonne of the Lord *Latimer*, vpon a lusty courage, venturing somewhat too farre was taken prisoner, and notwithstanding he yielded himselfe to his Takers, was cruelly slaine, which vn-martiall act rested not long vnrepaid with the losse of most of the *Welsh* the next day. For the field withdrawne the Lord *Stafford* repaired to *Banburie* and there tooke his lodging, where his affections were much enamoured vpon a faire damsell in the Inne. But the Earle of *Pembroke* comming to the same Towne, tooke into the same Inne, and commanded the Lord *Stafford* to provide him elsewhere, contrary to their agreements made before, whereat *Stafford* was displeased, and departing thence with his whole Band, left the Earle naked of men in the Towne, and disabled the field of the Archers, whereby the day was lost vpon the kings part, for which he shortly lost his owne head.

(34) The Northern enflamed for the death of young *Neill*, the next morning most valiantly fell vpon the *Welshmen*, and by the force of Archers, draue them from their ground of aduantage, which *Pembroke* wanting, supplied with his owne prowess, and *Richard* his brother with his Pollaxe twice made way through the battell of the Northern, without anie mortall or deadly wound: so that by their valours it was verily supposed the field had beene wonne, had not *John Clappam* an Equire and ser-

uant to *Warwicke* displaid his Lords Colours with his white-beare, and from an eminent place cried a *Warwicke*, a *Warwicke*, whereat the *Welsh* were so terrified, as they turned and fled, leauing their Generall and his brother alone in the field, who valiantly fighting were incompassed and taken with the death of fiftethousand of their men. The Earle with his brother *Sir Richard Herbert* were brought to *Banburie*, where with ten other Gentlemen they lost their heads, *Conyers* and *Clappam* being their Iudges.

(35) This second victory thus got, and the Northern now fled, vnder the leading of *Robbin of Riddisdale*; halted to the Kings mannor of *Grafton*, where the Earle *Rivers* father to the Queene then lay, whom with his sonne *John*, they suddenly surprised, and in *Northampton* struck off their heads without any iudgement. The deaths of these Lords the King greatly lamented, and sought to reuenge: first therefore writing his Commissions for the apprehension of Lord *Humfrey Stafford* of *Southwicke* (who by diligent search was found at *Brent-march* and beheaded at *Bridgewater*, as he worthily deserued) next he prepared a mighty Armie, and with the same marched towards *Warwicke*, his company increasing euer as he went.

(36) King *Edward* let downe his tents at *Wolney* foure miles from *Warwicke*, where the Duke and the Earle of *Warwicke* host lay ready for Battell, but by the mediation of friends a peace was increased, and letters written from either parties, expressing the griefes and wrongs sustained, with proffer of redresse, in amending all, and in shew lo farr it proceeded, as the King conceiuing a certaine hope of peace, rested secure, not fearing any foule-play, which politique *Warwicke* (by his spiall perceiving) thought it not wildeome to loofe the aduantage, and thereupon in the dead of the night with a selected Company he entred the Kings Camp, killing them that kept the watch, tooke the king in his bed, and brought him his prisoner to his Castle of *Warwicke*, and thence by easie iourneys in the night had him conueyed to *Midelham* Castle in *Torke*shire not farre from *Richmond*, where vnder the custody of his brother *George Neill* Archibishop of *Torke* hee was retained.

(37) His vsage was Princely, and according to his estate; which he often acknowledged to the Archbishop with all kind thanks, and complements of wordes; whereby he wrought himselfe into such trust and fauour, as he had the Forreits to hunt in, and the parkes for his pleasure, whose pales are well knowne, vnusufficient wals to pen the Lyon in, appeared by this King, who being abroad and on hunting, *Sir William Stanley*, with *Sir Thomas Burgh* brought him fresh horse, and such a crew of followers that his keepers more feared their owne liues, then were forward to force him backe againe to prison, and so let the game goe without further chafe. King *Edward* thus cleaped, *Warwicke* like a wild man furiously raged, but seeing no remedy made vpon necessity, and gaue forth that himselfe so caused it, hauing power to make Kings and to vnmake them againe.

(38) The King forthwith repaired to *Torke*, where with great honour hee was ioyfully receiued, and abode certaine daies, which made him well hope of a further supply of friends and men, but fayling thereof, and fearing the Archbishops puruite with a small traine he posted to *Lancaster*, where he found the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine well accompanied for his Conuey: his spirits then reuiued, and traine daily increasing, with speedie iourneys hee came vnto *London*; where all his studies and consultations were, how to be reuenged vpon these disloyall Lords, his brother, and Earle *Warwicke*, and they againe fretting at the Archbishops follie sought to make stronger their factions against the King.

(39) The Land thus rent by these vnaturall diuisions,

A. D. 1469.

The Earle of Pembroke with others beheaded.

Robert of Riddisdale, captain of the Northmen.

The Earle Rivers with his sonne John surprised and beheaded.

Lord Stafford beheaded.

Jo. Stanley, Annals.

King Edward taken at Wolney.

Is imprisoned in Midelham Castle.

King Edward escaped out of prison.

Warwicke saying to make and vnmake kings.

Warwicke prepared vpon his host parts.

The miseries of civil warres.

The King and the Lords meet at London.

A.D. 1470. A commotion in Lincolnshire.

The Lord Wils and Sir Thomas Dimocke beheaded.

The battell at Stanfeld.

Loftonfield.

Sir Robert Wils put to death.

Warwicke and Clarence flee into France.

Phill. Comes lib. 3. cap. 4.

The Dutches of Clarence delivred of a son vpon shipboard.

The Duke of Burgundie bends himselfe against Earle Warwicke.

ditions, and no estate sure to enioy what was theirs, the Nobles anew began to sollicite the parties vnto a Peace, hauing first obtained libertie to post to and fro without their impeachments, and so effectually laid downe the state of the Land whose ruines now were so eminent by these intestine warres, that the Natiues lamented, the Forreine reioiced, and God they saw highly displeased, whose sword thus giuen into their hands, was to be feared would be the destruction of the English, as Nabucadnessars of Babel was of Iudea, and indeed so effectually wrought, that the Duke and Earle vpon perfect confidence came to London, accompanied with a small number in respect of their great danger: where falling into conference with the King, he tasked them with disloyaltie, and they him with ingratitude, so that their spleens were nothing appeased, but much more increased, and with high wordes departed, the King vnto Canterbury, and they againe to Warwicke.

(39) The stout Earle whose stomacke must haue vent, otherwise the Caske must needs breake, caused new stirres to be raised in Lincolnshire, vnder the leading of Sir Robert Wils, an expert fouldier, and sonne of the Lord Wils, who with thirte thousand Commons, disturbed the Countrey, and in euerie place proclaimed King Henrie; setting downe his battell not farre from Stamford, meaning to abide the encounter of his opposers; which when the King heard of, he sent for the Lord Wils his father, commanding him to write to his sonne to forsaue the warres, and so marching toward Stamford tooke Wils in his companie, with a good hope that the sonne would not beare armes against his own father in field, but howsoeuer he had writ, or the King conceiued, Sir Robert went on in his former delignes, which so sore moued Edward, that he beheaded Lord Wils with Sir Thomas Dimocke that had married his daughter, although he had giuen them promise of safety and life.

(40) Young Wils then hearing of his fathers death, sought the reuenge vpon this vntuful Prince, and not staying for Warwicke who was in preparing to come, set manfully vpon the King and his power, where betwixt them was performed a most bloody fight, till at last Sir Robert was taken, with Sir Thomas Deland and others, whereat the Lincolnshire men were so terrified, that casting off their Coates, they all ranne away, in regard whereof this battell to this day is called, the battell of Loftonfield, wherein were slaine ten thousand men at the least: after which victory the King commanded Wils with many other of note to be put to death, as the chiefe causes of these dangerous Commotions.

(41) This vntimely conflict and vnfortunate ouerthrow, made Clarence, and Warwicke, at their wits end, who vnprovidid to field against Edward, gaue way to necessity, and from Dartmouth in Devonshire embarked themselves and wifes for France, both to intigrate King Lewis no friend vnto Edward, and to secure themselves in Callis (whereof Warwicke was captaine) till fortune had changed the hand of her play. These crossing the Seas cast Anchor before the Towne of Callis, and gaue notice they were ready to land, but the Lord Walsclere a Gascoigne, whom Warwicke had substituted, is deputed, discharged diuers peeces of Ordinance against them, and sent word flatly they should not come there: meane while the Dutches of Clarence fell in trauell, and was there on Shippe-board delivred of a faire sonne, which Child the Earles deputed would scarcely suffer to be baptized in the Towne, nor without great entreaty permit two flagons of wine to be conveyed aboard to the Ladies lying in the hauen. For which his good seruice King Edward by his letters Patents made Walsclere chiefe Captaine of Callis, and discharged the Earle as a Traitor or Rebelle against him.

(42) Charles Duke of Burgundie, being then at S. Omer, owing Earle Warwicke an old grudge for gain-

standing his marriage, thought now a fit time to requite the discourtesie; and therefore sent many thanks vnto Walsclere, with promise of a thousand Crownes pension by yeere, if he stood firme for his wifes brother King Edward, himselfe laying the Coast to impeach his marriage. But how Monsieur Walsclere stood affected, whatsoever shew he made, Comes the French Kings Historian doth tell, who sent Warwicke word the danger he stood in, of the said Duke, and of Duras the Kings Admirall, so as to land, would be his final confusion: His Counsell therefore was that he should make into France, vnto whose King he should be most welcome; and as for the town of Callis, he willed him to take no thought, but promised to make him a good reckoning thereof, when time should best serue. Whereupon the Earle waied anker for Normandy, and in his way tooke many rich Ships of the Duke of Burgundies subiects, which netted him not a little, but yet found no docke to rub out the smart.

(43) King Lewis hearing of the arriuage of Warwicke, and knowing his troubles to arise for his Ambassage to Rome, and faith vnto France, sent certaine Princes to conduct him to the Castle of Amboys, where a supply was made against necessities, and himselfe and traine most honorable intertained, whereat the Duke of Burgundie sore repined, and sent Lewis word that he disliked his doings with threats of reuenge, if he aided him against his wifes brother. This, notwithstanding the French King gaue all comforts to these fugitives, and prepared his assistance for their restorations, and the raising againe of godly King Henrie.

(44) Queene Margaret hauing fled England and sojourning in France with her Father Reiner (a King in name, but scarcely able to beare the State of an Earle) saw now the Iron hor, and ready to be stricke, therefore with her sonne Prince Edward, John Earle of Oxford, and Iasper Earle of Pembroke (who lately had escaped out of prison in England) came vnto Amboise, where by means of the French King a combination of Alliance was confirmed betwixt the Prince of Wales, young Edward, and Anne the second daughter to the Earle of Warwicke, then present with her mother and sister in France. That King Henrie should be againe restored, the Duke of Clarence, and the Earle tooke a solemn Oath neuer to desert whiles they had power, and in the nonage of the Prince they jointly were to be deputed his Protectors, and the Lands sole Gouvernors.

(45) Edward in England hearing what Queen Margaret, his brother Clarence, & stout Warwicke in the French Court had done, was stricke into a sodaine dumpe, being as doubtfull of friends, as fearefull of foes, and therefore such as were allied to the Lancastrians, or fauourits of the down-cast K. Henrie, he began somewhat roughly to deale with: many therefore that were guilty daily tooke Sanctuary, or yeelded themselves to his mercie, among whom John Marques Montacute brother to Warwicke was one, who with faile words of promises, was receiued into fauor, and vpon whose example many others came in, which notwithstanding meant to stand out if occasion should serue. But no buffer was Edward to keepe the Crowne on his head, then these Lords in France were resolute to strike it off: in midst of whose consultations behold how it happened.

(46) There came from England to Callis a damsell belonging (as shee said) to the Dutches of Clarence, who signified vnto Monsieur Walsclere that shee came from King Edward with a declaration of peace, which hee fearing to impart the conditions to other, had made her the instrument, the better to passe without any suspition, and he glad to heare for the Earles sake (whom hee entirely affected) gaue her his safe conduct vnto the Duke of Clarence then at Amboys, where hauing priuate access vnto him, shee told, that it was neither naturall nor honourable for him to take part against the house of York: that

the house of Lancaster, was not onely by the whole Court of Parliament debarred to bee the indubitate Heire of the Kingdome, but that K. Henrie himselfe had discharged his Issue from claime, as it standeth (said she) vpon Record to be seene, contrary to which, as he might well perceiue this marriage of Prince Edward with the Earles daughter, did onely aime and intend to the vtter extinct of the house of York, whereof himselfe was one, and in neere possibility of the Crowne, Edwards Issue young, and not many, and the King very wanton, a sinne commonly punished with want of posterity, which if it so chanced, then hee, or his were the next. These reasons wayed, so ouer-wayed the Dukes further delignes, that hee promised thereafter a more brotherlike affection, as (saide hee) Edward should find, with which good newes hee returned into England, Warwicke vtterly ignorant what was said or done.

(47) All now in a readinesse for the return, ships, money and men supplied by the French King, the Admirall of France was sent to secure them from the Duke of Burgundies Fleet, which with an extraordinary number and power lay in the mouth of Seyne to fight with Warwicke when he should looke out of Harbortow: but see how the heauens fauoured, and frowned vpon the parties, for the night before they should hoise saile, such a stormy tempest tooke the Dukes Fleet, lying more remote from the Lee, that they were scattered asunder, some into Scotland, some into Denmarke, and many of them drowned. But the Seas calmed, and the wind seruing faire, the English set saile and landed at Dartmouth, whence they had shipped into France almost six moneths before.

(48) King Edward relying vpon Burgundie abroad, and thinking all friends who fawned at home, gaue himselfe daily to follow the hound and the hawke, and nightly to his court pleasures in dancing and dalliances with damfels, little minding their approach that meant to marre his mirth; for Warwicke now landed, proclaimed King Henrie, commanding all from sixteen to sixty, vpon a great penalty to take Armes against Edward Duke of York, the most vniuersall vnto Henries rightfull Crowne, and vncreditable it was, to see the consequence of them which came armed to him, who ere-while applauded & approued none but King Edward. Thus making towards London, his company daily increased, which the youthful King seemed little to regard, but verily supposing hee had now Warwicke in his trappes, wrote to Burgundie to secure the seas, lest he should escape againe into France, and to his Lords of England, to attend him in his wars; but very many neglected his command, and few or none made their repaire. Which when Edward perceiued hee was stricke into a great feare, and with his brother of Gloucester, the L. Hastings his Chamberlaine, and the Lord Scales the Queenes brother, hee hastid towards Nottingham there to determine what was to be done.

(49) In the mean while the bastard Faulconbridge in the west, and the Earle of Pembroke in Wales, curiously where proclaimed King Henrie; and to forward the matter, D. Godard preaching at Pauls Crosse declared by reading of Billes, and diuers other proofes, that King Henrie was the vndoubted and true heire vnto the English Crowne. Neither is the L. Montacute now the man that he was, who hauing mustered fixe thousand in the name of King Edward, and brought them forward almost to Nottingham, on the sodaine drew backe his forces, alleading that Edward was vngratefull, & regardlesse of his friends as himselfe said, himselfe was the example, who hauing serued him in many bloody battels, was rewarded with a verbal word Marquess, without any maintenance aral, no not so much as Pyes poor nest: & therefore hee had iust cause neuer to draw his sword in his quarrell any more, and them that did, hee as-

ured them should receiue the like reward in the end.

(50) These with the like distastures, diuulged among the rude multitude, it was a world to see the face of this new World, for in euery street Bonfires were made, in euery Church bells rung, Diries were sung at euery meeting, and euery man cried K. Henrie, King Henrie, whose Echo likewise redoubled, & Warwicke, a Warwicke, and indeed all so applauded the passage now on foot, as King Edward hearing the rumor, thought it not safe any longer to stay, & therefore with thos trusty Lords and some others, hee fled from his host besides Nottingham, passing the Wathes towards Lynne with greater difficulties then was befitting a Prince to aduenture; and thus without any order taken for his Realme, in two hulkes of Holland, and one English shippe destitute of all necessary prouisions, set saile toward Burgundie and in the way was encountered by the Easterlings, Englands great Enemies, hauing much adoe to cleare himselfe from their surpris.

(51) In these times of misery the Queene (whose marriage was the onely cause of all these stirres) vpon the first of October had stolne out of the Tower, and taken Sanctuary at Westminster, where like a woman forsaken shee solitarily remained, and on the fourth of November following was deliuered of a sonne, which withoutall pompe more like a priuate mans child then a Prince, was there also baptized by the name of Edward, who after his fathers death, a while was King of England, as shall be said; other Sanctuaries were full of King Edwards friends, that praised deuotely for his prosperous health, and well hoped the world would againe turne, as shortly it did. One King thus fled, and the other in prison, the Kentish, whose conditions are mutable at the change of Princes, came to seeke prey in London, where they knew it was to bee had: Ratcliffe, S. Katherins, and Southwarke they robbed, and within the City did some hurt besides, yea and surely more had done, had not Earle Warwicke in good time come to the rescue which increased his name, that was great enough before.

(52) Earle Warwicke accompanied with his brother the Archbishoppe of York, the Prior of Saint Johns, the Duke of Clarence, the Earle of Shrewsburie, Bastard Faulconbridge, Lord Stanley, and other Gentlemen, some for loue, some for feare, & some to gaze at this wauering world, vpon the six of October entered the Tower of London, wherein King Henrie had bene retained prisoner almost the space of nine yeeres, and there againe elected him for their lawfull King, and forthwith conuaid him robed in a long blew veluet gown through London vnto the Bishops pallace, where a pompous Court was kept vntill the thirteenth of the same moneth, vpon which day hee went in procession crowned to the Cathedral Church of S. Paul, the Earle of Warwicke bearing his traine, and the Earle of Oxford the sword, the people on euery side crying, God saue K. Henrie.

(53) Thus farre proceeded, and Henrie reestablished, a Parliament was begonne at Westminster the six & twentieth of November following, wherein King Edward was declared a Traitor to his country, an vsurper of the Crowne, and all his goods confiscated: the like iudgement passed against all his partakers; wherein also it was enacted, that all such persons as had taken Armes in his quarrell, should bee severely punished; among whom, John Typtot Earle of Worcester, and King Edwards Lieutenant in Ireland was attainted, who being found hid in the topp of a tree, in the Forrest of Waybridge, not farre from Huntingdon was brought to London, and vpon Tower-hill beheaded. Moreover, all Statutes made by King Edward were clearly reuoked, abrogated, and made frustrate: the Crowns of England and France entayled to King Henrie, and the Heyres-male lawfully begot of his body, and for the want

The double lings of France

Edw. Wils. fallen in the hands of the French

Duke of Burgundie

King Lewis

Burgundie

Edw. Wils.

A marriage

King Edward

King Edward

King Edward

King Edward

King Edward

King Edward

King Edward

King Edward

King Edward

How vntuful it is to stay on the multitude

K. Edward is forced to flee England. Octob. 10.

Edward in danger of taking on less

Queene Eliz. hathooke Sanctuary in Westminster.

Prince Edward borne in the Sanctuary.

The Kentish Commotioners doe much hurt about London.

John Fustegun

The States take K. Henrie out of the Tower.

K. Henrie againe restored with crown to Pauls

K. Edward debarred from government by Parliament. The Parliament rowle. John Typtot Earle of Worcester beheaded.

The Crowns of England and France entayled to K. Henrie.

George Duke of Clarence entailed to the Crowne.
Earle restored.

Earle Warwick made gouernour of the Realme.

Queene Margaret hindered by tempest to come into England.

The Duke of Burgundy perplexed.

Phil. Com. lib. 3.

Earle of Warwick esteem in Calles.

King Edward coucheth aide of his brother the Duke of Burgundy.

The Duke of Sommerfet disswaith Burgundy to aid K. Edward.

Burgundie comperth with his suites.

want of such heires vnto *George Duke of Clarence*, and his heire males lawfully produced, and the said Duke to be the next heire to his father *Richard Duke of Yorke*, disabling his elder brother *Edward*, by the vertue of his Atteindor; and *Iasper Earle of Pembroke*, *John Earle of Oxford* with other attained by the vsurper *Edward*, to be reformed in bloud, dignities, and ancient possessions; and finally, *Earle Warwick* the good common-wealthes man, made Gouernour of the Realme in these turbulent times, vnto whom was associated *George Duke of Clarence* this great Earles sonne in Law, and *Warwicks* brother *Montacute* vpon his submission obtained his pardon, which was the easilier gotten for his seruice at *Nottingham*.

(54) Queene *Margaret* appointed to follow into *England*, if fortune did fauour these great Lords successe, now hearing of the faire Sun-shine, wherein her husband King *Henry* was set, amidst the stormie winter blasts which the season afforded, with Prince *Edward* her sonne, fell faire from *France*, towards that wished and temperate climat, where the spring of new Regality beganne to bud forth, but was met with such tempests and storming seas, as shee was forced to returne and deferre her iourney vntill another time, to her great griefe and fore discontent. In like perplexity was the Burgundian Duke, who neither durst giue *Edward* his outward assistance (the *French* and *Warwick* being so mighty opposites) nor leaue him in distresse, lest the sparkes of discontent should flie from the eyes of his faire wife, and therefore to know whether *Fauelere* the Gouernour of *Calles* stood resolute for him according to Couenants, he secretly sent *Philip Comines* the hony-mouth Historian, to drop some of his sweet eloquence into his gold-thirsting eare.

(55) *Comines* comming to *Calles*, and obseruing the sequence for which he was sent, saw every man wear the Earle of *Warwicks* badge, for no head could bee gallant that was not adorned with his ragged staffe, nor no dore frequented that was not painted with his white Crosse. Infomuch that *Fauelere* himselfe had a fewell in his hate, wherein was a white ragged staffe, embroidered with gold, and others his followers the like wrought in filke, gold, and siluer; and to stampe the print deeper, a iking report was brought to the towne, that *Warwick* had prepared foure thousand valiant men to warre vpon the frontiers of *Burgundy*. But *Comine* in conference so wrought with the Councell, and they againe with Earle *Warwick* as he was contented to leaue off the enterprise, Duke *Charles* promising to side with *K. Henry*.

(56) King *Edward* hearing what his brother of *Burgundy* had done, and being dayly solicited from his friends in *England*, thought it no policy long to delay, lest *Henry* should take growth to a bigger steame; and therefore repairing to his brother in the towne of *Saint Paul*, requiured his aide, as the onely man on whom hee relied, as well for the bond of alliance in the marriage of his sister, as also in regard of the orders which they both ware, the King that of his which was the golden Fleece; and the Duke the Garter and Robe of *Saint George*. In the Court of *Burgundy* at that time lay *Edmund Duke of Sommerfet*, colen-germane remoued vnto Duke *Charles*, a great enemy againt the house of *Yorke*, and now set himselfe to thwart King *Edwards* suite, allcading, that it was more honourable for the Duke of *Burgundy* to side with the Lancastrians, from whom he was defended by his Grandmother the daughter of *John of Gaunt*: as also in the vprightnes of King *Henries* title, held good in her brother, and his Grandfather, and in her Nephew his father without all exceptions.

(57) The Duke perplexed betweene these great supplicants did then, as many doe now, speake much and meane nothing lesse, or else say little, & meane to doe much. To *Sommerfet* for *Henry* hee

outwardly promised all helpe and assistance, but neuer gaue the least, and to *Edward* no comfortable words of supply, and yet vnderhand he hired him shippes, furnished him with munition, and lent him fifty thousand Florences in money. And now the season seruing for warre, *K. Edward* with two thousand strong besides his Mariners made ouer for *England*, attempting to take land in *Northfolke*; but those coasts guarded, hee wasted more Northward, and entering *Humber*, landed at *Rauesbur* in *Yorkshire*, when laying aside all claim to the Crowne, and pretending nothing but his Dutchy of *York*, he shewed the rude multitude the letters, and seale of the Earle of *Northumberland*, which as he affirmed, & made them beleue was sent for his safe conduct to enioy the same, and in euery place where he came proclaimed King *Henry* himselfe, wearing an Estrich feather, which was Prince *Edwards* Liuerie, and passing to *Yorke* in no other shew then a Subject, his oath first taken to be true to King *Henry*, entred the City, which presently hee surprisid and assumed to himselfe.

(58) Earle *Warwick* now hearing that *Edward* was landed before he had marched very farre in the main, sent strait charge to his brother the Marquesse *Montacute* then residing at *Ponfret* (with a sufficient Army to secure those parts) that hee should not suffer his access vnto *Yorke*, lest he grew more potent, then was to bee wished; himselfe making ready with all possible speed, to repaire into those parts; but whether the Marquesse purposely winked, or else (and that rather) would not see at all, hee made no great hast to forslay his way to *Yorke*, neither fought to empeach the passage: when *Edward* from thence marched in a more hostile manner towards *Nottingham*, taking his way not farre from *Ponfret*, and as it were through the midst of his enemies; which encouraged many to fauour his designs, holding that *Montacute* was either a friend, or afraide to deale againt so powerfull an enemy.

(59) The White Rose thus bloomed, and the red falling his leafe, all tooke the time of this pleasant spring, and flocked to *Edward* as to their *April Sun*, who now more able, and therefore more bold made forward towards *Leicester*, where the Earles of *Warwick* and *Oxford* with a great power were, but because *Clarence* was absent, they let *Edward* hold on without any encounter, whose traines as hee passed was like to a riuer that in the running is euer encreased with new springs, which *Warwick* perceiving, thought it more then time to giue battell, well knowing that his brothers forbearance had giuen him that head. And to that end sent vnto *Clarence* then about *London* in leuying of men, but hee somewhat too backward, and *Warwick* too forward, tooke into the City *Cowentry*, meaning from thence to set on the enemy. But *Edward* whose star had now past the darke threatening cloud, pitched his tents neere vnto that City in a plaine field, and valiantly bad the Earle come to battell. But he then mistrusting (as in truth hee had cause) that the boldnesse of *Edward* was backed by a *Clarence*, kept close within the wals, with a purpose to see how the world would goe.

(60) *Edward* loth to looke time about one Cities siege, raised his Campe, and halted forward toward *Warwick*, vnto which Towne likewise his brother *Clarence*, with foure thousand strong was on march: these meeting vpon a plaine, three miles from the Towne, for their Battels in Aray, as if they meant to haue fought, but the King, his brother *Gloucester*, Lord *Rivers*, *Hastings*, and others, without any gard made towards *Clarence*, which when he beheld, himselfe accompanied with some of estate encountered his brother with a louing countenance and friendly cheare, so as no sparke of hatred was perceived betwixt them, but with all brotherly affections entred into amitie and peace, which afterwards proued the confusion of the Duke, *Clarence* thus got fought

A. D. 1455. March 14.

K. Edward, straitly charged to winne the City of Yoke.

Earle Warwick writes to his brother the Marquis to impose Edward's path.

King Edward and his army in the forest of Galtres.

K. Edward's success.

K. Edward's success.

John Stow.

Warwick's army into the County of Cowentry.

K. Edward's success.

K. Edward's success.

K. Edward's success.

K. Edward's success.

K. Edward's success.

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K. Edward's success.

to draw *Warwick* into the same traine, to which end he sent certaine messengers vnto him; first to excuse his owne fact, as too vnnatural for him to vnteach his sword againt his owne brother, as also he sought to stay the effusion of *English* blood, which in these quarrels lay ready to be shed: His peace with *Edward* he promised to worke, and that with such honour as *Warwick* should know himselfe not only a fatherto *Clarence*, but likewise vnto *Edward* great *England's* King. Vnto all which motion *Warwick* gaue eare only with this replie, *God tell your Duke* (said he) *that I had rather bee an Earle, and alwaies like my selfe, then a false and perieured Duke, and that ere my oath shall bee falsified (as his apparently is) I will lay downe my life as my enemies foote, which I doubt not but shall bee bought very deere.*

(61) This stout resolution made *Edward* more warie, and therefore to obtaine *London*, the only key that opened the dore to the Crowne, he halted thitherward, whose Citizens hearing of the increase of his host, and saying that *Henrie* was but a milkesop to him, thought it most safety to saile with the fairest winde, and therefore set open their Gates, and with publike applaud cried, King *Edward*. Which when the Duke of *Sommerfet* with others left to attend the innocent King *Henry*, heard, they fled for their liues; and left him in the Bishops Palace at *London*, where his Competitor King *Edward* tooke him, and sent him againe prisoner to the Tower. With so many winds are the failes of their ships filled, which seeke the Port of their safety by the affections of the people: for euen the same day had *Henrie* bene carried through the Citie (as it were) in triumph, and had heard the shoutes of the Commons in euerie streete crying; *God save King Henrie*.

(62) But Earle *Warwick* hearing how things went in *London*, and now fully conceiuing that the hazard of Battell must determine either with, or againt him, being come to *Saint Albans*, fell into a deepe consideration what was to be done: His assistants were John Duke of *Excester*, the Earles of *Oxford* and *Sommerfet*, and *Marquesse Montacute* his brother, whom notwithstanding he did not greaitle trust, being alwaies too fauourable to the contrarie faction. Thefe in Counsell held it best pollicie to follow the Enemy, and before the bodie grew too great, to lop off the branches, lest they should shadow their Sun-shine too farre. In which resolution, they halted forward, and came vnto *Barnet*, with a full purpose to recouer *London*: but *Edward* well knowing the state of the City vnfurnished for siege, and readie to take stampe of any impresse, ment not to be pent within those weake wals; and therefore taking with him vnfortunate *Henry*, least any confederacy should be made in his absence, he marched with all possible hast, to encounter his opposites, before they came too farre, and vpon *Gladmore* neere vnto *Barnet* set downe his Tents close to the enemy, the eue of *Christs* resurrection, so careless is *Mars* of diuine celebrations, that the holiest feast is prophaned, when his sword is drawne.

(63) The next day being the Paschall whereon *Christs* rose from death, which with due reuerence is celebrated in all the Christian world, these English contenders for a terrestriall Crowne, with fressh hearts and hands as readie, made ready to digge each others graues: for at brake of day *Warwick* began to Marshall his Army, which he diuided into three battalions: The right wing was led by the *Marquesse* his brother, with the Earle of *Oxford*, consisting chiefly of horsemen, himselfe with the Duke of *Excester* led the left; and the maine battell was commanded by *Edward Earle of Sommerfet*, which was supplied for the most part with Archers. *K. Edward* likewise ordered his men. The forward was led by *Richard Duke of Gloucester* his brother, a good fouldier and sufficient for aduise, the middle by himselfe, and his brother *Clarence*, hauing King *Henry* in their

companie; And the rearward was commanded by the Lord *Hastings*, euer most firme for the house of *Yorke*, referring a fresh supply, when occasion should serue.

(64) The Battels ioined; were manfully maintained by the prowess of *Oxford*, vpon that part of the Kings, againt which he fought, which with great violence he forced backe, so that many of them fled to *London*, bringing newes that with *Warwick* went the day: and surely in great forwardnes it was, had not fortune thwarted it by an vnexpected chance: for the day being foggy, and ouercast with mists, hindred their eies of any farre sight, so as the starre embroidered vpon the Earle of *Oxford's* mens Coates, were mistaken for the Sunne, which King *Edwards* men wore, in which error *Warwick's* Battell let flie at their owne fellows, who were in great forwardnes to haue wonne the day, and they not knowing the cause of the error cried, *Treason, treason, we are all betraid*. Whereupon the Earle of *Oxford* with eight hundred fled the field, leauing the chance to be cast for the Crowne; which when *Warwick* perceiued with words like a fouldier, he encouraged his men, and seeing the fresh supply of his enemy draw now vnto fight, he riuallie rushed into the midst of their Battell, wherein he aduentured so farre as he could not be rescued, but valiantly fighting was stricken downe, and among them slaine, hauing repaid his danger with many a wound. The *Marquesse Montacute* made forward to second his brother, (who till then had bene the *Mars* and *Make-King* of *England*) but was so ouerlaid by his Opposites, that they sent his soule likewise from his bodie whereby was ended that bloody daies taske.

(65) In this Battell vpon King *Edwards* part, died, the Lord *Cromwell*, the Lord *Bourcher*, the Lord *Barnes*, sonne and heire to the Lord *Sey*, and Sir *John Lisle* Knight: In the quarrell of *Henrie* died *Richard Neuill Earle of Warwick*, and *John Neuill Marquesse Montacute* his brother, and vpon both sides of common souldiers faith *Hall* ten thousand, *Stow* faith foure thousand, as *Fabian* farre lesse: all which were buried vpon the same Plaine; where afterwards a Chappell was built: the Duke of *Excester* being left for dead in the field, recouered, and tooke Sanctuary at *Westminster*. *Edmund Duke of Sommerfet*, and *John Earle of Oxford* escaped the field, and fled into *Wales*, where with *Iasper Earle of Pembroke* they still plotted to set vp King *Henry*, whom God and destinie would haue to be cast downe.

(66) The same King *Edward* vpon the same day as an absolute Conquerour, lead the vnfortunate *Henry* his Captiue to *London*, and entering the City in triumph wile, offered his roiall Stander in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Paul*, whither the slaine bodies of *Warwick* and *Montacute* in two Coffins were brought, and lay there bare faced, and vnburied the space of three daies, least a false Brute should be made that they were not dead. After which they were conueied to *Bilsam Abbey*, and interred in that Priorie among their Ancestors.

(67) *Edwards* affaires thus farre prospered at *London*, the windes that had crossed *Queene Margaret* before, came fauourably about to fill her Sailes for *England*, & indeed to accomplish the decree, which heauen had appointed: shee with her sonne Prince *Edward* and their *French* followers, landed vpon Easter eue at *Weymouth*, and the Countesse of *Warwick* at *Portsmouth*, who hearing the sorrowfull newes of her husbands death, tooke Sanctuary within the Abbey of *Beaulieu*. And *Queene Margaret* vnderstanding of the losse of *Barnet* field, withdrew aside to the Abbey of *Cerne*, vnto whom presently reformed *Edmund Duke of Sommerfet*, with Lord *John* his brother, *John Courtney Earle of Denbshire*, *Iasper Earle of Pembroke*, *John Lord Wenlock*, and *John Langbrother* Prior of *Saint Johns*.

(68) These with many words of hope, comforted the sorrowfull *Queene*, and proffered her their assistance

John Stow. A mistaking of the fouldiers which was the losse of the field.

Great Warwick slaine in fight.

Marquesse Montacute slaine in battell.

Nobles and others slaine at Barnet field.

Edw. Hall, John Stow, Rob. Fabian, faith 15000.

The Duke of Sommerfet and the Earle of Oxford fled into Wales.

Rich. Craft.

Edward triumpheth and offereth his banner to S. Paul.

Queene Margaret with Prince Edward landed at Weymouth.

The Lords comfort Queene Margaret.

Queen Marg-
aret care for
Prince Edward
her sonne.

The opinions of
the Lords.

King Edward
prepareth against
Queene Marg-
aret.

King Henry com-
mitted to the
Tower of London

The ordering of
Queene Marg-
aret's battels.

The ordering of
K. Edwards
battels.

The battell at
Tewkesbury.

Edw. Hall.

assistance to erect Prince Edward her sonne, though it were done with the losse of their own liues, requiring her only to undertake the authority of the war, and themselves would vndergo the charge and burden thereof, by whose valor and power, they doubted not to daunt the pride of the usurping Edwards, who now held himselfe sure, and beganne to grow carelesse. To these their resolutions the warlike Queene most gladly consented, and gaue all encouragements vnto them: the which could, when falling in counsell how to proceed, her care (according to the naturall affection of a mother) was most vpon the safety and life of her sonne: and therefore aswell for their owne parts (if fortune should faile in this their first attempt) as for the feare which the Yorkist would possesse (who whiles Prince Edward his coriualli liued could not account the Diadem his Bride) shee thought it best to send him backe againe into France, till God had set the Crowne where it should stand: where hee might supply them with new forces, or at leastwise ouerawe Edward for tyrannizing too farre. But the Lords contrariwise alladged, that Prince Edward being the morning Sunne of the Lancastrians hopes, and the rayes very plendent to most English eyes, was to be present in field himselfe, whose fight would both heat the courage of his owne Souldiers, and attract the glance of his aduersaries hearts, either to fight faintly, or else, and that rather, to come to his side. Thus their counsell at that time preuailed, and thus resolu'd, every man departed to make ready his power, the Queene with her French repaireing to Bath.

(69) But Edward in London had not sate two daies in rest, before hee heard of Queene Margarets arri- uage, and the confluence of people out of Cornwall, Devonshire, and of the Westerne parts, which hourly flew to giue her assistance; wherefore committing to the Tower King Henry, and George Archbi- shoppe of York to a selecte company, he marched to meet them, intending to cut off many springs before they should ioine to the body of a riuer, whose streame without danger could not be passed: therefore from Windsor, Abington, Chichester, and Malmesbury hee proceeded; seeking and vrging his enemies to battell: but the Queene and her forces fearing to abide in Bath, removed to Bristol, Berkeley, and Gloucester, and lastly at Tewkesbury, Duke Sommerfet her Generall pitched down his Tents not staying the coming of the Earle of Pembroke: his battell he marshalled into three fights, whereof him- selfe and his brother John Lord Sommerfet lead the foreward; the middle Battalion was commanded by Edward the young Prince, vnder the conduct of the Lords Saint Iohn and Wenlocke, and the Rere- ward gouerned by John Courtney Earle of Devonshire, a mortall enemy against the house of York.

(70) King Edward who was come now within sight of his enemies, diuided likewise his Army into 3. Battalions, committing the Foreward vnto the guidance of his brother Richard D. of Gloucester a good Souldier, and of a deeper reach and policy: the Main hee vnderooke to gouerne himselfe, and the Rere- ward was commanded by the Lord Hastings his Chamberlaine. The field thus marshalled, and the signe of battell being giuen, a most bloody fight be- ganne, the King had planted his Ordinance at most advantage, which Gloucester frankly bestowed among the Dukes men, and they lodged betwixt ditches, bushes and hedges, with their showers of arrowes galled Gloucesters followers, so as by his command his battell gaue backe, as though they would shrinke, which Sommerfet no sooner perceived, but that he came on, and ouercome with courage, came out of his strength, when by a certaine passage before hand provided, he came vnto the place where King Edward was embattelled, thinking verily that Wenlocke had followed at his backe, who as it seemed meant nothing lesse.

(71) The aduantage espied, Duke Richard made

good his retreat, and with fresh supplies of two hun- dred speares so charged Sommerfet, as his battell was disordered, and put to fearefull flight, himselfe re- couering the Middle-ward, found there the L. Wenlocke idle, whilest others were thus working for their liues, whom he most opprobriously reuiled in the termes of a Traitor, & with his Battell-axe stroke his brains out of his head, when presently Gloucester, and after him the King entered the Trench, wherein all of the Queenes part went to wracke; for there were slaine in this battell on her side John L. Sommerfet, John Courtney Earle of Devonshire, the Lord Wenlocke in manner as wee haue said, Sir John Deluys, Sir Edward Hampden, Sir Robert Whittingham, and Sir John Lewkenor, with three thousand others besides.

(72) Among them that fled, Prince Edward was one, whome Sir Richard Crofts apprehended be- fore hee got to Tewkesbury, but Edmund Duke of Sommerfet, John Longstrother, Prior of Saint Iohns, many Knights and Elquiers tooke Sanctuary in the Abbey, and other places of the Towne, notwithstanding they were taken forth and arraigned before Richard Duke of Gloucester, who that day late Con- stable of England, where they were condemned and had iudgement of death, which they immediatlie suffered vpon a Scaffold set vp in the Town. With these two Lords died twelue worthy Knights, be- sides others of inferior degrees.

(73) Then was Proclamation made for the ap- prehension of Prince Edward, promising to his taker an annuities of an hundred pounds during his life, & if the Prince were liuing, his life to be spared, vpon which promises Sir Richard Crofts presented young Edward vnto the King, whom with a stern counte- nance hee while beheld, and as sternely demanded, how he durst so presumptuously with Banner dis- played enter into his Realme; wherunto the Prince made this reply; to recouer (said hee) my fathers Kingdomes and his most rightfull inheritance posses- sed by his Father and Grandfather, and from him immediately belonging vnto me; how darrest thou then which art his Subiect display thy colour against him thy Liege-Lord? which answere moued King Edward so much, as with his Gantlet hee dashed the Prince on his mouth, whom Richard Duke of Gloucester with others of the Kings seruants most shamefully murdered, euen in his presence, and at his feete: whose body was buried without all solemnity a- mong other poore and meane persons, in the church of the Monastery of the Blacke-Fryers in Tewkes- bury.

(74) Queene Margaret in this fatall day of bat- tell fled towards Worcester, and by the way tooke in- to a poore religious house in that her present dis- tresse: but three dayes after shee was apprehended and brought vnto Worcester to King Edward, who committed her to sure and strait keeping, in which City she a while remained. But sodain news brought him, that the Northern men were in Armes, and meant to aduenture for her liberty, the Conquerour marched to Coventrie, and there made preparation further to proceed: which when these hope spirits perfectly vnderstood, their courages grew colder, & their weapons cast away, they came thronging to Edward to offer him subiection; yet the Lancastri- ans were not so minded, but rather intended once more to trie whether fortune would afford them her smile.

(75) A fitte instrument they had to forward the enterprise, namely Thomas Nevill bastard Faucon- bridge sonne of Lord Fauconbridge Earle of Kent, a great supporter of King Edwards Crowne: howbeit this Bastard being a man of a turbulent spirit, and forward for action, Earle Warwick had made him his Admirall to keepe the narrow seas, that none should haue way to strengthen King Edward, which his office he executed beyond his Commis- sion, and became a taker of all Merchants goods, being aided with 300. Malecontents from Calles.

(76) His

This battle
fought vpon
Saturday
of May the
vi of K. Edwards
reigne, and
of Charles
the first
of France.

L. Wenlocke
for north
Sommerfet.

London.

Lord this
Tewkesbury.

Prince
apprehend

The Duke
Sommerfet
obtaine

Prince
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(76) His enterprise desperate, and his name growne fearefull at sea, hee meant to make it no lesse on the land; for putting in at Dover, many mil- gouerned and loofe persons daily drew to him, so as his power grew to bee seuentene thousand strong: with these through Kent he made his way towards London, meaning to doe much, the land so molested with intestine warres; and lodging his hoast on the Southside of London, commanded the Citizens to giue him access, that with King Henry (whom hee meant to release from the Tower) he might passe through their streets, to meet and encounter the usurping Edward. But the Londoners knowing the rudeness of these Rakehels kept their gates shut and garded the same with sufficient strengthes: whence some Lords of the royall bloud therein residing, sent vnto Edward of their present danger, who presently sent them fiftene hundred of his best Souldiers, after whom in person hee warily marched, leading with him his prisoner Queene Margaret, whose bounds hee well knew, gaue him the full scope of liberty.

(77) Fauconbridge in the meane while thirsting after spoile with his shippes secured the Thames at a- boue S. Kathermes, purposing with his land Forces to passe the Riuer at Kingston: but hearing that Ed- ward was on his March, and fearing to bee cut off from the benefite of his shippes, hee altered his mind; when to open his way into London, hee caused the Bridge to bee fiered, and three thousand of his men being fet out of Thames by his shippes, diuided them- selves into two Companies, the one assaying to en- ter at Algate, and the other at Bishopsgate, both which they likewise fet on fire, so that the Citie was in three places fiered and assaulted at once, but with such euill successe to the assailants, that seuen hundred were slaine, and the bold Bastard driuen to his shippes.

(78) Vpon the twentieth of May the Conque- rour Edward with his Capriue Queen Margaret en- tred London, and so into the Tower, the one in pomp commanding the place at his pleasure, the other in teares to remaine a most peniue prisoner, where her husband, the downcast King Henry was kept in hard durance. The place being thus charged with the presence of two Kings and their Queens: the Croke- backe of Gloucester intended to cleare by taking him a- way, that stood in his brothers way, whose succesor as is thought hee then meant to bee; and making his inward mind more deformed then were his outward lineaments, without regard of bloud-defiled hands, stabbed the most innocent Henry to the heart with his dagger, in which act at once beganne the ones happy rest, and the others foule guilt, which accom- panied his conscience to the day of his death.

(79) The body of this murdered King was vp- on the Affention Eue laide in an open Coffin, and from the Tower guarded with many bills and glaues, was so carryed through the streets vnto the Cathed- rall Church of Saint Paul, where it rested vnconce- red one day, and beganne to bleed againe afresh, a sorrowfull spectacle to most of the beholders, and thence was it carried to the Blacke-Fryers Church, where it likewise lay bare faced, and bled as before, all men being amazed at the sorrowfull sight, and lastly, it was put in a boat without Priest, Clerke, Torch or Taper, singing or saying, and was ferried vnto the Abbey of Chertsey in Surrey, and there with- out pompe entred. But afterwards King Henry the seuenth translated his body vnto his Castle of Windsor, where in a new Tombe at the entrance in- to the Chancell of the Chappell, and fourth dore of the Quier, it was princely bestowed, but since the Tombe is removed, and where the Corps is now laid is not vulgarly knowne.

(80) Thus liued and thus dyed this innocent and iust King, who had bene proclaimed in his Cradle, crowned in his Infancy, and againe at more age had the Emperiall Diadem of France set on his head, li-

uing vprightly, louing his Subiects, and raining thirty eight yeeres, was in that time toiled with va- riable successe, for twice hee was imprisoned, and de- priued of his Crowne, betrayed, smitten, and wound- ed, and in all things became a worthy example of fortunes vncertainty: hee was of stature very seem- ly, of body slender, of face beautiful, and by a natu- rall inclination abhorred all vice, farre from pride, giuent to prayer, well read in the Scriptures, vifing works of Charity, and so chaste, as no suspection of incontinency could be conceived in him: nay, so farre to the contrary, that when certain Ladies pre- sented themselves before him in a maske, with their haire loose, and their breasts vncovered (hee then a Bachelour, and able of marriage) hee immediatly rose vp, and departed the presence, saying, sic, sic, forsooth yee are to blame. Oath hee vied none, but in weighty matters, his affirmation was forsooth, and forsooth, very mercifull to the poore, and so pittifull to Malefactors, as he commanded the quar- ters of Traitors to be taken downe from the Gates, and buried, and so farre from reuenge, that hee wil- lingly pardoned the greatest offences against him; for a Russian intending his death, wounded him in the side with his sword, what time he lay prisoner in the Tower, and being referred to his kingly estate, he freely forgave the fact; and another like Rus- sian striking him on the face, hee punished with this onely reprehension, forsooth you are to blame to strike mee your Anointed King: for these and his other pa- tient vertues, King Henry the 7. assayed to haue him canonized a Saint: but Pope Julius the 2. deman- ding too great a summe, the King went no further in the suite: notwithstanding in the repute of the vul- gar hee was taken for no lesse, so as his red hat which hee had worn, healed the head-ach, when it was put on, as the fable beleueed.

(81) The monument of his zeale to true piety, and care for posterities, are his famous Colledges of Eaton and Cambridge, the Chappell of which last, shewes the magnificence that the whole should haue bene of, had their Founder reigned to haue finished them himselfe: for the performance whereof hee enfeofed certain Bishops with other noble per- sonages by his letters Patents with lands and posses- sions, to the yearly value of thirty foure hundred pounds very neere: but as his life ended, before that nature had thereunto set her owne seale, so these re- main vnperfected of the excellent beauties intended, which their zealous Founder meant to haue adorned them withall.

(82) And his sorrowfull Queene Margaret, who twentie sixe yeeres before this his death, with all pompe and royalty had bene crowned Queene of England, and had ruled all in all, now a poore Pri- soner in distresse and wants, weates out her time in teares and laments, and witheth for nothing more then the day of her death; which Duke Reimer her Father well vnderstanding, made suite to King Ed- ward to haue her released by ransom; and lastly, bought her liberty at so deare a rate, as hee first paw- ned, and afterward sold to Lewis the French King, the Kingdomes of Naples, and of both the Sicilies to pay and repay the price of her redemption, vnto which poore father, this sorrowfull daughter return- ed, and ended her aged dayes, where shee had be- gun the dayes of her life.

(83) Victorious Edward thus leading Mars chained to his Chariot, and now himselfe led by Fortune to the high chaire of Estate, sits an absolute Monarch sure, and without opposit, vnto whose rayes all eyes turne a submissiue aspect: onely bas- tard Fauconbridge departed, from London (as we haue said) and withdrew vnto Sandwich with his disquiet crew, made shew to doe much, and did somewhat more then besting, by rape, and robbing, where those rude Mariners came, which Edward hearing of, hastened to Canterbury in person himselfe, fully re- solued to weede vp by the rootes those new sprow- ted

The vertues of
K. Henry.

Holinshed

Cont. British
descript. of Shurtij

Kings Colledge
in Cambridge
and Eaton in
Bathshire, fouled
ded by K. Henry.

Queen Marg-
aret ransomed out
of prison.

Barth Faucon-
bridge with his
virtu crew
yeeld to King
Edward.

Barth Faucon-
bridge pardoned
of life, and re-
warded with
Knighthood.

Rob. Fabian.

Barth Faucon-
bridge beheaded.

A.D. 1472.

Henry of Rich-
mond fled into
Britaine.

The storie of
John Earle of
Oxford.

Waters brake
out of the Earth.

John Stow.
Annals.

The Earle of
Oxford sent pri-
soner into France.

The hard and
inhumane vlage
of the Countesse
of Oxford.

The storie of
Lord Henry Hol-
land Duke of Ex-
cester.

Phil. Comines.
lib. 3. cap. 4.

ted blades of rebellion, and made great preparation to accomplish the fame, which the Barthelemy hearing (though strong in his Sea-men) durst not bandy against, but sent his submission with proffer of seruice and loial obedience, and indeed fo temporized with the king, as besides his pardon obtained, the sword of knight hood was laid vpon his shoulder, & he was presently made the Kings Vice-Admirall for the Seas. In which his office he bore himselfe (either by his owne desert, or the Kings Conceit) as he not long enioied the fame, but was at Southampton beheaded, and other of King Henries old fauourites likewise fought after and daily endangered.

(84) In which times of feare, Iaffer Earle of Pembroke, with his Nephew young Henry Earle of Richmond, fled into Britaine, where, of that Duke they were most courtously entertained, with assurance made, that no wrong should be offered them, during their stay in his dominions. And so these two Earles the vnkle and nephew, there attended the day of their wished successe.

(85) But John Earle of Oxford, who had withdrawn himselfe from Barnefield first into Wales, and thence into France, was farre more vnpatient of those rough times, for hauing gotten store of prouision by strong hand at Sea, with leauentie seuen men only surprized Saint Michaels Mount in Cornewall, and made that peece good against the King, which he kept and reitualed, but whether by force or fauour King Edward much suspected, and therefore the more willingly came to a composition with his Subiect, who vpon the pardon of his life deliuered the Mount to the King: and as some say the rather, for that his minde was then troubled with many ominous signes. For certaine Boornes about this time burst out of the Earth, as *Voe-mere* at Market in the County of Bedford, whose name carried the quality of his nature. In Kent, at Canterburie, Lewisham, and Langley Parke, at Croyden in Surrey, and at Hungershill neere Dudley Castle one running verie foole: all of them predictions, as that credulous age beleueed, of great troubles to come: and therefore not trusting a new reconciled enemy, King Henrie sent the said Earle Prisoner vnto the Castle of Hames in Normandy, where he remained the space of twelue yeeres, during the raigne of the King, most securely guarded, and so straitly kept, as Lady Margaret his Countesse could not be suffered to haue access vnto him, in all that time. Neither was there allowed any thing out of his reuenues, or from the king, to maintaine her estate, but was forced to liue vpon the Charity of others, & by the workes that shee made with her Needles both of them very thore to supply her great wants. This vnmisericfull and almost inhumane vlage, was the more extremely followed, for that Oxford himselfe, his father and brother, had euer sided with the Lancastrians. And herselfe being sister vnto Richard Duke of Warwick, the Capitall obstacle against King Edwards proceedings, was held either dangerous, if her wealth ballanced her birth and estate, or else vnworthy of his fauour, whose good fortunes as was suggested, shee euer maligned.

(86) But much more miserable was the estate of Lord Henry Holland, Duke of Excester, and Earle of Huntingdon, who flourished so long, as King Henries pillar stood crowned on his base, and the Lancastrians (of whose house himselfe was) ouerwaied the times; he being the sonne of Lady Elizabeth the second daughter of John of Gaunt, and hauing married the sister of Edward the then reigning King, was notwithstanding driuen to such want, as he may serue an example to all, how vnertaine Adams sons are of any continuing greatnes. For (saith Philip Comines) I once saw the Duke of Excester runne on foote bare legged, after the Duke of Burgundies traine, begging his bread for Gods sake, but he uttered not his name, he being the neere of the house of Lancaster, and brother in law vnto King Edward, and being knowne what he was,

Burgundy gave him a small pension to maintaine his estate.

(87) But when King Henrie was againe restored, & the Title of the Crowne laid vpon the successe of Barnefield, this man Lord Henrie bare himselfe most brauely against King Edward, and in fight was stricke downe, and left for dead, where, in his bleeding woundes he lay most part of the day, but yet recouering, and got to Westminster, he theretooke Sanctuary to saue his life, for which, he became Suiter vnto the king, but his wife Lady Anne sister vnto King Edward, sued as earnestly for a diuorce, which with great instancy shee lastly obtained against him. How he released himselfe from the wrath of the king, is vnertaine, and how he came by his death no man can tell, for his body was found cast vpon the shoare of Kent, as though he had perished by shipwracke vpon the Sea.

(88) Now Edward to finish all factions, thought best to lop off both bough and branch, that gaue any shadow to the Lancastrians designs, to which end he rather picked, then found occasion of treason, in George Nevill Archbishop of Yorke, whose goods, lands, and Lordships, he seized vpon, got possession of his rich plate and Jewels, whereof one in his Miter was of such value, as the King caused it to be set in his Imperiall Crowne, and the Archbishop to be sent ouer Sea to the Castle of Hames, where he remained a Prisoner a long time after, with no such curious intertainment, as himselfe had vied to Edward when he was Prisoner.

(89) But the escape of Pembroke and Earle Richmond troubled the King not a little, the onely men now left to bandy against them, and therefore were most followed with a suspitious eye. In so much as Edward wrote vnto the Duke of Britaine their receiver, with promises of heapes of gold to haue them sent backe and deliuered vnto his hands: but the Duke that had giuen them his safetie before, answered the English Ambassadors, that it stood not with honour, so to betray these distressed Princes, fled to him for relief, yet he faithfully undertook, that they should be so followed, as King Edward should sleepe quiet from their molestations, which being no better, Edward notwithstanding made the best of it.

(90) All now in quiet, and Edward reigning without any Competitor, or malignant disturber, caused a high Court of Parliament to be assembled at Westminster, wherein he reestablished those Acts, which Henrie had abrogated, and abrogated those that were made against his fauourites; at which season the Duke of Burgundie sent his Ambassadors vnto Edward, crauing his aide against the French King, which was the more willingly heard and granted, as well for his fauours received of the Duke, in time of his necessitie, as for spleene against Lewis, who had aided Warwick to dispossesse him of his Crowne. And indeed this was a sparke, that was likely to set the hearts of the English on fire, to recouer France lost by Henrie the last King.

(91) All things in a readinesse King Edward repaired to Dover, and there embarked himselfe for Calles, with the greatest Army that euer from England set sailes into France: for he had in his Company fifteen hundred Noble-men, and men at Armes, all of them mounted, and most of them barbed, who with the Archers on horsebacke also made vp the number of fifteene thousand, besides a great number of footemen and others to pitch Tents, attend the Artillerie, and inclose their Campes. Before the Kings departure from England, he had sent Garter King at Armes vnto King Lewis with a letter of defiance: whose contents demanded no lesse, then the whole Realme of France, which if he refused, hee threatened to inuade his dominions with fire and sword.

(92) The letter received, and read in secret by Lewis himselfe, he priuately sent for, and conferred with

Ed. Hall.

The vnknown
parts of
uigil, see
Job. 30.

The Lord
supposed
beaten downe.

The Arke
of Yorke
seized vpon.

English
doubt.

K. Edward
into Britaine
recouer the
breake made
by Henry.

English
He-
land King

He of
France

K. Edward
gates King
vnto Lewis

Burgundie
sent his
Ambassadors
vnto King
Edward.

A.D. 14
K. Edward
dition into
France.

Phil. Comines
lib. 4. cap. 1.

The great
reason of
King Edward.

King Edward
demanded.

Lewis his
spleene with
English the

his con-
fession
with the
English
Herald.

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A.D. 14
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Phil. Comines
lib. 4. cap. 1.

The great
reason of
King Edward.

King Edward
demanded.

Lewis his
spleene with
English the

with the Herald, telling him that it was not Edward, but Burgundy that raked abroad these dying finders, who as a man discomfited & vnfurnished for warre, would draw in the English, by his sle dealings, to their inestimable Charges, to supply his defects, that Burgundy being of the house of Lancaster hated most deadly the family of Yorke; and more for feare then loue married Edwards sister. As touching the Constable he told him, though Edward had married his Niece, yet hee would deceiue him, as he had done his owne Master of France, who had heaped manie and extraordinary benefites vpon him. And lastly with the gift of three hundred Crownes, and the promise of a thousand more, he intiguated the Herald to worke a peece. Garter very thankfull tooke the French gold, and counselled Lewis to send a Herald vnto his Master King Edward to demand a safe-conduct for conference: and so openly rewarded with thirtie Elles of Crimfon-veluet he departed.

(93) King Lewis nothing so pompous as other Princes are, nor attended with Heralds continually in his Court, was therefore inforced vnto this present shift: he caused a seruant of the Lord Hales to be arried like an herald in a trumpets banner, and sent him in halt into King Edwards Camp; where hauing audience, he shewed the great desire the King his Master had of peace, whose amity with England he had euer held, excusing his recit of Warwick with the necessity of time, whom he aided not against Edward, but against Burgundy, who as he instantly alleged, had now drawne the English to this excessive charges, that he might thereby conclude a better composition for himselfe, and to amend the broken state of his owne affaires; lastly he desired that the King of England would grant a safe-conduct vnto the Ambassadors of the French King his Master, who should more fully informe his Maestie, and giue his safe-conduct for a further conference in these affaires: and so wisely this counterfeited worded his message, that the King and Nobles liked well the ouerture, and thereupon granting a safe-conduct sent with him an English Herald, to receive the like and other assignements from the French King.

(94) But when the Duke of Burgundy vnderstood that a peece was traueled betwixt Edward & Lewis, he stormed not a little, and with no small hast from Lutzenburgh accompanied with fixteene horse only, came to his brother King Edward, and in a great rage reproued him of breach of promise, and vn-courteous requital of his former kindnes, that thus would enter amity with his great foe, and in outward semblance more ready to bite then to barke, burst into these reproofes.

"Hauce you (quoth hee) brother, passed the Seas, entered France, and without killing of a poore fle, or burning of a silly Sheepeote taken a shamefull truce? Oh S. George I did Edward your noble Ancestor euer make Armie into France, and returned without battell or Conquest? That victorious Prince King Henry the fifth (as neere of kinne vnto you as me) whose blood you haue either rightfullie or wrongfullie (God knoweth) extinguished and destroyed, with a small puissance conquered Normandy, kept it, and neuer would come to composition, till he had the whole kingdome of France offered him, and was made heire apparant vnto that Crowne. Contrariwise you without any thing done, proffer of battell, or gaine of honor haue now condicened vnto a peece as profitable for England as is a poore peacock: haue I (thinke you) for my particular vle drawne the English forces into France (which am able of my selfe to defend mine owne cause?) I tell you plainly no, but rather to aid you, to recouer your ancient Territories wrongfullie withholden: and that you shall well know I need not your aide, I will heare of no truce with the French, till three monthes after your arri- uage in England at the least; And thereupon

"furiously arising, he threw downe the Chaire, wherein he had late and offered to depart.

(95) "Nay stay brother Charles (quoth K. Edward) sithe I with patience haue heard you speake what you would, you shall now perforce heare from me what you would not: First therefore for my thus entrance into France, no man knoweth the occasion better then your selfe: for, mauger your owne great power you speake of, you doe remember I know, how the French King tooke from you the faire Towne Amiens, and the strong Pile Saint Quintins, with diuers other peeces which you neither durst, nor were able either to recue or defend, since which time he hath gotten from you, your best some friends and secret Counsellors, so as your selfe stood in doubt (determining to besiege Nuffe) whether the losse would be greater in your absence (the French King waiting as a fox for his pray) or gaine more in Germany by your power and presence: and to keepe this wolfe from your fold, was the principall cause why you so earnestly praised me, and continually sollicit me to passe ouer the Seas, promising mountaines, but performing not a Mole-hill, bragging a supply both of horse and foote, but neuer sent me a hoofe, nor a lackie. Thinke you (brother) if wee had entred this enterprise in our owne quarrell, we would haue expected your aide? I assure you nothing lesse, for if we had intended any such Conquest, we would with Souldiers fire and sword, haue so infected the aire with the flames and staine of France, as should haue annoied your Countreys of Flaunders and Brabant, and giuen you leasure to sit still and tell of our euer atchieued great victories, nothing doubting but to haue gotten and kept with like manhood, and in as great glorie, as any of our Ancestors before vs had done. But the occasion of warre being yours, and you wilfully (I will not say cowardly) neglecting the same, I meane not to prosecute, for the French King neuer offended me nor my Subiects, except in fauouring Warwick against me, nay I may say against you, and now offereth such honorable ouertures of peece, which I by Gods grace meane not to forsake, but will obserue and keepe. God send you ioy thereof, quoth the Duke, and so abruptly departed from the King.

(96) The peece thus resolved vpon, betwixt the two kings of England and France, the place appointed for conference was neere vnto Amiens, and the parties assigned for the French, were the Barthelemy of Bourbon Admirall of France, the Lord S. Pierre, and the Bishop of Eureux. For the English, were the Lord Howard, Sir Thomas St. Leger, and Doctor Morton Lord Chancellor of England. These meeting, presentlie fell to a conclusion of peece: the conditions whereof were: That the French King should forthwith pay to the King of England twenty two thousand Crownes. That the Dauphin should marrie Lady Elizabeth, King Edwards eldest daughter, and that shee should haue for her maintenance the Duchy of Guienne, or else fifty thousand Crownes yeerely to be paid in the Tower of London, for nine yeeres space. This peece was so acceptable to King Lewis, as he sent fixteene thousand Crownes to bee distributed amongst the English Souldiers, with plate and great presents to men of any sort: & indeed gaue them such entertainment in Amiens as was most bounteous, whereof if any desire further to know, let him read Comines vpon the same tect.

(97) To graft which peece with a louing beginning, the two Kings were desirous to see each others, for which end Commissioners were sent to assigne the place: and lastly agreed, that the Towne Picquigny about three leagues from Amiens, seated in a bottom, through which the Riuer Some ranne, was the fittest: ouer which a strong bridge was built, and in the midst thereof, a grate made ouer-thwart with barres, no wider asunder then a man might well thrust

K. Edwards reply
to his brother of
Burgundy.

Burgundy depar-
ted displeased
from King
Edward.

The conference
for peace neere
Amiens.

Commissioners
for peece.

Conditions of
the peece.

Lewis his libe-
rality for ioy
of the peece.

Ph. Com. lib. 4. c. 9.

The kings of
England and
France desire to
see each others.

Picquigny the
meeting place
of the kings.

A.D. 1475.
Aug. 19.

The salutations
of the two Kings.

The Kings swear
the league.

K. Lewis loth
that Edward
should visite Pa-
ris.

A.D. 1475.
Sept. 28.

Henry Earle of
Richmond fought
after by K. Ed-
ward.

An intent pre-
tended, which af-
ter came to
passe.

Ralph Holingshe,
pag. 701.

Henry Earle of
Richmond taketh
Sanctuary.

The English
Ambassador com-
plaineth to the
Duke of Brit-
taine.

His Answer.

thrust in his Arme, couered with boords ouer head to auoid the raine, & the bridge so broad that twelue might stand in a rancke on both sides.

(98) The day approached, and the two Kings came to the place, hee of France came first to the Grate, accompanied with twelue personages, as was the appointment, wherof *Iohn Duke of Bourbon* and the Cardinall his brother were the chiefe: King *Edward* entring the bridge on the other end, with his brother the Duke of *Clarence*, the Earle of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Hastings* his Chamberlaine, and the Lord *Chancellor*, himselfe apparelled all in cloth of gold, with a rich Jewell of precious stones, in forme of a Flower de Luce: aduanced forward, and within fise foote of the Grate, put off his cap, and bowed his knee within halfe a foote to the ground. King *Lewis* as readily doing his likely reuerence vnto *Edward*. Whereafter embracements through the Grate, the Chancellour of *England* who was Prelate and Bishop of *Ely*, made an eloquent and learned Oration, which done, he read the Articles of peace and demanded the Kings whether these were done with their full contents. Which granted by both: either of them laying their one hand vpon the Missall, and the other vpon the *Holy-Crosse*, tooke their solemne Oathes to obserue the same. And then falling into a more familiar and Courtly Complementall conference, King *Lewis* told K. *Edward* that he would one day inuite him to *Paris*, there to Court his faire *French Ladies*, with whom if hee committed any sinne, he merrily told him, that *Cardinall Bourbon*, should be his Confessor, whose penance would be the easier, for that *Bourbon* vied to buse faire Ladies himselfe, which no sooner was spoken, or howsoeuer meant, but *Edward* was as forward of thanks and acceptance, and indeed so ready, that King *Lewis* rounding *Commines* his bosome seruant in his care, told him flatly he liked not *Edward* forwardnes to *Paris*, too many English Princes hauing beene there before: and thus the conference ended, and king *Edward* busines in France, hee returned into *England*, and into the City of *London* was receiued little lesse then in triumph-wile.

(99) But though *Edward* fortunes thus outwardly flourished, yet inward feares nipped his still troubled mind, one branch hauing apper, whose growth hee much feared would shadow his Crowne, which was *Henry Earle of Richmond*, aliue and at liberty in the Duke of *Brittaines* Court. To bring therefore his purpose to passe, hee sent D. *Stillington* and others, Ambassadors vnto *Frances* Duke of *Britaine*, with store of gold and good words, as that hee meant to match his eldest daughter Lady *Elizabeth* vnto the young Earle of *Richmond*, whereby all cause of dissentions might at once be cut off: the Duke thinking no danger where the water went smooth, easily consented to shippe him theron; but ere the prey was embarked, hee had knowledge that the voyage should cost young *Henry* his life; wherefore in all haste hee sent his Treasurer *Peter Landoy* to prevent it, who secretly told *Richmond* what marriage *Edward* intended; whereat the distressed Earle amazed, was put to his shifts, and for want of better, tooke Sanctuary at *S. Malos*, where the English his conductors lay for a wind.

(100) The Earle thus escaped, the Ambassadors complained to the Duke, imputing the fault as far as they durst vnto him, who had not dealt like a good Marchant to take their money, and to retain the wares; his answer was, the deliuey was good, but therelies negligent Factors, that made not the commoditie to their best aduantage. And yet for the loue hee bare to their King, hee vndertooke that *Richmond* should be sure kept either in Sanctuary, or else in prison, whence as hee promised he should not escape: And so with a flea in their care, they returned, hauing cleared *Edward* of his money, and care for sure keeping of *Henry*, who though hee

were fore displeased with *Stillingtons* simplicitie; yet the promises that the Duke of *Britaine* had made, much mitigated and eased his mind.

(101) And now the Realme quiet, no warre in hand, nor nonerowards (but such as no man looked should happen) hee framed himselfe so to the peoples affections, and held their hearts not in a constrained feare, but with as louing and ready obedience as any King attaining the Crowne by his sword euer had. Nor was euer any Prince more familiar with his Subiects then this King *Edward* was, who now hauing his tribute truly paid from France, and all things prospering as was desired, he set heart vpon pleasure, which hetherto had beene afflicted with continuall turmoile: yea and often laid from him the state of a Prince, and would accompany and conuerse with his meane subiects: a loadstone that doth naturally attract the *English* hearts; among many others we of *London* remember this to our grace. Vnto *Windfore* he sent for the Lord Maior of *London*, the Aldermen and others, vpon no other occasion, then to hunt in his company, and himselfe to be merry with them: As also at another time hee did the like in *Walham*, where hee gaue them most familiar intertainment, and sent to the Lady *Mairelle* and her sisters two harts, sixe Buckes, and a Tunne of wine, which wanne more loue then manifold their worthes.

(102) Somewhat he was giuen to Court and conuerse with faire Ladies, which fault was well noted and preuented by King *Lewis*, for his *French* dames: but in *England* hee had liberty with very large scope, for besides the Lady *Lucy* and others, by whom hee had issue, three concubines he kept, and those of three diuers, and feuerall dispositions, as himselfe would often confesse, one the merriest, another the wildest, and the third the holiest harlot in his realme, as one whom no man could get out of the Church vnlesse it were to his Bed, the merriest was *Shores* wife, of whom hereafter we shall speake, the other two were greater Personages, but in their humilitey are content to bee namelesse, and to forbeare the praise of those properties.

(103) This fault of the King did not greatly offend the people: for one mans pleasure could not extend to the displeasures of manie, it being done without violence, and in his latter daies lessened and well left. But a farre more greater sinne and reproach hee fell into, among his other Princely diffports: For being on progresse in *Warwicke-shire*, and hunting in *Arrow Parke*, belonging to *Thomas Burdet* Esquire, with the death of much Game hee flew a *White Bucke* greatly esteemed of the said *Burdet*, who vnderstanding thereof, withed his hornes in his Belly, that moued the King to kill the same Bucke, whereof hee was accused and condemned of treason, his wordes being drawne, to with the hornes in the Kings bellie: for which beheaded hee was at *Tilborne*, and buried in the *Gray-Fryers* Church at *London*.

(104) But a more lamentable tragedie happened vnto the land, by the death of *George Duke of Clarence* the Kings second brother, who being accused of high Treason, was committed to the Tower, where hee soone after ended his life. His attainer was, that the said Duke had caused diuerse of his seruants to enforme the people, that *Thomas Burdet* his seruant likewise, was wrongfully put to death: and further laboured (through their reports) to make the world beleue, that K. *Edward* wrought by *Nigromantie*, and vied to poison such subiects as he hated: And also that the said Duke vpon purpose to exalt himselfe and his heires to the Regall dignitie, most falsely and vntruly published that the King was a Bastard, and therefore not capable of raigne. Moreover that hee induced diuerse of the Kings naturall subiects to be sworn vpon the blessed Sacrament, vnto him and his heires, without any other reservations of their allegiance: for which intent (as there was al-

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leaged) hee had gotten an exemplification vnder the great Seale of King *Henry* the sixt, that if the said king and his sonne Prince *Edward* died without issue male, the said Duke and his heires should inioy the Crowne: For these in a Parliament begun at *Westminster* the fiftenth of *January* he was attainted of high treason: but whether guiltie or guiltles, so men (saith *Grafton*) that haue made large inquisition, yea and of such auerue of no small authority in those daies, the certaintie thereof was hid, and could not truly be discleied, but by coniectures, which as often deceiue the imaginati- ons of fantasticall folke, as declare truth to them in their conclusions.

(105) I am not ignorant that some haue allenged the cause of this Noble mans death to arise from a foolish propheticke (wherof saith *Comines*) the *Englishmen* are neuer unfurnished, & this as the *Cabalists*, who vied to make an art of their letters, gaue forth forth sooth that a G. should raigne after an E. which must needs be *George Duke of Clarence*, though *Gloucester* more craftie lay in winde for the game. This indeed troubled the King not a little, but the Queene and her blood much more, and therefore of both King and Queene Duke *George* was mistrusted, and greatly maligne in all that hee did. Who now a widower (for *Warwicke* daughter was dead) sent vnto his sister *Margaret the Dutchesse of Burgundie*, to worke a marriage for him with her husbands daughter the Lady *Marie*. Against which the Queene most earnestly interposed herselfe, and sollicit the Ladie in the behalfe of Lord *Anthony Earle Rivers* her brother, whereby great discontent was ministred to the Duke, and new ieaalousies daily bred in the Kings breast.

(106) *Iohn Serres* the French Historian interlacing the life of King *Lewis* with the Acts of K. *Edward* and his brethren, saith confidently, that the English King so much affected the league and alliance with France, as that hee caused his brother *Clarence* to be put in prison, because hee intended to haue past the Seas to succour the Dowager of *Burgundie* Ladie *Margaret* his sister, vpon whole Territories King *Lewis* encroached, after the death of Duke *Charles* her husband slaine at the battell of *Mancy*.

(107) But howsoeuer *Clarence* had offended, certaine it is, that he was found guilty by the foresaid Parliament, and the eleuenth of *March* following, after hee had offered his Masse-penny in the Tower of *London*, was drowned in a But of *Malmesbury*, whose body was buried at *Tenkesburie* in *Gloucestershire*, by the bodie of his Dutchesse Ladie *Isabell* Countesse of *Warwicke*, who being with Child, died of poison a little before. And although the King had consented to his death, yet no sooner was it done, but that hee wished it againe vndone, and was so greued at the remembrance, as when anie made suite for the life of a condemned, hee would openly say: *Oh unfortunate brother, for whose life no man would make suite*. This good Duke (for so was hee called) left issue behind him, *Edward Earle of Warwicke* and *Margaret* afterwards Countesse of *Salisbury*, both of them infants, and followers of their fathers fortunes: hee a continuall Prisoner, at foure and twentie yeeres of age vnder *Henry* the seauenth, was beheaded vpon the Tower-hill; and shee at sixtie two, lost hers within the Tower, and time of King *Henric* the eight.

(108) But how dainty soeuer King *Edward* was of the breach of amitie, betwixt him and the French King, in regard wherof hee suffered *Mary* the yong Dutchesse of *Burgundie* the daughter of his owne sisters husband to be molested by intrusion of the French, and all in fauour of the contract commenced betweene the *Daulphin* & Lady *Elizabeth* his daughter, yet did *Lewis* for his part but dally and driue out time: For Ambassadors implored for the full accomplishing thereof, they of France came either without commission, or those recalled, the new were sent without instructions, while indeed *Lewis* was

working for his sonne another way: First to match him with *Mary Dutches of Burgundy*, but that refused, with *Margaret of Flaunders* daughter to Duke *Maximilian* sonne to *Fredericke* the Emperor: and to hold the world from suspition, in the meane while Ladie *Elizabeth the Infanta* of *England* was in the French Court vually called *Madame the Daulphin*, and all things in France so foundly carried, as *Edward* suspected no leake in the Caske: for now growne fat and vnable for paines, hee both gloried in his nine famous victories at home achieved, and seemed sufficientie satisfied, that his yeerely tribute from France was so truly paid.

(109) At the same time *James* the third of that name King of *Scotland*, sent his Ambassadors vnto *Edward* to obtaine the Lady *Cicely* the Kings second daughter to be joined in marriage with his sonne *James* the yong Prince, which was well listened vnto, by *Edward* and his Counsell, and least the motion should goe backe, a great summe of money lent to the *Scottish* King with this condition, that at a certain time appointed, it should be at K. *Edwards* choise, whether his daughter should match with that Prince, or else to haue the said summe againe repaid, Against which alliance and league (as *Lefly* reporteth) *Lewis* of France much repined, and to annihilate the same sent D. *Ireland*, a certaine knight, and another religious man, to moue King *James* to make warre against *England*.

(110) These no Peace-makers for *Christ*, but firebrands of *Belial*, blew the smothered sparkes of dissention into a flame of bloody warre, which fell the more heauy vpon *Scotland*, for that K. *James* much wedded vnto his owne will, and altogether ruled by men of meane worth, whom himselfe had aduanced from nothing, had not only neglected by their intigations the loue of his Nobles, but also banished the Realme of *Scotland*, *Alexander Duke of Albany* his second brother; and had caused the veins of *Iohn Earle of Marre* his other brother, to be opened, whereby hee bled to death; these and other discontents alienated his Subiects hearts from him, which laid the land more open vnto the English Inuaders; and yet to draw them more deadly against him, relying vpon his owne valor, and the assistance of France, hee sent word vnto *Edward*, that hee should not aid his owne sister of *Burgundie* against K. *Lewis*, being the Scots Allies; also with threats of warre commanded him to deliuer to his Ambassadors, the Duke of *Albanie* (then residing in the English Court) and lastlie to make good and repay dammages done vpon the *Scottish* Borders.

(111) King *Edward* not a little enraged at these double dealings, even in the winter season mustered his men, prepared his artillery, and rigged his ships, that nothing should be vnready at the next Spring; which no sooner was come, but that hee ordained for his Lieutenant his brother *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, who with *Henric Earle of Northumberland*, *Thomas Lord Stanley*, the Lord *Louell*, *Greifstock* and others, (the Duke of *Albanie* marching vnto *Gloucesters* banner) with twenty thousand strong repaired into the North: and first besieged the strong Towne *Berwick*, then entring the chiefe City *Edenborough*, vrged K. *James* to performe his couenants, concerning the marriage betwixt Prince *James* his sonne, with Lady *Cicely* before agreed vpon, threatening destruction if the match went not forward. The *Scottish* Nobility considering the eminent danger, put to death the wicked Counsellors of their King, ordained the Duke of *Albanie* the Vicegerent of *Scotland*, and promised to repay the money receiued according to Couenants; after which with the deliuey of the strong Towne *Berwick*, which had beene out of the English possession the space of one and twentie yeeres, a general peace was concluded betwixt the two Realmes. Whereupon not long after, *Gartur* King at armes was sent into *Scotland*, with an Instrument in writing vnto the Prouost and Burgeffes of *Edenburgh*.

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Helisfr. p. 707.

burgh (who had undertaken to disburse the money) to lignifie King Edwards minde touching the marriage intended, and to demand the said summe by a day assigned, which accordingly was repaide.

(112) The marriage with Scotland thus broken off, for the Lady Cately by K. Edward himselfe, that with France for the Princeesse Elizabeth, both he and his Queene greatly desired, and daily sought after. But Lewis the French King, finding the daughter of Aufrich more fit for his sonne, dallied out Edward with shewes of firme faith, till he had effected the thing he went about: which mischiefe sounded so harshly in the English Kings eare, as in no wife hee would suffer that string to be touched, but euer beleued that the French meant him faire play, and although the yeeres of the parties themselves might beget some suspicion, hee being much elder then the Dauphin, and the truth thereof confirmed by the Duke of Aufriches Leger-Ambassadors residing in England, yet Edward would not so much as suppose a suspect against the French King, and therefore suffered Lewis to inchoach upon those parts of Picardie that ioyned to Calles, and to gaine time till it was past recall: for then the Lord Howard returning from France, confidently told him that hee was present, and saw the Lady Margaret of Aufrich, daughter to Duke Maximilian, sonne to the Emperour Frederick, received vnto France with great pompe & royaltie: and at Ambois contracted and espoused to the Dauphin.

(113) Edward mightily chafed to be thus worked by Lewis, made great preparation for France, but whether with anger, griefe, or melancholy, hee fell into a dangerous and deadly sicknesse, some say, of a superfluous surfeit, whereunto he was much giuen: Communes faith, of a Catarrhe, which weake estate turned his minde another way: for calling his Lords into his sickle presence, and raising his faint body vpon his Bed-Pillowes, these words vnto them hee lastly spake:

"(114) My Lords, my deare Kinsmen, & Allies, in what plight I lie, you see, and I feele; by which the lesse while I looke to liue with you, the more deeply am I moued to care in what case I leaue you; for such as I leaue you, such bee my children like to finde you. Which if they should (that God forbid) finde you at variance, might hap to fall themselves at warre, ere their discretion would serue to set you at peace. See see their youth, of which I reckon the only surety to rest in your concord. For it sufficeth not that all you loue them, if each of you hate other. If they were men, your faithfulness would suffice: but child-hood must bee maintained by mens authoritie, and slippery youth underpropped with elder counsell, which neither they can haue, vnlesse you giue it, nor you giue it, if you agree not. For where each laboureth to breake that which the other maketh, and through hatred of each others person impugneth each others counsell, there must it needs be long, or any good conclusion goe forward: And while cyther party strueth to bee chiefe, flatterie shall haue more play then plaine and faithfull aduise, of which must needs issue the euill bringing vp of the Prince; whose minde in tender youth infected, shall readily fall to riot and mischief, and draw downe with him his noble Realme vnto ruine: but if grace turne him to wisdom: which if God send, then they that by euill meanes before pleased him best, shall after fall furthest out of fauour, so that euer at length euill drifts draw to nought, and good plaine wayes prosper. Great variance hath there long time beene betwene you, nor wayes for great causes. Sometime a thing right well intended, our misconstructions turneth vnto worse, or a small displeasure done vs, either our own affections or euill tongues agreeth. But this wot I well, ye neuer had so great cause of hatred, as you haue of loue. That we

"be all men, that wee be Christian men, this shall I leaue for Preachers to tell you (and yet I wot nere whether any Preachers words ought more to moue you, then his, that is by and by, going to the place that they all preach of.) But this I shall desire you to remember, that the one part of you is of my blood, the other of my Allies; and each of you with other, either of kindred or affinitie, which spirituall kindred of affinitie, if the Sacraments of Christs Church beare that weight with vs, that would to God they did, should no lesse moue vs to charitie, then the respect of fleshly consanguinitie. Our Lord forbid, that you loue together the worse for the selfe cause, that you ought to loue the better. And yet that happeneth, and no where finde we so deadly debate, as among them, which by nature and law ought most to agree together. Such a pestilent serpent is ambition, and desire of vaine glory and foueraintie which among states where it once entrencheth, creepeth forth so farre, till with diuision and variance hee turneth all to mischief, first longing to be next the best, afterward equally with the best, and at last chiefe and aboue the best. Of which immoderate appetite of worship, and thereby of debate and dissention, what losse, what sorrow, what trouble, hath within these few yeeres growne in this Realme, I pray God as well forget as we remember. Which things, if I could as well haue foreseen, as I haue with my more paine then pleasure proved, by Gods blessed Lady (that was euer his oath) I would neuer haue won the crosse of mens knees, with the losse of so many heads. But sith things passed cannot be gaine-called, much ought we the more beware, by what occasion wee haue taken to great hurt afore, that wee eft soones fall not into the like againe. Now be those griefes passed, and all is (God be thanked) quiet, and likely right well to prosper in wealthful peace vnder your Cosins, my children, if God send them life, and you loue. Of which two things the lesse losse were they, by which though God did his pleasure, yet should the Realme alway finde Kings, and peradventure as good Kings. But if you among your selues in a childes raigine fall at debate, many a good man shall perish, and happily he too, and yet too, ere this Land finde peace againe. Wherefore in these last words that euer I looke to speake with you, I exhort, and require you al, for the loue that you haue euer borne vnto me: for the loue that I haue euer borne vnto you, for the loue that our Lord beareth to vs all, from this time forward all griefes forgotten, each of you loue others, which I verily trust you will, if you any thing regard, either God, or your King, affinitie or kindred, this Realme, your owne country, or your owne surety.

(115) And therewithall the King no longer induring to sit vp, layd him downe on his right side, his face towards them, who with weeping eyes & words as fited the time, recomfited the sickle dying King, ioyning their hands, and outwardly forgiuing that, which inwardly they meant not to forget. The King ouer-joyed to see their willing reconcilments spake not many wordes after, but commending his soule vnto God, in their presence departed this life at his Pallace of Westminster, vpon the 9. day of April, and yeere of Christs appearance 1483. at the age offorty one, when he had worne the royal Diademe, two and twenty yeeres, one moneth and five daies: and was buried at Windsor, in the newe Chappell, whose foundation himselfe had layd.

(116) Of personage hee was the goodliest Gentleman (saith Commynes) that euer mine eyes beheld, faire of complexion, and of most princely presence; courageous of heart, politicke in counsell; in aduersitie nothing abashed; in prosperitie rather ioyous then proud: in peace iust and mercifull; in warre sharpe and fierce, and in field bold and venturous: yet no further then wisdom would, and is no lesse commended

King Edward
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of ambitionKing Edward
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of Edward.Phil. Comm.
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commended where he auoided, then is his manhood when he vanquished: eight or nine bartels he won, wherein to his greater renowne he fought on foote, and was euer victor ouer his enemies: much giuen hee was to the lusts of youth, and in his latter time, growne somewhat corpulent, which rather adorned his grauer yeeres, then any waies disliked the eyes of his beholders.

His Wife.

(117) Elizabeth the daughter of Richard Wooduill Earle Rivers by his wife Iaquelana Dutcheffe of Bedford, who was the daughter of Peter Earle of S. Paul, and he the sonne of Peter de Luxembourg, was first married vnto Sir John Grey saine at S. Albans, where he was knighted the day before his death by King Henry the first, vnto whom shee bare two sonnes and a daughter, after whose death shee was priuately remarried vnto K. Edward the fourth, the first day of May, at his mannor of Grafton in Northamptonshire Anno 1464. and in the next yeere following vpon the fixe and twentieth of May, was crowned Queen at Westminster with al due solemnities. Shee was his wife eighteene yeeres, eleuen moneths, and nine daies, no more fortunate in attaining to the height of all worldly dignity, then vnfortunate in the murder of her sonnes, and losse of her owne liberty: For in the beginning of K. Edwards raigne, shee was forced to take Sanctuary at Westminster, wherein her first sonne Prince Edward was borne; and at his death did he like in feare of the Protector, and lastly hauing all her lands and possessions seized vpon by K. Henrie the seauenth, liued in meane estate in the Monastery of Bermundsey in Southwarke, where not long after shee left the troubles of her life, and inioined a quiet portion or burying place by her last husband King Edward at Windsor.

(118) Elianor Butler, as we find it recorded vpon the Parliament Role, was contracted vnto King Edward: but how true considering the occasion, and time of the Act, we leaue for others to iudge, onely this is most certain that this Lady Elianor was the daughter of John Talbot Earle of Shrewsbury, and the wife of Sir Thomas Butler Knight, sonne and heire to Ralph Butler Baron of Sudley, which Elianor died the thirtieth of Iune, the yeere of Christ Iesus 1466. and the eight of King Edward the fourth his raigne.

His Issue.

(119) Edward the eldest sonne of K. Edward the fourth by Queene Elizabeth his wife, was borne in the Sanctuary at Westminster the fourth of November, and yeere of grace 1471. being the tenth of his fathers raigine, at that time expelled the Realme by the powerful Earle Warwick; but fortune changed, and the father restored, the sonne, the first of Iuly and yeere of Christ was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall and Earle of Chester; and had not the ambitious hand of his vnkle bene defiled in his innocent blood, he might haue worne the Diademe many yeeres, whereas he bare the Title of King not many daies.

(120) Richard the second sonne of K. Edward the fourth by Elizabeth his Queen, was borne at Shrewsbury, and in his infancy was created Duke of Yorke, he was affianced vnto Anne daughter and heire to John Mowbray Duke of Norfolk, by which he was intituled Duke of Norfolk, Earle-Marshall, Warren, and Nottingham, but inioyning neither Title, wife, or his owne life long, was with his brother murdered in the Tower of London, and in the prison of that Tower, which vpon that most sinful deed is euer since called the bloody Tower, their bodies as yet vnknowne where to haue buriall.

(121) George the third sonne of K. Edward the fourth, by Queene Elizabeth his wife, was also borne in Shrewsbury, and being a yong Child was created Duke of Bedford, but liued not long after, and lieth buried at Windsor.

(122) Elizabeth the first daughter of K. Edward the fourth, by Elizabeth his Queene, was borne at Westminster the eleuenth of February, and fifth of her fathers raigne, being the yeere of Saluation 1466. Shee was promised in marriage to Charles Dauphin of France, wooed and courted by her vnkle Crouchbacke, when he had murdered her brothers, and vnderpied the Crowne, but better destiny attending her, shee was referred to ioin the vnion and marriage with the only heire of Lancaster, which was Henrie of Richmond, afterward King of England, from whom is branched the roiall stemme that spreadeth his beauty in this North-West world, euen James our dread Soueraigne, and great Brittaines Monarch.

(123) Cecily, the second daughter of K. Edward the fourth by Queene Elizabeth his wife, was sought vnto, by James the third of that name, to be ioined in marriage with James his sonne Prince of Scotland, and Duke of Albany, which match was promised vpon conditions and choise of K. Edward, who lastly brake off from further proceeding, and the Lady married vnto John Viscount Wels, whom shee outliued, and was againe remarried, but by neither husband had any issue, and therefore lesse noted; her body lieth buried at Quarrena in the Isle of Wight.

(124) Anne the third daughter of K. Edward the fourth, by Queene Elizabeth his wife, was married vnto Lord Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, Earle Marshall, and high Treasurer of England: vnto whom shee bare two sonnes both dying without issue, and her selfe without more fruit of wombe, left her life, and lieth buried at Framingham in Norfolk.

(125) Bridget the fourth daughter of K. Edward the fourth by his wife Queene Elizabeth, was borne at Eltham in Kent, the tenth of November and yeere of Grace 1480. being the twentieth of her fathers Raigine. Shee tooke the habite of Religion, and became a Nun in the Nunnery of Dartford, in the same County, founded by K. Edward the third, where shee spent her life in contemplations vnto the day of her death.

(126) Marie the fifth daughter of K. Edward the fourth by Queene Elizabeth his wife, was promised in marriage vnto the King of Denmarke, but died (before it could be solemnized) in the Tower of Greenwich, the Sunday before Pentecost the twentieth two of her fathers raigne, and yeere of Grace 1482. and was buried at Windsor.

(127) Margaret the sixth daughter of K. Edward the fourth, by his wife Queene Elizabeth, died an Infant without other mention in our Authors.

(128) Katherine the seventh daughter of King Edward the fourth, by Queene Elizabeth his wife, and the last of them both, was married vnto William Courtney Earle of Deuonshire, and Lord of Oxbampton, vnto whom shee bare Lord Henrie: after the death of his father Earle of Deuonshire, who by King Henrie the eight was created Marquess of Excester in Anno 1525.

His Concubines.

(129) Elizabeth Lucie is certainly known to haue been King Edwards Concubine, though nothing so certainly mentioned, whose Ladie, or of what Parentage shee was; that shee was concubed by him with child is before declared, but who that child was, is as obscurely laid downe; therefore in these things we must be silent, and leaue the doubts to be resolved by others. Three other concubines this king had, whereof Shores wife was not the least beloued, whose life

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France.King Edward
falleth sick.Thom. More,
King Edwards
speeches at his
death.The perils of
discord.Tender youth is
loose, infected.Great variance
for small causes.

falleth further to be spoken of in the Raigne of the viurper Richard, where her storie shall be shewed more at large.

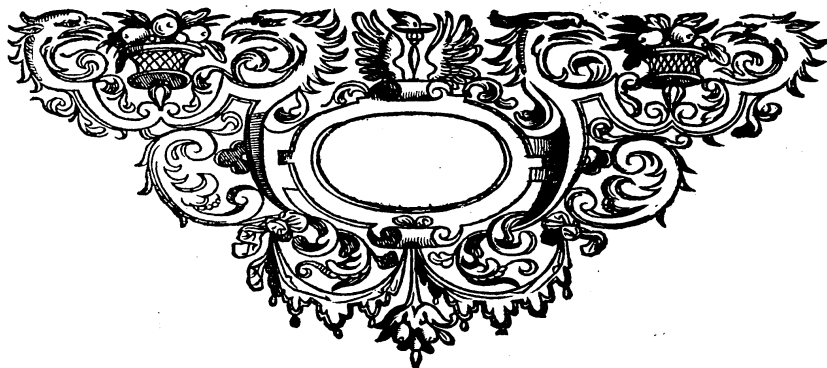
His naturall Issue.

(150) *Arthur*, surnamed *Plantagenet*, the naturall sonne of *K. Edward* the fourth, (whose mother as is supposed, was the Lady *Elizabeth Lacie*) was created Viscount *Lisle* by King *Henrie* the eight at *Bridewell* in *London*, the twentie sixth of *Aprill*, and yeere of *Saluation* 1533. which title was conferred vpon him in right of his wife Lady *Elizabeth*, sister and heire vnto *John Gray* Viscount *Lisle*, and the late wife and then widdow of *Edmund Dudley*: who bare vnto this Viscount three daughters, which were *Bridget*, *Frances*, and *Elizabeth*, all of them afterward mar-

ried. This *Arthur Lord Lisle* was made Lieutenant of *Calles* by the said *K. Henry*, which Towne some of his seruants intended to haue betrayed to the *French*, for which their fact himselfe was sent to the Tower of *London*: but his truth appearing after much search, the King sent him a rich ring from his owne finger, with such comfortable wordes, as at the hearing thereof a sudden ioy ouercharged his heart, & was so immoderately receiued, that the same night it made an end of his life, whose body was honorably buried in the same Tower.

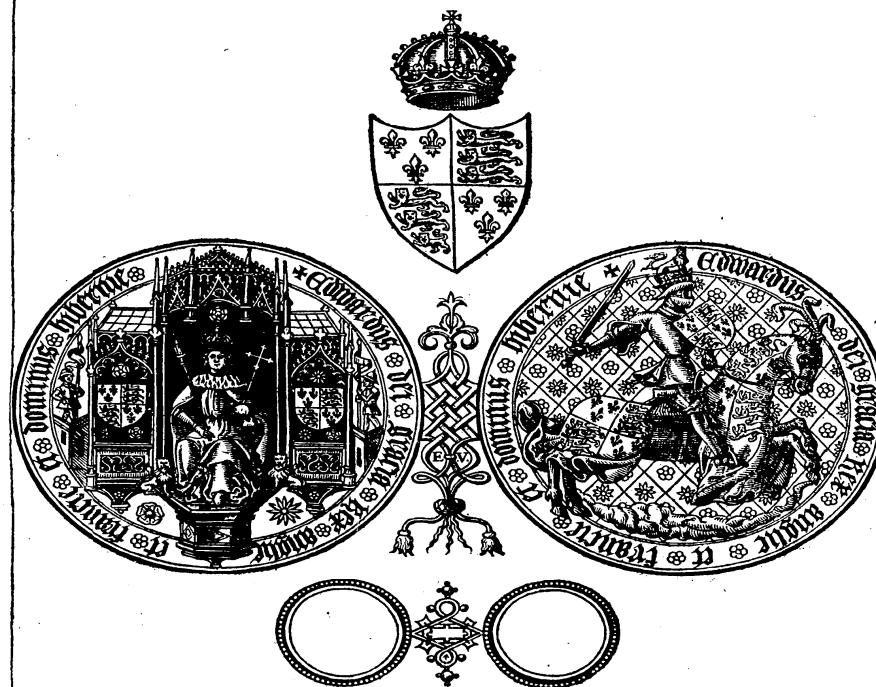
(151) *Elizabeth* the naturall daughter of *K. Edward* the fourth, was married to Sir *Thomas Lumley* Knight, the sonne of *George*, Lord *Lumley*, who died before his father: shee bare vnto the said Sir *Thomas*, *Richard*, afterward Lord *Lumley*, from whom the late Lord *Lumley* did descend.

EDWARD



EDWARD THE FIFTH, KING
OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND
LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE FIFTH MO-
NARCH OF THIS LAND, HIS RAIGNE,
AND DEATH.

For the most part written by Sir Thomas Moore.



CHAPTER XVI II.



He father thus dying in the strength of his yeeres, and the sonne left to rule before he was ripe, the Synders of dissensions which the sicke King had lately raked vp, presently brake forth into a more raging flame; for the king and Queenes blood that should haue supported young *Edwards* estate, the one side being suspicious, and the other prouoked by the execrable desire of souerainty, left the tender king (a Prince of such towardnes as his age could containe) destitute and vnarmed, which if either kind or kindred had holden place, must needs haue bene the surest pillars of his defence. The raigne

of this King (if we may so call the short time of his Souerainty) began the same day that his father died, though he was neuer Crowned, nor yet commanded the affaires of the Kingdome as an absolute Monarch, his young brothers fortunes being ballanced with his.

(2) For *Richard Duke of Gloucester*, by nature their vnckle, by office their Protector, to their Father beholden, to themselves by Oath and Allegiance bounden, all bands broken that holdeth man and man together, without any respect of God or the World, vnnaturally contriued to bereaue them, nor onlie of their dignity, but also their liues. But forso-much as the Dukes demeanour ministreth in effect all the whole matter whereof the raigne of this yong and sifit *Edward* must intreat, it is therefore conuenient, somewhat to shew you ere we goe further, what

April 19.
A. D. 1483.
Richard Duke of York.

Richard Duke of Gloucester an vn-naturall vnckle vnto the yong King and his brother.

man

Richard Duke of
York was the fa-
ther of Rich-
ard Duke of Glo-
cester.

man this was, and from whom he defended that could find in his heart so much mischief to conceive.

(3) Know first then that *Richard Duke of York*, a noble man and a mighty, beganne not by warre, but by law to challenge the Crowne; putting his claime into the Parliament; where his cause was (either for right or fauour) so farre forth advanced that King *Henries* blood (albeit he had a goodly Prince) was vterly reiecte, the Crowne by the authoritie of that high Court intailed to the Duke of *York*, and his issue male in remainder, immediately after the death of King *Henrie*. But the Duke not induring so long to tarrie, intending vnder pretext of diffention and debate arising in the Realme, to prevent his time, and to take vpon him the rule in King *Henries* life, was with many other Nobles slaine at *Wakefield*, leauing three sonnes, *Edward*, *George*, and *Richard*; all of them as they were great states of birth, so were they great and stately of stomacke, greedy and ambitious of authority, and impatient of partners.

Women com-
monly maligne
their husbands
kindred.

The description
of Richard Duke
of Gloucester.

(4) For *Edward* reuenging his fathers death de- priued king *Henry*, and attained the Crowne; The second, *George Duke of Clarence*, was a goodly Noble Prince, and in all things fortunate, if either his owne ambition had not set him against his brother, or the enuie of his enemies, his brother against him. For were it by the Queen and Lords of her blood which highly maligned the Kings kindred (as women commonly, not of malice but of nature hate them whom their husbands loue) or were it a proud appetite of the Duke himselfe, intending to be King: at least-wise hainous treason was laid to his charge, and finally were he faulty, were he faultlesse, attained he was by Parliament, and iudged to death, as we haue saide.

(5) *Richard* the third sonne, of whom we now entreat was in witand courage equall with either of them, in body and prowesse farre vnder them both, little of stature, ill-limmed, and crook-backed, his left shoulder much higher then his right, very hard fauoured of visage, and such as in States is called warly, in other men otherwise: he was malicious, wrathfull, and enuious, yea and from afore his birth cuer forward. For it is for truth reported, that the Dutcheffe his mother had so much adoe in her trauaile, that shee could not be deliuered of him vncut, and that he came into the world with his feete forward, as men be borne outward, and (as the same runneth) also not vntoothered; Whether men of hard report about the truth, or else that nature changed her Courte in his beginning, which in the course of his life many things vnaturally committed.

Richard Crooke-
backe a good
foulardier.

(6) No euill Captaine was he in the warre, as to which his disposition was more inclined then for peace; sundry victories he had, and sometimes ouer-throwes, but neuer in default as for his owne person, either of hardines, or politike order; free was he of his diffence, and somewhat about his power libe- rall: with large gifts he gave him vnitedfast friend- ship, for which he was forced to pill and pole in other places, which gave him stedfast hatred. He was close and secret, a deepe dissembler, lowly of countenance, arrogant of heart, outwardly familiar, where euen now he hated; and not letting to kisse whom he thought to kill; despitefull and cruell he was, not for euill-will alwaies, but oftner for ambition, and either for the fury, or increase of his estate. Friend and foe was much what indifferent; where his aduantage grew, he spared no mans death, whose life withstood his purpose. He slew with his own hands, King *Henrie* the sixth, being Prisoner in the Tower, as men constantlie said, and that without commandement or knowledge of the King, who vndoubtedly if he had intended his death, would haue appointed that butcherly office to some other then his owne brother.

He was the cause
of Clarence his
death.

(7) Some wise men also iudge, that his drift co- uetly conuicied, lacked not in helping forth his bro-

ther *Clarence* to his death; which he resisted openly, howbeit somewhat (as men deemed) more faintly, then he that was hardly minded to his wealth; And they that thus iudge, thinke that long time in *K. Edwards* life, he forsook to be king, in case that his brother (whose life he looked that euill diert should forren) should happen to decease (as indeed he did) while his children were young. And they deeme that for this intent he was glad of the Duke of *Clarence* death, whose life must needs haue hindered him to intending, (being his elder brother) whether the same Duke had kept him true to his Nephew the young king, or enterprized to be king himselfe. But of all this point, there is no certainty, and who so diuinieth vpon coniectures, may as well shoote too farre, as too short. Howbeit this haue I by credible information learned, that the same night, in which king *Edward* died, one *Mistelebrake* long ere morning, came in great haste to the house of one *Pottier* dwelling in *Red Croffe* street without Creepie-gate in *London*: and when he with hafty rapping, quickly was let in, he shewed vnto *Pottier* that *K. Edward* was de- parted. By my troth man quoth *Pottier*, then will my Master the Duke of *Gloucester* be king: what cause he had so to thinke, hard it is to say, whether being toward him knew any such thing intended, or otherwise had any inkling thereof, for it was not likely that he spake it of no ground.

Richard of
Gloucester
intendeth
to be King
while *K. Edward*
liued.

Edward
directed
towards
him.

The speech
of *Pottier* and
Edward.

The vnder-
trieth the
stratagem
of *Nephews*.

The see-
displace-
ment.

Richard
policy.

King *Ed-
ward*
care to
be
between
Queen
and
him.

The Que-
zealous
of the
Lord
beeline.

(8) But now to return to the course of this Histo- ry; were it that the Duke of *Gloucester* had of old fore- minded this conclusion, & was now thereunto mo- ued, & put in hope by the occasion of the tender age of the young Princes his Nephews (as opportunity & likelihood of speed, puteth a man in courage of that he neuer intended) certaintie it is, that he contriued their destruction, with the usurpation of the regall dignitie vpon himselfe, and forasmuch as he well wist, and holp to maintain a long continued grudge and hartburning betweene the *Queenes* kindred, and the Kings blood, either part enuying others au- thority; he now thought their diuisions should be (as it was indeed) a forward beginning to the pur- suite of his intent, and a sure ground for the founda- tion of all his building, if he might first, vnder the pretext of reuenging old displeasure, abate the anger and ignorance of the one party, to the destruction of the other, and then winne to his purpose as many as he could, and those that could not be wonne, might be lost before they were aware; for of one thing was he certaine, that if his intent were percei- ued he should soone haue made peace between both the parties with his owne blood.

(9) King *Edward* in his life, albeit that this diffen- tion betweene his friends somewhat grieved him, yet in his good health he somewhat lesse regarded it, because he thought whatsoeuer busines should fall betweene them, himselfe should alwaies be able to rule both the parties. But in his last sickness, when he perceived his natural strength lo forseebeled, that he dispaired all recouerie; then considering the youth of his Children, albeit he nothing lesse mistrus- ted then that that happened, yet well fore-seeing how many harmes might grow by their debate, while the youth of his children should lacke discre- tion of themselves, and good Counsell of their friends, of which either party should counsell for their owne commodity, and the rather by pleasant aduile to winne themselves fauour, then by profit- able aduertisements to doe his children good, hee called some of them before him as by vari- ance, and in speciall the Lord *Marquesse Dorset*, the *Queenes* sonne by her first husband, and *William Lord Hastings* a noble-man, then Lord *Chamberlaine*, against whom the *Queene* especially grudget, for the great fauor the King bare him: and also for that shee thought him secretly familiar with the King in wanton company. Her kindred also bare him sore, as well for that the King had made him Captain of *Calis*, which office the Lord *Rivers*, brother to the

Queene

Queen
only a
Prince.

The Duke
of
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The vnder-
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The L. Rivers much troubled at the fodaine action.

The L. Rivers imprisoned in Northampton.

The Dukes come to the King.

A quarrell picture in the kings presence.

Accusations against the Queens kindred

The King excuses his vncle.

The King is brought backe to Northampton.

The Duke of Gloucester sends a dish of meat vnto the Lord Rivers.

high-way towards *Stony-Stratford*, where the King lay, they had bestowed certain of their men, that should fend backe againe, and compell to returne any man that were gotten out of *Northampton* towards *Stony-Stratford*, till they had further order: forasmuch as the Dukes themselves intended for the shew of their diligence, to bee the first that should that day attend vpon the Kings Highnesse out of that Towne. Thus bare they folke in hand: but when the Lord *Rivers* vnderstood the gates closed, the wayes beset, neither his seruants, or himselfe suffered to goe out, considering well to greata thing without his knowledge, could not bee done for nought: and comparing this present manner, with his last nights cheare, in so few howres to haue so great a change, maruailously milked it. Howbeit litch hee could not get away, nor keepe himselfe close hee would not, lest hee should seeme to hide himselfe for some secret feare of his own fault, whereof hee saw no such cause in himselfe: hee determined vpon the fury of his owne conscience, to goe boldly vnto them, and to enquire what this matter might meane; whom as soone as they saw, they beganne to quarrell with, saying, that hee intended to set distance betweene the King and them, and to bring them to confusion, but it should not lie in his power. And when hee beganne (as hee was a very well spoken man) in seemely wise to excuse himselfe, they tarried not the end of his answer, but shortly took him, & put him in ward: and that done, forthwith went to horiebacke, and tooke the way to *Stony-Stratford*, where they found the King with his Company, ready to leape on horiebacke, and depart forward to leaue that lodging for them, because it was too strait for both companies.

(17) And as soone as they came in his presence, they alighted downe with all their company about them; to whom the Duke of *Buckingham* said, Go afore Gentlemen, and Ycemen keepe your rooms. In which goodly array they came to the King, and on their knees in very humble manner saluted his Grace, who receiued them in many ioyous and amiable manner, nothing knowing, nor mistrusting as yet what was done. But euen by and by in his presence, they picked a quarrell to the Lord *Gray*, the Kings other brother by his mother, saying, that he with the Lord *Marquess* his brother, and the Lord *Rivers* his vncle, had compassed to rule the King and the realm, and to set variance among the States, and to subdue and destroy the noble blood of the Realme: towards the accomplishing whereof, they said that the Lord *Marquess* had entred into the Tower of *London*, & thence taken out the Kings treasure, and had sent men to the sea. All which things these Dukes well knew were done for necessary and good purposes, by the whole Councell at *London*, sauing that somewhat they must say.

(18) Vnto which words the King answered, what my brother *Marquess* had done I cannot say: but in good sooth I dare well answer for mine vncle *Rivers*, & my brother here, that they are innocent of any such matter: yea my liege, quoth the Duke of *Buckingham*, they haue kept their dealings in these matters farre from the knowledge of your good Grace. And forthwith they arrested the Lord *Richard*, Sir *Thomas Vaughan*, and Sir *Richard Hawk* Knights in the Kings presence, and brought the King and all his company backe vnto *Northampton*, where they tooke againe further counsell. And there they sent away from the King whome it pleased them, and fer new seruants about him, such as better liked them: then him: At which dealing the king wept, and was nothing content; but it bootet not: and at dinner, the Duke of *Gloucester* sent a dish from his owne Table to the Lord *Rivers*, bidding him be of good cheere for all should bee well. But the Lord *Rivers* thanking the Duke, prayed the Messenger to beare it to the Lord *Richard*, with the same message for his comfort, as one to whom such aduersity was

strange, but himselfe had bene all his dayes inured therewith, and therefore could beare it the better: but for all this comfortable courtesie of the Duke of *Gloucester*, he sent the Lord *Rivers*, and the Lord *Richard*, with Sir *Thomas Vaughan* into the North Country, into diuers places to prison, and afterward all to *Pomfret*, where they were in conclusion beheaded.

(19) In this wise the Duke of *Gloucester* tooke vpon himselfe the Order and Governance of the young King, whom with much honour and humble reuerence hee conuaid towards *London*. But anone the tidings of this matter came hastily to the Queene, a litle before the midnight following, and that in the forest wife, that the King her sonne was taken, her brother, her sonne, and other friends arrested, & sent no man with whither, to bee done with God wot what. With which tidings, the Queen in great fright & heauinesse, bewailed her childes raigne, her friends mischance, and her owne misfortune, damning the time that euer shee disswaded the gathering of power about the King, got her selfe in all hast possibill with her young sonne, and her daughters, out of the Palace of *Westminster*, in which shee then lay, into the Sanctuary, lodging her selfe, and company there in the Abbots place.

(20) Now came there one likewise, not long after night from the Lord *Chamberlaine*, vnto the Archbishoppe of *York* then Chancellor of *England*, to his place not farre from *Westminster*, & for that hee shewed his seruants, that he had tidings of great importance, that his M. gaue him in charge, not to forbear his rest, they letted not to awake him; nor hee to admit the Messenger vnto his bed side. Of whom hee heard that these Dukes were gone backe with the Kings Grace from *Stony-Stratford* vnto *Northampton*: notwithstanding Sir (quoth he) my Lord fendeth your Lordshippe word, that there is no feare: for hee assureth you that all shall bee well. I assure him (quoth the Archbishoppe) bee it as well as it will, it will neuer bee so well as we haue seene it. And thereupon by and by after the messengers departure, hee caused in all hast all his seruants to be called vp, and so with his owne household about him, every man weaponed, hee tooke the Great Seale with him, and came yet before day vnto the Queene. About whom he found much heauinesse, rumble, hast and businesse, carriage and conuenance of her stuffe into Sanctuary, chests, coffers, packes and fardels, trusted all on mens backs, no man vnoccupied, some lading, some going, some discharging, some comming for more, some breaking down the wals, to bring in the next way, and some drew to them to helpe to carry a wrong way. The Queene her selfe fate alone alow on the rushes, all delolate and dismayed, whom the Archbishop comforted in the best manner hee could, shewing her that hee trusted the matter was nothing so fore as shee tooke it for, and that hee was put in good hope and out of feare, by a message sent him from the L. Chamberlaine: Ah woe worth him (quoth the Queene) hee is one of them that laboureth to destroy mee and my blood.

(21) Madam (quoth hee) bee of good cheare, for I assure you, if they crowne any other King then your sonne, whom they haue now with them, we shal on the morrow crown his brother, whom you haue here with you: and here is the great Seale, which in like sort as that noble Prince your husband deliuered it vnto me, so here I deliuer it vnto you, to the vse and behoofe of your sonne, and therewith hee betooke her the Great Seale, and departed home againe, euen in the dawning of the day: by which time hee might in his Chamber window see all the Thames full of boates of the Duke of *Gloucester* seruants, watching that no man should goe to Sanctuary, nor none should passe vnsearched. Then was there great commotion and murmur, as well in other places about, as especially in the City, the people diuersly

The L. Rivers others beheaded

The Chancellor's dish for the great Seale to the Queene.

Queene's birth in the Sanctuary.

The L. Chamberlaine's news to the L. Chamberlor.

The great unquietness and confusion of the Queens seruants.

The Archbishops comfort to the Queene.

The L. Chamberlor gives the great Seale to the Queene.

one the are the straddles. Ward & Citizens accompany them.

ueryly diuining vpon this dealing. And some Lords, Knights and Gentlemen, eyther for fauour of the Queene, or for feare of themselves, assembled inundry Companies, and went flooke-meale in harness: and many also, for that they accounted this demonstration attempted, not so specially against the other Lords, as against the King himselfe in the disturbance of his Coronation.

(22) But then, by and by the Lords assembled together, towards which meeting, the Archbishoppe of *York* fearing that it would bee ascribed (as it was indeed) to his ouermuch lightnesse, that hee so sodainly had yielded vp the great Seale to the Queene (to whom the custody thereof nothing appertained) without speciall commandement of the King, secretly sent for the Seale againe, & brought it with him after the accustomed manner. And at this meeting, the Lord *Hastings*, whose truth toward the King no man doubted, nor needed to doubt, perswaded the Lords to beleue, that the Duke of *Gloucester*, was sure and fastly faithfull to his Prince, and that the Lord *Rivers* and Lord *Richard*, with the other knight, were for matters attempted by them against the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* put vnder arrest for their surety, not for the Kings icopardy; and that they were also in safeguard, & there no longer should remaine, then till the matter were, not by the Dukes onely, but also by all the other Lords of the kings Councell indifferently examined, and by other discretions ordered, either iudged or appealed. But one thing hee aduised them beware, that they iudged not the matter too farre forth ere they knew the truth, nor turning their private grudges into the common hurt, irking and prouoking men vnto anger, and disturbing the kings Coronation; towards which the Dukes were comming vp, that they might peraduenture bring the matter to lare out of ioynt, that it should neuer bee brought in frame againe. Which strife if it should happen (as it were likely) to come to a field, though both parties were in all things equall, yet should the authority be on that side where the King is himselfe.

(23) With these perswasions of the Lord *Hastings*, whereof part himselfe beleueed, of part hee wist the contrary, these commotions were somewhat appeased, but especially by that, that the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham* were so nere, and came so shortly on with the King, in none other manner, with none other voice, or any other semblance then to his Coronation; causing the fame to be blowne about, that these Lords and Knights which were taken, had contriued the destruction of the Dukes of *Gloucester* and *Buckingham*, and of other the Noble blood of the Realme, to the end that themselves would alone demean and gouerne the King at their pleasure. And for the Colourable prooffe thereof, such of the Dukes seruants as rode with the Carts of their stuffe that were taken (amongst which stuffe no maruell though some were harness, which at the breaking vp of the household, must needs either be brought away, or cast away) they shewed vnto the people all the way as they went; saying, loe here be the barrels of harness, that these Traitors haue priuily conueied in their Carriages to destroy the Noble Lords withall. This deuise, albeit it made the matter to wisemen more vnlike, well perceiving that the intendres of such a purpose, would rather haue had their harness on their backs, then to be bound vp in barrels: yet much part of the common people were therewith verie well satisfied, and said it were almes to hang them.

(24) When the King approched nere to the City, *Edmund Shaa* Goldsmith then Maior, with *William White* and *John Matthew* Sheriffs, and all the other Aldermen in Carlet, with five hundred horse of the Citizens in violet, receiued him reuerently at *Harnessey*, and ryding from thence, accompanied him into the City, which hee entred the fourth day of

May, the first and last yeere of his Raigne. The King was lodged in the Bishops Pallace, where was kept a great Councell, and there was iworne to the king, the Duke of *Gloucester*, the Duke of *Buckingham*, and all the Lords. But the Duke of *Gloucester*, bare him in open fight so reuerent to the Prince, with all semblance of lowlines, that from the great obloquie in which he was so late before, he was sodainly false in so great trust, that at the Councell next assembled, he was made the only man, choise & thought most meet to be Protector of the king and his realm, so that (were it destiny, or were it folly) the lambe was betaken to the wolfe to keepe. At which Councell also, the Archbishop of *York* Chancellor of *England*, which had deliuered vp the great Seale to the Queene, was thereof greatly reprovied, and the Seale taken from him, and deliuered to Doctor *Rufell* Bishop of *Lincolne*, a wife man, and of much experience, and vndoubtedly one of the best learned men that *England* had in his times: diuers Lords & Knights were appointed vnto diuers Roomes, the Lord Chamberlaine, and some others, keeping still their offices they had before.

(25) Now although that the Protector, so fore thirsted for the finishing of those designs which he had begun, and thought every day a yeere till they were attieued, yet durst hee no further attempt, so long as hee had but halfe his pray in his hand: well witting, that if he depoeled the one brother, all the Realme would fall to the other, if he either remained in Sanctuary, or should be conueied to his further liberty: wherefore, incontinent at the next meeting of the Lords in Councell, hee proposed vnto them, that it was a heinous deed of the Queene, and proceeded of great malice towards the Kings Councillers, that shee should keepe in Sanctuary the Kings brother from him, whose speciall pleasure and comfort were to haue his brother with him: and that by her done, was to none other intent, but to bring all the Lords in obloquie, and murmur of the people, as though they were not to be trusted with the Kings brother, who by assent of the Nobles of the land, were appointed as the Kings neerest friends, to the tuition of his owne royall person. The prosperity whereof standeth (quoth hee) not all in keeping from enemies or ill viand, but partly also in recreation, and moderate pleasure, which hee in his tender youth cannot take in the company of ancient persons, but in the familiar conuersation of those that be neither farre vnder, nor farre about his age, and neuertheless of estate conuenient to accompany his noble Maiesty; wherefore with whom rather, then with his owne brother? And if any man thinke this consideration (which I thinke no man thinketh that loueth the King) let him consider that sometimes without small things, greater cannot stand. And verily, it redoundeth greatly to the dishonour both of the Kings Highnesse, and of vs all that are about his Grace, to haue it runne in euery mans mouth, (as in this Realme onely, but also in other lands, not in euill words walke farre) that the Kings brother shall bee faine to keepe Sanctuary; for every man I deeme, will suppose, that there is occasion giuen, why it should so be: and such euill opinions once fastened in mens hearts, hardly can bee screwed out againe, and may grow to more griefe then any man here can diuine. Wherefore I thinke it were not the worst to send vnto the Queene for the redresse of this matter, some honourable trusty man, such as both tendreth the kings weale, and the honour of this Councell, and is also in fauour and credence with her. For all which considerations, none seemeth to mee more meete, then our reuerend Father here present, my Lord Cardinal, who may in this matter doe most good of any man, if it please him to take the pains, which I doubt not of his goodnesse hee will not refuse, for the Kings sake and ours, and weale of the young Duke himselfe, the Kings most honourable brother,

Richard Duke of Gloucester made Protector of the King and Realm.

The great Seale is taken from the Archbishop of York.

The Protector's persuasion to take out of Sanctuary the young Duke of York.

A fine fetch to fetch out the Duke.

The Protector should haue the Queene sent vnto.

If the Queene
refuse to deliuer
the Duke what is
to be done.

All the Counsell
allow of the Pro-
tectors speech.

A great offence
to breake the
Sanctuary.

S. Peters owne
Cope was to be
seen in Westminster.

The Duke of
Buckingham
speech.

Queene Elizabeth
beth held to have
a shrewd wit.

ther, and after my Soueraigne himselte, my most
deere Nephew. Considering that thereby shall be
ceased the slanderous rumor and obloquie now go-
ing, and the hurts auoided that thereof might insue,
and much rest and quiet grow to all the Realme. And
if the be percase so obdurate, and so precisely set vpon
her owne will, that neither his wife and faithful ad-
uertisement cannot moue her; nor any mans reason
content her: then shall we by mine aduise, and by
the Kings authority, fetch him out of that Prison; &
bring him to his noble presence, in whose continuall
company he shall be so well cherished, and so hono-
rably intreated, that all the world shall to our honor,
and her reproach perceiue, that it was only malice,
frowardnes, or folly, that caused her to keepe him
there: this is my minde in this matter for this time,
except any of your Lordships any thing perceiue to
the contrary, for neuer shall I by Gods Grace, so wed
my selfe to my owne will, but that I shall be ready to
change it vpon your better aduises.

(26) When the Protector had said, all the Coun-
cell affirmed that the motion was good and reasona-
ble, and to the King and the Duke his brother hono-
rable, and the thing that should cease great mur-
mur in the Realme, if the mother might be by good
meanes induced to deliuer him. Which thing the
Archbishop of York, whom they all agreed also to
be thereto most convenient, tooke vpon him to
moue her, and therein to doe his vttermost endea-
uour: howbeit if she could by no meanes be entrea-
ted with her good will to deliuer him, then thought
he, and such other of the Clergy then present, that it
were not in any wise to be attempted, to take him
out against her will. For it would be a thing that
should turne to the great grudge of all men, and high
displeasure of God, if the priuiledge of that holy
place should now be broken, which had so manie
yeeres beene kept, which both Kings and Popes so
good had granted, so many had confirmed, and
which holy ground was more then five hundred
yeeres agoe, by S. Peter in his owne person, in spirite
accompanied with great multitude of Angels, by
night so specially hallowed and dedicated to God,
(for the prooue whereof, they haue yet in the Abbey,
S. Peters Cope to shew) that from that time hi-
therward, was there neuer so vndeuous a King, that
durst violate that sacred place, or so holy a Bishop,
that durst presume to consecrate it; and therefore
(quoth the Archbishop of York) God forbid that a
ny man should for any thing earthly, enterprize to
breake the immunity and liberty of that sacred San-
ctuary, that hath beene the safegard of many a good
mans life: and I trust (quoth he) with Gods grace we
shall not need it. But for what need focuer, I would
not we should doe it; I trust that shee shall be with
reason contented, and all things in good manner ob-
tained, but if it happen, that I bring it not so to passe,
yet shall I toward it with my best, and you shall all
well perceiue, that there shall be of my endeavour
no lacke, if the mothers dread, and womanish feare
be not the let.

(27) Womanish feare, nay womanish frowardnes
(quoth the Duke of Buckingham) for I dare take
it vpon my soule, shee wel knoweth, there is no need
of any feare, either for her sonne or for her selfe. For
as for her, here is no man that will be at warr with
a woman. Would God some of the men of her kin
were women too, and then should all be soone in rest:
Howbeit, there is none of her kin the lesse looued, for
that they be of her kin, but for their owne euill de-
serving. And nay the lesse, if we loued neither her,
nor her kin, yet were there no cause to thinke, that
we should hate the Kings noble brother, to whose
Grace we our selues be of kin: whose honor, if shee
as much desired, as our dishonor, and as much re-
gard tooke to his wealth, as to her owne will, shee
would be so loth to suffer him from the King, as any
of vs be. For, if shee haue wit, (as would God shee
had as good will as shee hath shrewd wit) shee reck-

neeth her selfe no wifer, then shee thinketh some that
be here, of whose faithfull minde shee nothing doub-
teth, but verily beleueth and knoweth, that they
would be as sorry for his harme, as her selfe, and yet
would haue him from her, if shee bide there: and we
all (I thinke) content, that both be with her, if shee
come thence, and bide in such place, where they may
be with their honour. Now then, if shee refuse in
the deliuerance of him, to follow the Counsell of
them, whose wisdom shee knoweth, whose truth
shee well trusteth: it is easie to perceiue, that for-
wardnes leaue her, and not feare. But goe to, sup-
pose that shee feare, (as who may let her to feare her
owne shadow) the more shee feareth to deliuer him,
the more ought we to feare to leaue him in her
hands. For, if shee cast such fond doubts, that shee
feare his hurt; then will shee feare, that hee shall
bee fetcht thence. For shee will founte thinke, that if
men were let (which God forbid) vpon to great a
mischiefe, the Sanctuary would little let them:
which good men might (as I thinke) without sin,
somewhat lesse regard then they doe. Then, if shee
doubt, lest hee might bee fetched from her, is it
not likely that shee shall send him somewhere out
of the Realme? Verily, I looke for none other. And
I doubt not, but shee now as fore minded it, as we
the let thereof. And if shee might happen to bring
that to passe (as it were no great matter, we let
her alone) all the world would say, that wee were
a wile fort of Counsellors about a King, that suffer
his brother to be cast away vnder our noses. And
therefore I assure you faithfully for my mind, I will
rather maugre her mind, fetch him away, then leaue
him there, till her frowardnes and fond feare con-
uay him away. And yet will I breake no Sanctua-
ry therefore: for verily, sith the priuiledges of that
place, and other like haue bene of long continued,
I am not he that wil goe about to breake them. And
in good faith, if they were now to begin, I would
not be he that should be about to make them. Yet
will I not say nay, but that it is a deed of pittie, that
such men, as the sea, or their euill debtors haue
brought in poverty, should haue some place of li-
berty, to keepe their bodies out of the danger of
their cruell Creditors. And also, if the Crowne
happen (as it hath done) to come in question, while
either part taketh other as Traitors, I like well
there be some places of refuge for both. But as for
theeues, of which these places bee full, and which ne-
uer fall from the craft after they once fall thereunto;
it is pittie the Sanctuary should serue them, & much
more manquellers, whom God bad to take from the
Altar and kill them, if their murder were willfull.
And where it is otherwise, there need wee not the
Sanctuaries, that God appointed in the old Law:
for if either necessity, his own defence, or misfortune
draweth him to that deed, a pardon serueth, which
either the law granteth of course, or the King of pit-
ty may. Then looke we now how few sanctuary men
there be, whom any fauourable necessity compelled
to goe thither; and then see on the other side, what
a fort there be commonly therein of them, whom
willfull vnthriftinesse hath brought to naught: what
rabble of theeues, murderers, and malicious hainous
Traitors, and that in two places especially: the one
at the elbow of the City, the other in the very bow-
els. I dare well aow it, weigh the good that they
doe, with the hurt that commeth of them, and yee
shall finde it much better to lacke both, then to
haue both. And this I say, although they were not
abused as they now be, and so long haue been, that
I feare mee euer they will bee, while men bee afraide
to set the hands to amend the, as though God & S.
Peter were the patrons of vngracious liuing. Now vn-
thrifts riot, and runne in debt, vpon the boldnes of
these places; yea, and rich men runne thither with
poore mens goods, there they build, there they
spend, and bid their Creditors goe whistle. Mens
wiues runne thither with their husbands plate, and
say,

Not feared
towards the
Sanctuary.

gentle of
Sanctuary.

A greater
without any
great cause.

Duke of
Buckingham
Sanctuary.

Buckingham
opinion
Sanctuary.

Much
suffered
Sanctuary.

the Pope
King can al-
Sanctuary
no confidence
in mens
word.

William
S. Marston

may take
the out of
Sanctuary with-
out offence
to the King.

say, they dare not abide with their husbands for
beating. Theeues bring thither their stoll goods,
and lue thereon riotously: there they deuise new
robberies, nightly they steale out, they rob and
riue, kill and come in againe, as though those pla-
ces gaue them not onely a safegard for the harme
they haue done, but a licence also to do more; how-
beit much of this mischief, if Wifemen would set
their hands to it, might bee amended, with great
thanks of God, and no breach of the Priuiledge.
The residue, sith so long agoe, I wote neere what
Pope, and what Prince more pitteous then poli-
ticke hath granted it, and other men since, of a cer-
taine religious feare, haue not broken it; let vs
therefore take paine therewith, and let it a Gods
name stand in force, as farre forth as reason will,
which is not fully so farre forth, as may serue to let
vs of the fetching forth of this Nobleman, to his
honour and wealth, out of that place, in which he
neither is, nor can be a Sanctuary man. A Sanctua-
ry serueth alwayes to defend the body of that
man that standeth in danger abroad, not of great
hurt onelic, but also of lawful hurt; for against vn-
lawfull harmes, neuer Pope nor King intended to
priuiledge any one place, for that priuiledge hath
euery place: knoweth any man any place, wherein
it is lawful for one man to do another wrong? that
no man vnlawfully take hurt, that liberty, the
King, the Law, and very nature forbidder in euery
place, and maketh to that regard, for euery man, e-
uery place a Sanctuary: but where a man is by
lawfull meanes in perill, there needeth hee the tui-
on of some speciall priuiledge, which is the onely
ground and cause of all Sanctuaries: from which ne-
cessity this noble Prince is free, whose loue to the
King, nature and kindred proueth, whose innocen-
cy to all the world, his tender youth proueth, and
so Sanctuary, as for him, neither none he needeth,
nor none can hee haue. Men come not to Sanctua-
ry, as they come to Baptisme, to require it by their
Godfathers; hee must aske it himselfe, that must
haue it, and reason, sith no man hath cause to haue
it, but whose conscience of his owne fault maketh
him faine need to require it: what will then hath
yonder babe? which and if he had discretion to re-
quire it, if hee were, I dare say would now bee
right angry with them that keepe him there: and I
would thinke without any scruple of conscience,
without any breach of Priuiledge, to bee somewhat
more homelic with them, that be there Sanctuarie
men indeed: for if one goe to Sanctuary with an-
other mans goods, why should not the King, leauing
his body at liberty, satisfie the party of his goods,
euil within the Sanctuarie? for neither King nor
Pope can giue any place such a priuiledge, that it
shall discharge a man of his debtes, being able to
pay. And with that diuers of the Clergy that
were present, whether they said it for his pleasure,
or as they thought, agreede plainly, that by the
law of God, and of the Church, the goods of a
Sanctuarie man, should bee deliuered in payment
of his debtes, and solne goods to the owner, and
onely liberty referred him, to get his liuing with
the labour of his hands. Verily (quoth the Duke)
I thinke you say very truth; and what if a mans wife
would take Sanctuary, because shee list to runne from
her husband? I would weene if shee could alledge
none other cause, hee may lawfully without any
displeasure to Saint Peter, take her out of Saint Pe-
ters Church by the arme. And if no body may be
taken out of Sanctuary, that faith hee will bide there,
then if a child will take Sanctuary, because hee fea-
reth to goe to schoole, his Master must let him a-
lone. And as simple as the sample is, yet is there
lesse reason in our case then in that; for therein,
though it be a childish feare, yet is there at the least
wise some feare, and herein is there none at all. And
verily, I haue often heard of Sanctuary men, but
I neuer heard earst of Sanctuary Children. And

therefore, as for the Conclusion of my mind, which
so may haue deferred to need it, if they thinke it
for their suretie, let them keepe it; but hee can be
no Sanctuary man that had neither wildeome to de-
fire it, nor malice to deserue it; whose life or libe-
tie, can by no lawfull proceesse stand in iopardie:
and hee that taketh one out of the Sanctuarie to do
him good; I say plainly that hee breaketh no San-
ctuary.

(28) When the Duke had done, the temporall
men wholly, & most part of the spiritual all, think-
ing no hurt earthly meant towards the young
babe, condiscended in effect, that if hee were not
deliuered, hee should bee fetched; howbeit they
all thought it best, in the auoiding of all manner of
rumor, that the Lord Cardinall should first assay
to get him with her good will. And thereupon, all
the Councill came vnto the Starre-Chamber at
Westminster, and the Lord Cardinall leauing the
Protector with the Councill in the Starre-Cham-
ber, departed into the Sanctuary to the Queen with
diuers other Lords with him, were it for the respect
of his honour, or that hee should by presence of so
many, perceiue that this errand was not one mans
mind: or were it, for that the Protector intended
not in this matter, to trust any one man alone, or
else, that if hee finally were determined to keepe
him, some of that Company had happily secret in-
structions incontinent, maugre her mind to take
him, and to leaue her no repite to conuey him,
which shee was likely to mind, after this matter
broken to her, if the time would in any wise serue
her.

(29) When the Queene and those Lords were
come together in presence, the Lord Cardinall
shewed her, that it was thought vnto the Pro-
tector, and vnto the whole Councill, that her kee-
ping of the Kings brother in that place, was the
thing which highly founded, not onely to the great
rumor of the people, and their obloquie, but also
to the importable griefe and displeasure of the kings
royall Maiessty, to whose Grace it were a singular
comfort, to haue his naturall brother in Compa-
ny, as it was both his dishonour, all theirs, and
hers also, to suffer him in Sanctuary, as though the
one brother stood in danger and perill of the other.
And hee shewed her, that the Councill therefore
had sent him to require her the deliuey of the yong
Duke, that hee might bee brought vnto the Kings
presence at his liberty, out of that place, which
they reckoned as a prison, and there hee should bee
demeaned, according to his estate: and hee in this
doing should both doe great good to the Realme,
pleasure to the Councill, and profite to her selfe,
succour to her friends that were in distresse; and be-
sides that (which hee wist well hee specially tendred)
not onely great comfort and honour to the King,
but also to the young Duke himselfe, whose great
wealth it were to be together, as well for many grea-
ter causes, as also for both their disports and recrea-
tions; which thing the Lords esteemed not slight,
though it seemed light; well pondering, that their
youth without recreation and play, cannot endure,
nor any stranger, for the coniecture of both their a-
ges and estates, so meete in that point for any of
them, as eyther of them other.

(30) My Lord (quoth the Queene) I say not nay,
but that it were very convenient, that this Gentle-
man whom yee require, were in company of the
King his Brother, and in good faith, I thinke it were
as great commodity to them both, for yet a while to
bee in the custody of their mother, the tender age
considered of the elder of them both, but speciallie
the younger, which besides his infancy, that also
needeth good looking to, hath a while been so fore
diseased, vexed with sicknesse, and is so newly ra-
ther a little amended, then well recovered, that I
dare put no person earthly in trust with his keeping
but my selfe onely, considering that there is (as Phy-
sicians

Buckingham
conclusion.

The generall
consent of them
all.

The Cardinall
doth his errand
to the Queene.

The Queene
answereth to the
Cardinall.

sicians say) and as wec also find, double the perill in the reciduation, that was in the first sicknesse, with which discafe, nature being forelaboured, forewearing and weakned, waxeth the lesse able to beare out and sustaine a new surfeit. And albeit there might be found other that would happily do their best vnto him, yet is there none that either knoweth better how to order him, then I that so long haue kept him, or is more like tenderly to cherishe him then his owne mother that bare him.

(31) No man denieth good Madam (quoth the Cardinal) but that your Grace were of all others most necessary about your children, and so would all the Councell not only be content, but glad that you were, if it might stand with your pleasure, to bee in such place as might stand with their honor: but if you doe appoint your selfe to tarry here, then they thinke it were more conuenient that the Duke of Yorke were with the King, honourably at his liberty, to the comfort of them both, rather then here as a Sanctuary man, to both their dishonour and obloquie, fith there is not alwayes so great a necessity to haue the child with his mother, but that occasion may sometimes bee such, that it should bee more expedient to keepe him elsewhere, which well appeareth in this, that at such time as your dearest sonne then Prince, and now King, should for his honor, and good order of the Country, keepe his residence in Wales, fare out of your Company, your Grace was well contented therewith your selfe.

(32) Not very well contented (quoth the Queen) and yet the case is not like, for the one was then in health, and the other is now sicke: in which case I maruaile greatly, that my Lord Protector is so desirous to haue him in his keeping, where if the Child in his sicknesse miscarrie by nature, yet might hee runne into slander and suspicion of fraud. And where they call it a thing so foreagaist my Childes honour, and theirs also, that hee abideth in this place: it is all their honour there to suffer him abide, where no man doubteth hee shall be best kept, and that is here, while I am here, which as yet intend not to come forth, and inopard my selfe after other of my friends, which would God were rather here in surety with mee, then I there in inopardy with them.

(33) Why Madame (quoth another Lord) know you any thing why they should bee in inopardy? Nay verily (quoth she) nor why they should bee in prison, as now they bee. But it is I trow no great maruaile though I feare, lest those that haue not letted to put them in durance without colour, will let as little to procure their destruction without cause: The Cardinal made a countenance to the other Lord, that hee should harpe no more vpon that string, and then said hee to the Queen, that he nothing doubted, but that those Lords of her honourable kinne, which as yet remained vnder arrest, should vpon the matter examined doe well enough, and as towards her noble person, neither was, neither could be any inopardy.

(34) Whereby should I trust that (quoth the Queene?) in that I am guiltlesse? as though they were guilty: in that I am with their enemies better loued then they? when they hate them for my sake, in that I am so neere a kin to the King? and how fare they be off, if that would helpe, as God grant it hurt not, and therefore as for me, I purpose not as yet, to depart hence. And as for this gentleman my sonne, I minde that he shall be where I am, till I see further: for I assure you, for that I see some men so greedy, without any substantiall cause to haue him, makes me much more fearefull to deliuer him. Truly Madame (quoth he) the more vnwilling that you be to deliuer him, the more vnwilling other men be to suffer you to keepe him, least your causelesse feare might cause you farther to conuey him: and many there be that thinke he can

haue no priuiledge in this place, which neither can haue will to aske it, nor mallice to deferre it, and therefore, they reckon no priuiledge broken, though they fetch him out, which if you finally refuse to deliuer him, I verily thinke they will so much dreadhath my Lord his vncle, for the tender loue he beareth him, lest your grace should hope to send him away.

(35) Ah fir (quoth the Queene) hath the Protector so tender zeale that he feareth nothing, but least he should escape him? I thinke he that I would send him hence, which is not in plight to send out, and in what place could I account him sure, if he be not sure in the Sanctuary? which there were neuer Tyrant yet so diuclish, that durst presume to breake. And I trust God is as strong now to withstand his aduersaries, as euer he was. But my sonne can deserue no Sanctuary, and therefore he cannot haue it. Forsooth he hath found out a goodly glosse, by which that place that may defend a thiefe, may not saue an innocēt: but he is in no inopardy, nor hath no need thereof: would God he had not. Thinke the Protector, (I pray God hee may proue a Protector) thinke hee, that I perceiue not whereunto his painted Process draweth? It is not honorable that the Duke abide here: It were comfortable for them both, that he were with his brother, because the King lacketh a play fellow forsooth. I pray God send them both better playfellows then him, that maketh so high a matter, vpon so trifling pretext, as though there could none be found to play with the King, but his brother, (that hath no list to play for sicknes) come out of Sanctuary, out of his safeguard to play with him. As though Princes, as yong as they be, could not play but with their Peeres, or Children could not play but with their kindred, with whom for the most part they agree much worse then with strangers. But the Child cannot require the priuiledge: who tolde him so? he shall heare him aske it, if he will. Howbeit, this is a gay matter, suppose hee could not aske it, suppose hee would not aske it, suppose hee would aske to goe out, if I say he shall not: if I take the priuiledge but for my selfe, I say he that taketh him out against my will, breake the Sanctuary. Serueth this liberty for my person only, or for my goods also? you may not take hence my horse from me: and may you take my child from me? He also is my ward: for as my learned Councell sheweth me, fith he hath nothing by discent holden by Knights seruice, the law maketh his mother his Gardian. Then may no man I suppose, take my ward from me out of Sanctuary, without the breach of Sanctuary. And if my priuiledge could not serue him, nor he aske it for himselfe, yet fith the law committeth to me the custodie of him, I may require it for him, except the law giue a child a Gardian only for his goods and lands, discharging him of the cure and safe-keeping of his body, for which only both lands and goods serue. And if examples be sufficient, to obtaine priuiledge for my child, I need not farre to seeke them, for in this place in which now we be (and which is now in question, whether my child may take benefit of it) mine other sonne now King, was borne kept in his Cradle, and preferred to a more prosperous fortune, which I pray God long to continue. And as you all know, this is not the first time that I haue taken Sanctuary. For when my Lord my husband was banished, and thrust out of his Kingdome, I fled hither, being great with Child: and here I bare the Prince: and when my Lord my husband returned safe againe, and had the victory, then went I hence, to welcome him home, and from hence I brought my babe the Prince vnto his father, when hee first tooke him in his armes. And I pray God that my sonnes Pallace may be as great a safeguard vnto him now reigning, as this place was sometime to the Kings enemie. In which place I intend to keepe his brother, since mans law serueth the Gardian to keepe the Infant. The law of nature wils the mother to keepe her

her child, Gods law priuiledgeth the Sanctuary, and the Sanctuary my sonne, fith I feare to put him in the Protector hands, who hath his brother already, and were (if both failed) inheritor to the Crowne: and the cause of my feare, hath no man to doe to examine. But yet I feare no further then the law feareth, which as learned men tell me, forbiddeth euerie man, the custody of them by whose death hee may inherit lesse land then a Kingdome. I can no more: but whosoever he be that breake this holy Sanctuary, I pray God shortly send him need of a Sanctuary when hee may not come to it, for taken out of Sanctuary I would not that my mortall enemy were.

(36) The Lord Cardinall perceiving that the Queene waxed euer the longer the further off, & also that shee beganne to kindle and chafe, and speake more biting words against the Protector, and such as he neuer beleued, and was also loath to heare, hee said to her for a finall conclusion, that he no longer would dispute the matter, but if shee were content to deliuer the Duke to him, and to the other Lords present, he durst lay his body and soule both in pledge, not only for his surety, but also for his estate; And if he would giue a resolute answer to the contrary, he would forthwith depart therewithall, and shift who so would with this businesse afterward, for he neuer intended more to moue her in that matter, in which shee thought that hee and all others also saue herselfe, lacked either witte or truth; wit, if they were so dull that they could perceiue nothing what the Protector intended: truth, if they should procure her sonne to be deliuered into his hands, in whom they should perceiue towards the Child any euill intended.

(37) The Queene with these wordes stood a good while in a deepe study. And for as much as her seemed the Cardinal ready to depart, and the Protector himselfe readie at hand, so as shee verily thought she could not keepe him there, but that he should incontinent be taken thence, and to conuey him elsewhere, neither had shee time to serue her, nor place determined, nor persons appointed, all things vnready, this message came on her so suddainly, nothing lesse looked for, then to haue him fetched out of Sanctuary, which the thought to be now befer in such places about, that he could not be conueyed out vntraken, and partly (as shee thought) it might fortune her feare to be false, so well shee wist it was either needlesse or bootlesse: Wherefore, if shee must needs goe to him, shee deemed it best to deliuer him, & besides the Cardinals faith, shee nothing doubted, neither some other Lords, whom shee saw there present, which as shee feared lest they might be deceived, so was shee well assured they would not be corrupted: and thought it would make the more warily to looke to him, and the more circumspectly to see to his surety, if with her owne hands shee betooke him to them of trust. And lastly taking the young Duke by the hand said vnto the Lords.

(38) My Lords, and all my Lords: I neither am so vnwise to mistrust your wits, nor so suspicious to mistrust your truths: of which thing I purpose to make you such a prooue, as if either of both lacked in you, might both turne mee to great sorrow, the Realme to much harme, & you all to great reproch. For loe, here is (quoth she) this Gentleman, whom I doubt not, but I could heere keepe safe if I would, whatsoeuer any man say: and I doubt not also, but there be some abroad so deadly enemies vnto my blood, that if they wist where any of it lay in their owne bodies, they would let it out. We haue also experience, that the desire of a kingdome knoweth no kindred: the brother hath bene the brothers bane: and may the Nephewes be sure of their Vncle? Each of these children is the others defence, whilst they are asunder, and each of their liues lieth in the others body: keepe one safe and both be sure, and nothing for them both more perillous then to be in one place. For what wife Merchant aduocunt-

Richard Duke of Yorke delivered to the Cardinall.

A Judas kisse.

Buckingham priuile to the Protge; does plot.

Suspicion without cause.

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The covenants
betwixt the Pro-
tectr and the
Duke of Bucking-
gham.

Two counsellors
to
duers ends.

The mistrust of
the times.

All flocke to the
Protector.

Lord Stanley's
speech to the
Lord Chamber-
lain.

* Catesby.

Catesby the cause
of much mis-
chief.

beleued could not be auoyded, hee bent himselfe, determining, fith the common mischief could not be amended, he would turne it as much as he might to his owne commoditie.

(40) Then was it agreed, that the Protector should haue the Dukes aide to make him King, and that the Protector's only lawfull sonne should marry the Dukes daughter; and that the Protector should grant him the quiet possession of the Earldome of *Hereford*, which he claimed as his inheritance, and could neuer obtaine it in King *Edwards* time. Besides these requests of the Duke, the Protector of his owne accord, promised him a great quantitie of the Kings treasure, and of his household stuffe. And when they were thus at a point betwixt themselves, they went about to prepare for the Coronation of the yong king as they would haue it feeine. And that they might turne both the eyes & minds of men fro perceiving of their drifts otherwise, the Lords were sent for from all parts of the Realme, and came flocking vnto the solemnitie. But the Protector and Duke after they had sent the Lord Cardinal Arch-bishop of *Torke*, then *L. Chancellor*, the Bishop of *Ely*, the Lords *Stanley* & *Hastings*, then Lord Chamber-laine, with many other Noblemen, to conferre and deuise about the Coronation in one place, as fast they were in another place contriuing the contrary, to make the Protector king: to which counsell, albeit there were adhibited very few, and they very secret; yet began here and there, some muttering among the people, as though all should not long be wel, though they neither knew what they feared, nor wherefore: were it that before such great things, mens hearts of a secret inflinck of nature miglite them, as the Sea without winde swellth of himselfe sometime before a tempest; or were it that some one man happily somewhat perceiving, filled many men with suspition, though hee shewed few men what hee knew. Howbeit somewhat the dealing it selfe made men to mule on the matter, though the counsell were close. For by little and little, all men withdrew from the Tower, and repaired to *Crosbies* in Bishopgate streete, where the Protector kept his house in great state. So that the Protector had the resort, and the King left in a manner desolate. And whilst some for their businesse made suite to such as were in office for the King, some were secretly by their friends warned, that it might happily doe them no good, to be too much attendant about the king without the Protector's appointment, who then began to remove many of the Princes old seruants, and in their stead to place about him new.

(41) Thus many things meeting together, partly by purpose, & partly by chance, caused at length not only the common people that moue with the winde, but wisemen also, and some Lords likewise, to make and muse at the matter; insomuch, that the Lord *Stanley*, who was after Earle of *Darby*, said to the Lord *Hastings*, that he much misliked these two feuerall counsellors. For while we (quoth he) talke of one matter in the one place, little woe we, whereof they talke in the other place. My Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings*) of my life neuer doubt you: for while * one man is there, which is neuer thence, neuer can things be moued that should found amisse against me, but it shall be in mine eares ere it be well out of their mouths: this ment he by *Catesby*, which was of his neere counsell, and whom hee very familiarly vsed, and in his most weighty matters put no man in so speciall trust, nor no man so much behol-den vnto him as *Catesby* was. A man indeed well learned in the Lawes of this Land, and by speciall fauour of the Lord Chamberlaine, in good authoritie, and bare much rule in *Leicestershire*, where the Lord *Hastings* power chiefly lay. But surely great pitie it was, that he had not had either more truth, or lesse wit. For his dissimulation only kept all that mischief vp: in whom if the Lord *Hastings* had not put

so speciall trust, the Lord *Stanley* and hee had departed with diuers other Lords, and had broken all the dance, for many ill signes that he saw, which he now construes all to the best. So surely thought he that there could be no harme towards him intended, in that counsell where *Catesby* was. And of truth, the Protector and Duke of *Buckingham*, made very good semblance vnto the Lord *Hastings*, whom vndoubtedly the Protector loued well, and loth was to haue lost him, but for feare, least his life should haue quailed their purpose; for which cause hee moued *Catesby* to proue with some words, cast out a farre off, whether hee could thinke it possible to winne the *L. Chamberlaine* to their part. But *Catesby* whether hee assayed him, or assayed him not, reported vnto them, as hee found him so fast, and heard him speake to terrible words, that hee durst no further breake. True it is, that the Lord Chamberlaine, of very trust shewed vnto *Catesby*, the distrust that others began to haue in the matter: & therefore *Catesby* fearing as hee affirmed, least their motion might with the Lord *Hastings* diminish his credence, whereunto only all the matter leaned, hee counselled and procured the Protector hastily to rid him. And much the rather, for that hee trusted by his death, to obtaine much of the rule that the Lord *Hastings* bare in his Country: the only desire whereof, was the allectiue that induced him to be partner, and one speciall contriuer of all this horrible treason.

(42) Soone after this, vpon Friday the thirteenth day of *June*, many Lords assembled in the Tower, and there fate in counsell, deuising the honorable solemnitie of the Kings Coronation; of which the time appointed was so neere, that the Pageants and subtilties were in making day and night at *Westminster*, and much victuall killed, that afterward was cast away. These Lords sitting together communing of this matter, the Protector came in amongst them about nine of the clocke, saluting them courteously, and excusing himselfe, that he had beene from them so long, saying merrily, *I haue bin a sleeper this day*. And after a little talke with them, hee said to the Bishop of *Ely*, My Lord, you haue verie good Strawburies at your Garden in *Helborne*, I pray you let vs haue a messe of them: Gladly my Lord, said the Bishop, would God I had some better thing as ready to pleasure you as that: and therewith in all haste hee sent his seruant for a messe of Strawburies. Whereupon the Protector setting the Lords fast in conference, prayed them to spare him for a little while, and departed thence. But soone after, betwixt ten and eleuen, hee returned into the counsell Chamber amongst them, with a wonderfull fowre and angry countenance, knitting the browes, frowning and fretting, and gnawing on his lippes, fate him downe in his place, all the Lords much dismayed, fore maruelling of this his suddaine change, and what thing should him aile: Hee sitting thus a while, began thus to speake, *what are they worthy to haue, that compassie and imagine the destruction of mee, being so neere of blood vnto the King, and Protector of his royall person and his Realme?* At which question, all the Lords fate fore astonied, musing much by whom this question should be meant, of which e- uery man knew himselfe cleare.

(43) Then the Lord Chamberlaine, as hee that for the loue betwixt them, thought he might be- bouldest with him, answered & said, That they were worthy to be punished as haynous traitors whatsoe- uer they were: and the same all the other Lords af- firmed. That is (quoth the Protector) yonder force- resse my brothers wife, meaning the Queene, and o- thers with her: at these words many of the Lords that fauoured her, were greatly abashed: but the *L. Hastings* was in his minde better content, that it was moued by her, then by any other whom hee loued better: howbeit, his heart somewhat grudged, that he was not afore made of counsell in this matter, as

Catesby set to
found the
Hastings.

Lord Hastings
speech to
the people.

Catesby false
his founder.

The counsell
in the Tower
the ordering
the yong King
Coronation.

The Protec-
tor dissimu-
lation.

The Protec-
tor now asse-
man.

Lord Hastings
speech to
the Protector's
dilection.

Stanley

Stanley

Stanley

Stanley

Stanley

Stanley

Stanley

Stanley

Stanley

hee was of the taking of her kindred, & of their put- ting to death, which were by his assent before deu- lished to be beheaded at *Pomfret* the selfe same day, in which hee was not aware, how it was by other deu- lished, that himselfe should be beheaded the same day at *London*. Then said the Protector, yee shall all see in what wife that Sorceresse, and that other witch of her counsell, *Shores* wife, with their affinity, haue by their forcerie and witchcraft waited my body. And therewith hee plucked vpp his doublet sleue to the elbow vpon his left arme, where hee shewed a wearish withered arme, and small, as it was neuer other.

(44) And thereupon euery mans mind fore mis- gauge them, well perceiving that this matter was but a quarrell. For they well knew, that the Queene was too wife to go about any such folly; & if she would, yee would seee of all others, not make *Shores* wife of counsell, whom of all women shee most hated; as that Concubine whom the King her husband had most loued. And also no man there present, but knew well enough, that his arme was euer such since his birth. Neuertheless the Lord Chamberlaine, (which from the death of King *Edward* kept *Shores* wife, on whom hee somewhat doated in the Kings life, thinking as it is said, that hee forbore her for reuerence towards the King, or else of a certain kind of fidelity to his friend) answered and said: Cer- tainly my Lord, if they haue so heinously done, they be worthy of hainous punishment. What (quoth the Protector) thou ferrest mee I ween with ifs and with ands, I tell thee they haue so done, and that I will make good on thy bodie Traitor. And therewith as in a great anger, hee clapped his fist vpon the board a great rap: at which token giuen, one without the Chamber cried, treason, where- with a dore clapped, and in came rushing men in harnesse, as many as the Chamber might hold, and anone the Protector said to the Lord *Hastings*, I ar- riest thee Traitor: What mee my Lord quoth hee? yea thee Traitor quoth the Protector; and another felllic at the Lord *Stanley*, who shrunke at the stroke vnder the Table, or else his head had beene cleft to the teeth: for as swiftly as hee shrunke, yet came the blood about his eares. Then were they all quickly bestowed in diuers Chambers, excepting only the Lord Chamberlaine, whom the Protector bad speede and shriue him apace, for by *S. Paul* said hee, I will not to dinner till I see thy head off. It booted him not to aske why, but heauiely tooke a Priest at aduerture, and made a short shrift, for a longer would not be suffered: The Protector made so much haste to dinner, which hee might not goe to, till this was done for sauing of his oath. So was hee brought forth vnto the greene, before the Chap- pell within the Tower, and his head laid down vpon a long logge of timber, and theree stricke off, and afterward his body with the head, was entered at *Windfor*, beside the body of *K. Edward*.

(45) A maruillous case it is to heare, either of the warnings that hee should haue voided, or the to- kens of that hee could not auoid: for the self night before his death, the Lord *Stanley* sent a trusty secret Messenger vnto him at Midnight in all the haste, re- quiring him to rise, and ride away with him, for he was utterly disposed no longer to abide, hee had so fearefull a dreame: in which hee thought, that a Bore with his tuskes, so razed them both by the heades, that the blood ranne about both their shoulders. And forasmuch as the Protector gaue the Bore for his cognizance, this dreame made so fearefull an im- pression in his heart, that hee was throughly deter- mined no longer to tarry, but had his horse ready, if the Lord *Hastings* would goe with him, to ride yet so farre the same night, that they would be out of danger before it was day. Ah good Lord (quoth the Lord *Hastings* to the Messenger) leaue me my Lord thy Master so much to such trifles, and hath faith in dreames, which either his owne feare fan-

taileth, or doe rise in the nights rest, by reason of the dayes thoughts? Tell him it is plaine Witch- craft, to beleue in such dreames, which if they were tokens of things to come, why thinketh hee not, that we might be as likely to make them true, by our going, if we were caught and brought back (as friends saile liers) for then had the Bore a cause likely to rafe vs with his tuskes, as men that fled for some fallhood: wherefore, either there is no perill, nor none there is indeed, or if any be, it is rather in going then abiding. And if wee must needs fall in perill, one way or other, yet had I rather, that men should see, it were by other mens fallhood, then thinke it our fault or faint-heart. And therefore goe to thy Master man, and commend me to him; and pray him to be merry and haue no feare; for I assure him, I am as sure of the man that hee wortheth of, as I am of mine owne hand. God send Grace Sir (said the Messenger) and went his way.

(46) Certaine it is also, that in riding towards the Tower the same morning in which hee was be- headed, his horse twice or thrice stumbled with him, almost to the fallings; which thing, albeit each man knoweth daily hapneth, to them to whom no such mischance is toward, yet hath it beene of an olde rite and custome obserued, as a token of offen- times, notably foregoing some great misfortune: Now this that followeth was no warning, but an enuious scorne. The same morning before hee was vp, came a Knight vnto him, as it were of curre- sle, to accompany him to the Counsell; but of truth sent by the Protector, to haue him thither- wards, with whom hee was of secret confederacy in that purpose, a meane man at that time, but now of great authority. This Knight, when it hapned the Lord Chamberlain by the way to stay his horse, and commune a while with a Priest whom hee met in Towerstreet, brake his tale, and said merrily to him; what my Lord, I pray you come on, wherto talke you so long with a Priest, you haue no need of a Priest yet, and therewith laughed vpon him, as though hee would say, yee shall haue soone. But so little wist the other what hee meant, and so little mistrusted his present perill, as hee neuer was mer- rier, nor neuer so full of good hope in his life, which selfe thing is often scene a signe of change; but I shall rather let any thing passe me, then the vaine surety of mans mind so neere his death. Vpon the very Tower-wharfe, so neere the place where his head was strooke off soone after, there met he with one *Hastings*, a Purfuant of his owne name. And of their meeting in that place, hee was put in re- membrance of another time, in which it had happe- ned them before, to meet in the like manner to- gether in the same place. At which other time the *L. Chamberlaine* had beene accus'd vnto King *Edward* by the Lord *Rivers* the Queenes brother, in such wise as hee was for the while, (but it lasted not long) farre fallen into the Kings indignation, and stood in great feare of himselfe. And forasmuch as hee now mette this Purfuant in the same place, that ieopardy so well passed, it gaue him great plea- sure to talke with him thereof; with whom hee had before talked thereof in the same place, while hee was therein. And therefore hee said, *ah Hastings*, art thou remembered that I met thee once here with a heauy heart? yea my Lord (quoth hee) that remember I well, and thanked be God, they got no good, nor you no great harme. Thou wouldst say so (quoth hee) if thou knewst so much as I know, which few know else as yet, and more shall shortly. That ment hee by the Lords of the Queenes kindred, which were taken before, and should that same day be beheaded at *Pomfret*: which hee well wist, but was nothing aware, that the axe hung ouer his owne head; In faith man (quoth hee) I was neuer so for- ry, nor neuer stood in so great dread of my life, as I did when thou and I met here. And loe, how the world is changed, now stand my enemies in the dan- N n n n a ger

The *L. Hastings*
answer to the
L. Rivers
messinger.

Predictions to-
wards the Lord
Hastings.

The Lord *Ha-*
sings speech to
a Purfuant.

The vaine and fuddain flate of man.

The description of the Lord Hastings.

Citizens sent for into the Tower to the Protector.

The fained feare of the Lord Protector.

A Proclamation made to publish the Lord Hastings treasons.

The Protector's subtilty further knowne by his Proclamation.

ger (as thou maist hap to heare more hereafter) and I neuer in my life fo merry, nor neuer in so great surety. Oh good God, the blindnes of our mortall nature, when he most feared he was in good fortune, when he reckened himselfe sure, he lost his life, and that within two houres after. Thus ended this honorable man, a good Knight and a gentle, of great authority with his Prince, of liuing somewhat dissolute, plaine and open to his enemies, and secret to his friends, easie to be beguiled, as he that of good heart & courage forestudied no perils, a louing man, a passing well beloued: very faithful, and trusty enough, trusting indeed too much. Now flew the fame of this Lords death swiftly through the Citie, and from thence further, like a winde in euery mans eare.

(47) But the Protector immediately after dinner, intending to see some colour vpon the matter, sent in all haste for many substantiall men, out of the Citie into the Tower, at whose coming thither, himselfe with the Duke of Buckingham, stood harness'd in olde rusty briganders, such as no more, man should weene, that they would vouchsafe to haue put on their backs, except that some suddain necessity, had constrained them thereto. And then the Protector shewed them, that the Lord Chamberlaine, and others of his conspiracy, had contriued to haue suddainly destroyed him and the Duke there the same day in Counsell. And what they intended further, was not yet well knowne. Of which their treason he neuer had knowledge, before ten of the clocke, the same forenoone, which suddain feare droue them to put on for their defence, such harness as came next to hand: and so had God holpen them, that the mischief returned vpon them that would haue done it: and this he requiured them to report.

(48) Euerie man answered him faire, as though no man mistrusted the matter, which ofruth no man beleued; yet for the further appeasing of the peoples minde, he sent immediately after dinner, in all haste, an Herald of Armes, with a Proclamation to be made through the Citie in the Kings name, containing that the Lord Hastings with diuers others of his traitorous purpose, had before conspired the same day, to haue slaine the Lord Protector, and Duke of Buckingham, sitting in the Counsell, and after to haue taken vpon them, to rule the King and the Realme, at their owne pleasures; thereby to pill and spoile, whom they listed vncontrolled. And much matter there was in that Proclamation, deuised to the slander of the Lord Chamberlaine, as that he was an euill Counsellor to the Kings father, entitling him to many things, highly redounding to his great dishonour, and to the vniuersall hurt of his Realme, by his euill company, sinister procuring, & vngracious example aswell in many other things, as in the vicious liuing, and inordinate abusion of his body, both with many others, and especially with Shores wife, who was one also of his most secret Counsell, in this hainous treason, with whom he lay nightly, and namely, the night last past, before his death, so that it was the lesse maruell, if vngracious liuing brought him to an vnhappy ending, which he was now put vnto, by the most dread commandement of the Kings highnesse, and of his honorable and faithfull Counsell, both for his demerits, being so openly taken in his falsely conceiued treason, as also least the delaying of his execution, might haue encouraged other mischieuous persons partners of his conspiracy, to gather and assemble themselves together in making some great commotion for his deliuerance, whose hope being now by his well-deferred death politickely repressed, all the Realme should by Gods grace, rest in good quiet and peace.

(49) Now was this Proclamation made within two houres, after that he was beheaded, and was so curiously indited, and so faire written in parchment,

in so well a set hand, and therewith of it selfe so long a processe, as euery child might perceiue, that it was prepared before. For all the time between his death, and the proclaiming, could scant haue sufficed vnto the bare writing alone; had it bene but in paper, and scribled forth in haste aduenture. So that vpon the proclaiming thereof, one that was Schoole-master of *Pauls*, of chance standing by, and comparing the shortnes of the time, with the length of the matter, said vnto them that stood about him; *Here is a gay goodly cast, foule cast away for half: and a Merchant answered him; that it was written by Prochiec.* Now then by and by, as it were for anger, not for couetousnesse, the Protector sent the Sheriffs of London, into the house of Shores wife (for her husband dwelled not with her) and spoiled her of all that shee had, about the value of three thousand marks, carrying her through London vnto the Tower, and there left her Prisoner, where (for fashion sake) he laid to her charge, that shee went about to bewitch him, and that shee was of Counsell with the Lord Chamberlaine to destroy him: in conclusion, when no colour could falten vpon these matters, then laid hee hainously vnto her charge, the thing that her selfe could not deny, that all the world wist was true, and that neither shee euery man laughed at, to heare it then so suddainly, so highly taken, that shee was nought of her body. And for that cause (as a good continent Prince, cleare and faultlesse himselfe, sent out of heauen into this vicious world for the amendment of mens manners) after shee had laine Prisoner in *Ludgate*, he caused the Bishop of London to put her to open penance, going before the Crosse in procession vpon a Sunday, with a taper in her hand. In which shee went in countenance and pace demure so womanly, and albeit shee were out of all array save her kirtle only, yet went shee so faire and lowely, namely while the wondering of the people cast a comly rud in her cheekes (of which before shee had most mist) that her great shame, wan her much praise, among those that were more amorous of her body, then curious of her soule. And many good folke also that hated her liuing, and glad to see sinne so corrected, yet pitied the more her penance, then reioiced therein, when they considered that the Protector procured it more of a corrupt intent, then any vertuous affection.

(50) This woman was borne in London, worshipfully friended, honestly brought vp, and very well married, sauing somewhat too fowly; her husband an honest Citizen, young, and goodly, and of good substance. But for as much as they were coupled ere shee were well ripe, shee not very feruently loued, for whom shee neuer longed; which was happily the thing that the more made her incline vnto the Kings appetite, when he requiured her. Howbeit the respect of his royalty, the hope of gay apparel, ease, pleasure and other wanton wealth, was able soone to pierce a soft tender heart. But when the King had abused her, anone her husband (as he was an honest man, and one that could his good, not presuming to rouch a Kings concubine) left her vp to him altogether. When the King died, the Lord Chamberlaine tooke her, which in the Kings daies, albeit he was fore enamoured vpon her, yet he forbore her, either for reuerence, or for a certaine friendly faithfulness: proper shee was, and faire; nothing in her body that you could haue changed, vnlesse you would haue wished her somewhat higher. Thus they say that knew her in her youth. Albeit some that now see her (for as yet shee liueth) deeme her neuer to haue bene well visaged, whose iudgement seemeth to me somewhat like, as though we could gesse the beauty of one long before departed, by her scalpe taken out of the Charnell house: for now shee is olde, leane, withered, and dried vp, nothing left but riuelled skinnie, and hard bone; and yet being cun such, who so well aduise her visage, might gesse and deuise, which parts how filled, would make it a faire face.

face. Yet delighted not men, so much in her beauty, as in her pleasant behauiour, for a proper wit shee had, and could both reade well and write, merry in company, ready and quick of answer, neither mute nor full of babble, sometime taunting without displeasure, and not without disport: in whom King Edward tooke speciall pleasure, whose fauour to say the truth (for sinne it were to belie the Duell) she neuer abused to any mans hurt, but to many a mans comfort and reliefe, when the King took displeasure, shee would mitigate and appeale his mind; where men were out of fauour, shee would bring them in his grace, for many that highly offended shee obtained pardon. Of great forfeitures shee gave them remission. And finally, in many weighty suites shee stood many men in great debt, either for none, or very small rewards, and those rather gay then rich, either for that shee was content with the deed it selfe well done, or for that shee delighted to be used vnto, and to shew what shee was able to do with the King, or for that wanton women and wealthy, bee not alwaies couetous. I doubt not some shall thinke this woman too flight a thing to be written of, and yet among the remembrances of great matters: which they shall specially thinke, that happily hath euened her onely by that they now see her. But to my seeming, the chance is so much the more worthy to be remembered, in how much shee is now in the more beggerly condition, vnfriended, and worne out of acquaintance, after good substance, after so great fauour with a Prince, after so great suit, and seeking to, of all those, that in those dayes had businesse to speede, as many other men were in their times, which bee now famous onely by the infamy of their ill deedes: her doings were not much lesse, albeit they bee much lesse remembered, because they were not so euill: for men vfe, if they recieue an euill turne, to write it in marble: and who so doth vs a good turne, we write it in the dust; which is notworst proued by her: for at this day shee beggeth of many, at this day liuing, that at this day had begged if shee had not bene.

(51) Now it was so deuised by the Protector and his Counsell, that the selfe same day in which the Lord Chamberlaine was beheaded in the Tower of London, and about the selfe same howre was then (not without his assent) beheaded at *Ponffrait*, the fore-remembered Lords and Knights, that were taken from the King at *Northampton* and *Stony-Stratford*; which thing was done in the presence, and by the order of Sir *Richard Ratcliffe* Knight, whose seruice the Protector specially vfed in that counsell, and in the execution of such lawlesse enterprises, as a man that had bene long secret with him, hauing experience of the world, and a shrewd witte, short and rude in speech, rough and boisterous of behauiour, bolde in mischief, as farre from pity, as from all feare of God. This Knight bringing them out of prison to the Scaffold, and shewing to the people present, that they were Traitors, not suffering them to speake, or declare their innocency, lest their wordes might haue inclined men to pity them, and to hate the Protector and his part; caused them hastily without Iudgement, processe or manner of order to bee beheaded, and without all guilt, but onely that they were good men, too true to the King, and too nigh to the Queene.

(52) Now when the Lord Chamberlaine, and those other Lords and Knights were thus beheaded and ridde out of the way: then thought the Protector, that while men mused what the matter meant, while the Lords of the Realme were about him out of their owne strengthes, while no man wist what to thinke, nor whom to trust, before they should haue space to disparte, and digest the matter, and make parties, it were best hastily to pursue his purpose, and put himselfe in possession of the Crown, ere men could haue time to deuise how to resist. But now was all the study, by what means the matter

being of it selfe so hainous, might be first broken to the people in such wise as it might bee well taken: To this counsell they tooke diuers, such as they thought meet to bee trusted, likely to bee induced to that part, and able to stand them in stead, eyther by power or policy: Among whom they made of counsell *Edmond Shaa* Knight, then Maior of London, who vpon truist of his owne aduancement, whereof he was of a proud heart, highly desirous, should frame the Citie to their appetite. Of Spiritual men they tooke such as had wit, and were in authoritie among the people, for opinion of their learning; and had no scrupulous conscience. Among these had they *Iohn Shaa* Clerke brother to the Maior; and Fryer *Pinker* Provinciall of the *Augustine* Friars, both of them Doctors in Diuinity, both great Preachers, both of more learning then vertue, and of more fame then learning; for they were before greatly esteemed of the common people; but after that neuer. Of these two, the one made a Sermon in prayse of the Protector before the Coronation; the other after, both so full of tedious flattery, as no mans eare could abide them.

(53) *Pinker* in his Sermon so lost his voice, that he was forced to laue off, and came downe in the middest. Doctor *Shaa* by his sermon lost his honesty, and soone after his life, for very shame of the world, into which he durst neuer after come abroad. But the Fryer forced for no shame, and so it harmed him the lesse. Howbeit some doubt, and many thinke, that *Pinker* was not of counsell in the matter before the Coronation, but after the common manner, fell to flattery after: namely, sith his sermon was not incontinent vpon it, but at *S. Maries* Hospitall in the Easter weeke following. But certaine it is, that Doctor *Shaa* was of counsell in the beginning, so farre forth as they determined that he should first break the matter in a Sermon at *Pauls* Crosse, in which hee should by the authority of his preaching, incline the people to the Protector's ghostly purpose. But now was all the labour and study, in the deuise of some conuenient pretext; for which the people should bee content to depose the Prince, and accept the Protector for King. In which diuers things they deuised: but the chiefe thing and the weightiest of all, the inuention rested in this, that they should alludge bastardy, either in *K. Edward* himselfe, or in his children, or both. So that hee should seeme disabled to inherit the Crowne, by the Duke of *Torke*, and the Prince by him. To lay bastardie in King *Edward*, founded openly to the rebuke of the Protector's owne mother, who was mother to them both: for in that point could bee none other colour, but to pretend that his owne mother was an adulteresse, which notwithstanding to further the purpose hee letted not: but yet, hee would that point should bee lesse, and more fauourably handled, not fully plaine and directly, but that the matter should be touched aslopp, and craftily, as though men spared in that point to speake all the truth for feare of his displeasure. But the other point, concerning the bastardie that they deuised to surmise in *K. Edwards* children, that would hee should bee openly declared, and enforced to the vttermost. The colour and pretext whereof, was a contract pretended to be made by King *Edward* vnto the Lady *Lucy*, whereof we haue spoken in the raigne of the said King: which inuention how simple soeuer, yet it liked them, to whom it sufficed to haue somewhat to say, while they were sure to be compelled to no larger proof then themselves list to make.

(54) Now then it was by the Protector and his Counsell concluded, that Doctor *Shaa* should signifie in his sermon aforesaid, that neither King *Edward* himselfe, nor the Duke of *Clarence* were lawfully begot, nor were the very Children of the Duke of *Torke*, but begot vnlawfully by other persons, by adulterie of the Dutches their mother. And also that

The Schoole masters opinion.

The Sheriffs of London came Shores wife to prison.

Shores wife with penance.

All common and pitie to bee wife.

The Duke of Lancast.

Shee died eightene dayes after the death of King Edward.

Shores wife did much good, but was hurt.

Shores wife did much good, but was hurt.

Shores wife did much good, but was hurt.

Shores wife did much good, but was hurt.

Shores wife did much good, but was hurt.

The Maior of London made of the Protector's counsell.

Shaa and Pinker two flattering Preachers.

Pinker preached at S. Maries Hospitall, and Doctor Shaa at Pauls Crosse.

The plot and deuise how to entitle the Protector to the Crowne.

The sonne maketh the mother an adulteresse.

K. Edward and his children made bastards.

The text and contents of Dr. Bar Shas sermon.

that dame Elizabeth Lucy was verily the wife of K. Edward, and so the Prince and all his other children begot by the Queene, were all of them bastards. And according to this deuile Doctor Shas vpon Sunday the nineteenth of Iune at Pauls Crosse in a frequent assembly, took for the theme of his sermō this saying, *Spuria vitulamina non agent radices altas: Bastard slips shall neuer take deepe roote.* Whereupon, when he had shewed the great grace that God giueth, and feerely infundeth in right generation after the lawes of Matrimonic, then declared he, that commonly those children lacked that grace, and for the punishment of their parents, were for the more part vnhappy, which were begot in bale, but specially in adultery. Of which though some by the ignorance of the world, and the truth hid from knowledge inherite for the time other mens lands, yet God alwaies so prouideth, that it continueth not in their blood long, but the truth coming to light, the rightfull inheritors be restored, and the bastards slip pulled vp ere it can take any deepe roote. And when he had laid for the prooffe and confirmation of this sentence certain examples taken out of the old testament, and other ancient histories, then he began to descend into the praise of the Lord Richard, late Duke of Yorke, calling him the father to the Lord Protector, and declared the title of his heires vnto the Crowne, to whom it was after the death of King Henry the sixth, entailed by authority of Parliament. Then shewed he, that the verie right heire of his body lawfully begotten, was only the Lord Protector. For he declared then that King Edward was neuer lawfully married vnto the Queene, but was before God, husband vnto Dame Elizabeth Lucy, and so his children bastards. And besides that, neither King Edward himselfe, nor the Duke of Clarence, among those that were secret in the houshold, were reckoned very certainly for the children of the Noble Duke, as those that by their features, resembled other knowne men, more then him from whose vertuous conditions, he said also, that King Edward was farre off. But the Lord Protector he said, the very Noble Prince, the speciall pattern of Knighthood prowesse, as well in all Princely behauiour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his visage, representing the very face of the noble Duke his father: This is he (quoth he) the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the very vndoubted Image, and plaine expresse likenesse of that noble Duke.

Shas himselfe assertions.

The Preachers intention pre-erected.

(55) Now it was before deuiled, that in the speaking of these words, the Protector should haue come in among the people to the sermon ward, to the end that those words meeting with his presence, might haue bene taken among the hearers, as though the holy Ghost had put them in the Preachers mouth, and should haue moued the people euen then to crye, King Richard, King Richard, that it might haue bene after said, that he was specially chosen by God, and in manner by miracle. But this deuile quailed, either by the Protectors negligence, or by the Preachers ouer much diligence, for while the Protector found by the way tarrying, left he should preuent those wordes, and the Doctor fearing lest he should come ere his sermon could come to these wordes, halted his matter thereto, who was come to them and past them, and had entred into other matter ere the Protector came. Whom when he beheld coming, he suddainly left the matter with which he was in hand, and without anie deduction thereunto, out of all order, and out of all frame, began to repeat those wordes againe: This is the verie Noble Prince, the speciall pattern of Knighthood prowesse, which as well in all Princely behauiour, as in the lineaments and fauour of his visage, representeth the very face of the Noble Duke of Yorke his father: this is the fathers owne figure, this is his owne countenance, the verie print of his visage, the sure vndoubted Image, the plaine expresse likenesse of the noble Duke, whose remembrance can neuer die while he

liueth. While these wordes were in speaking, the Protector accompanied with the Duke of Buckingham, went through the people, into the place where the Doctors commonly stand in an vpper story, where he stood to heare the sermon. But the people were so farre from crying King Richard, that they stood as if they had bene turned into stones, for wonder of this shameful sermon. After which once ended, the Preacher got him home, and neuer after durst looke out for shame, but kept himselfe out of sight like an Owle. And when he once asked one, that had bene his old friend, what the people talked of him, albeit that his own conscience well shewed him that they talked no good, yet when the other answered him, that there was in euery mans mouth spoken of him much shame, it so stricke him to the heart, that within few daies after, he withered and consumed away.

(56) On the Tuesday following this sermon, there came into the Guild-hall in London the Duke of Buckingham, accompanied with diuers Lords & Knights, more perchance then knew the message which they brought. And there in the East end of the Hall, where the Maior keepeth the hussings, the Maior, and Aldermen being assembled about him, and all the commons of the City gathered before him: after silence commanded in the Protectors name vpon great paine, the Duke stood vp, and as he was neither vnlearned, and of nature marvellously well spoken) he said vnto the people with a cleare and loud voice in this manner. Friends, for the zeale and hartie fauour that we beare you, we be come to breake vnto you, a matter of great weight, and no lesse weighty, then pleasing to God, and profitable to all the Realme: nor to no part of the Realme more profitable then to you the Citizens of this noble City. For why, the thing that we wot well you haue long time lacked, and so longed for, that you would haue giuen great good for, that you would haue gone farre to fetch, that thing we be come hither to bring you, without your labour, paine, cost, aduenture or leoparchie. What thing is that? Certes, the fury of your owne bodies, the quiet of your wiues, and your daughters, the safeguard of your goods: of all which things in times past you stood euermore in doubt. For who was there of you all, that could account himselfe Lord of his owne goods, among so many snares and traps as were set therefore, among so much pillaging and polling, among so many taxes and tallages, of which there was neuer end, and often times no need: or if any were, it rather grew of riot, and vnreasonable wast, then any necessary or honorable charge: So that there was daily pillaging from good men and honest, great substance of goods to be lashed out among vnthrifits, so farre forth that fiftene sufficed not, nor any viall manner of known taxes; but vnder an easie name of beneuolence and good will, the Commissioners so much of euerie man tooke, as no man could with his good will haue giuen. As though that name of beneuolence, had signified that euery man should pay not what himselfe of his owne good will list to grant, but what the King of his good will list to take. Who neuer asked little, but euery thing was haunted about the measure, amercements turned into fines, fines into ranlomes; small trespasses into misprision; misprision into treason. Whereof I thinke no man looketh that we should remember you of examples by name, as though Burdels were forgotten, who was for a worde in haste spoken, cruelly beheaded, by the misconstituting of the Lawes of this Realme for the Princes pleasure: with no lesse honour to Markham, chief Justice, that left his office rather then hee would assent to that iudgement, then to the dishonesty of those, that eyther for feare or flattery gaue that iudgement. What Cooke your owne worshipfull neighbour, Alderman and Maior of this noble Citie;

Gods heavy punishment on the late deceasing Preacher.

The Duke of Buckingham meth to the Guildhall.

City of while as allyed.

Buckington to the reasons of law.

age of euill and blood then the wine of France lost.

The frowne of the Duke of Buckingham.

at danger and only pro-

King Edward excessive more than were.

Edward's conscience set to the full.

this year wardship is left to others.

Citie, who is of you either so negligent that hee knoweth not, or so forgetful that hee remembereth not, or so hard hearted that hee pitieth not that worshipfull mans losse? What speake we of losse? His vnter spoile and vnderferued destruction, only for that it happened those to fauour him whom the Prince fauoured nor. Wee need not (I suppose) to rehearse of these any more by name, sith there be (I doubt not) many heere present, that either in themselves, or in their high friends, haue knowne afwell their goods, as their persons greatly endangered, either by fained quarrels, or small matters agriued with heinous names, And also there was no crime so great, of which there could lacke a pretext. For sith the King preuenting the time of his inheritance, attained the Crowne by battell, it sufficed in a rich man for a pretext of treason, to haue bene of kindred or aliance, neer familiaritie, or longer acquaintance, with any of those that were at any time the Kings enemies, which was at one time or other more then halfe the Realme. Thus were your goods neuer in suretie, and yet they brought your bodies in leoparchie, beside the common aduenture of open warre, which albeits, that it is euer the will and occasion of much mischief, yet it is neuer so mischieuous, as where any people fall at distance among themselves, nor in no earthly nation so deadly & so pestilent, as when it happeneth among vs: and among vs neuer so long continued disention, nor so many battells in that season, nor so cruell and so deadly fought as was in that Kings dayes that dead is. God forgieue it his foule. In whose time, and by whose occasion, what about the getting of the Garland, keeping it, loosing it, and winning againe, it hath cost more English blood, then hath twice the winning of France: In which inward warre among our selues, hath bene so great effusion of the ancient noble blood of this Realme, that scarcely the halfe remaineth, to the great infecting of this noble Land, beside many a good Towne ranfacked, and spoiled by them that haue bene going to the field, or coming from thence. And peace long after not much furer then warre. So that no time there was, in which rich men for their money, and great men for their Lands, or fow or other for fow feare or some displeasure, were not out of perill; for whom trusted he, that mistrusted his owne brother? or who could perfectly loue him, if his owne brother could not? what manner of folke hee most fauoured, we shall for his honour spare to speake of; howbeit, this wot you well all, that who so was best, bare away least rule; and more suite was in those dayes vnto Shores wife, a vile and abominable strumper, then to all the Lords in England, except vnto those that made her their Protector: which simple woman was well named, and honest, till the King for his wanton lust, and sinnefull affection, bereft her from her husband, a right honest substantiall yong man among you. And in that point, which in good faith I am sorry to speake of, fauouring that it is in vaine to keepe in counsell that thing which euery man knoweth; the Kings greedy appetite was insatiable, and euery where ouer all the Realme intollerable, for no woman there was any where, yong or olde, rich or poore, whom hee let his eie vpon, in whom hee liked any thing, either person, or fauour, speech, pace, or countenance, but without all feare of God, or any respect of his owne honour, murmur, or grudge of the world, he would importunately pursue his appetite, and haue her, to the great destruction of many a good woman, and great dolour to their husbands and other their friends, which being honest people of themselves, so much regard the cleanness of their house, the chastitie of their wiues, and their daughters, that they had rather loose all they had besides, then to haue such a vil-

lany done against them: And albeit, that with this and his other importable dealings, the Realme was in euery part annoyed; yet specially, you heere the Citizens of this noble Citie, as well for that amongst you is most plenty of all such things, as minister matters to such iniuries, as for that you were neere at hand, seeing that neere heereabout was commonly his most abiding. And yet you bee the people whom he had a singular cause well and kindly to entreat, as any part of the Realme, not onely, for that the Prince by this noble Citie, as his speciall Chamber, and the speciall well renowned Citie of his Realme, much honourable fame rectiue amongst all other nations: but also for that yee, not without your great cost, andundry perils and leoparchies in all his warres, bare out your speciall fauour to his part, which your kind mindes botne vnto the house of Yorke, sith he hath nothing worthily acquitted, there is one of that house, that now by Gods grace, better shall: which thing to shew you is the whole summe and effect of this our present errand. It shall nor, I wot well, need that I rehearse you againe, that yee haue already heard of him that can better tell it, and of whom I am sure you will better beleue it, and reason is it so to be. I am not so proud to looke therefore, that you should recken my words of as great authority, as the Preachers of the word of God; namely, a man so learned and so wise, that no man better wotteth what he should say, and thereto so good and vertuous, as he would not say the thing which hee wist hee should not say in the Pulpit; namely, into the which no honest man commeth to lye: which honourable Preacher, you well remember, substantially declared at Pauls Crosse, on Sunday last past, the right and title that the most excellent Prince, Richard Duke of Gloucester, now Protector of this Realme, hath vnto the Crowne and Kingdome of the same. For as the Worshipfull Doctor substantially made knowne vnto you, the children of King Edward the fourth were neuer lawfully begotten, forasmuch as the King (leaving his very wife Dame Elizabeth Lucy) was neuer lawfully married vnto the Queen their mother, whose blood, suuing that he set his voluptuous pleasure before his honour, was full vnincited to be matched with his; and the mingling of those bloods together hath bin the effusion of great part of the noble blood of this Realme. Whereby it may well seeme, the marriage was not well made, of which there is so much mischief growne. For lack of which lawful coupling, as also other things, which the said worshipfull Doctor signified, then fully explained; and which things shall not be spoken for mee, as the thing wherein euery man forbearth to say what hee knoweth, in auoyding displeasure of my noble Lord Protector; bearing, as nature requirith, a filiall reuerence to the Duke, chesse his mother: For these causes I say, before remembred, that is, for lacke of other liue lawfully committing of that late noble Prince Richard Duke of Yorke, to whose royall blood, the crowne of England and France, is by the high authoritie of Parliament entailed, the right and title of the same, is by the iust court of inheritance, according to the common law of this Land, deuolued and come vnto the most excellent Prince the Lord Protector, as to the very lawfully begotten sonne, of the fore-remembered noble Duke of Yorke. Which thing well considered, and the great knighthood prowesse pondered, with manifold vertues, which in his noble person singularly abound, the nobles and commons also of this Realme, and specially of the North part, not willing any bastard blood to haue the rule of the Land, nor the abuses before the same vfed, any longer to continue, haue condiscended, and fully determined, to make humble petition to the most puissant Prince the Lord Protector, that it may like his Grace at our

London the kings especiall Chamber.

The end of the Dukes errand.

The great modesty that the Duke pretendeth.

An author like the lubber.

The marriage of King Edward impudently a great mischief.

The Protector must be the only true heire to his father, and so to the Crowne.

"humble request, to take vpon him the guiding and gouernance of this Realme, to the wealth and encrease of the same, according to his very right and iust title. Which thing I know well, hee will be loth to take vpon him, as he wholewisedome well perceiue, the labour and study both of minde and body, that shall come therewith, to whomsoever will occupy the roome, as I dare say he will, if hee take it. Which roome, I warne you well, is no childes office: and that the great wiseman well perceiued, when hee sayd, *Pro regno cuius Rex puer est: Vnde in that Realme that hath a child to their King.* Wherefore so much the more cause wee haue to thanke God, that this noble Personage, which so righteously is intituled thereunto, is of so fad age, and so great wisdomedome, ioyned with so great experience: which albeit hee will be loth (as I haue sayd) to take it vpon him, yet shall hee to our petition in that behalfe, the more graciously incline, if you the Worshippful Citizens of this the chiefe Citie of this Realme, ioyned with vs the Nobles in this our sayd request. Which for your owne weale we doubt not but you will, and naythelesse, I heartily pray you to doe, whereby yee shall doe great profit to all the Realme beside, in choosing them to good a King, and vnto your selues speciall commoditie, to whom his Maiestie shall euer after beare so much the more tender fauour, in how much hee shall perceiue you the more prone and benciuolently minded towards his election. Wherein deere friends, what minde you haue, wee require you plainely to shew vs.

(57) When the Duke had sayd, & looked that the people who he hoped the Maior had framed before, should after this proposition made, haue cryed, King Richard, King Richard; all was hush and mute, and not a word answered thereunto: wherewith the Duke was maruailously abashed, & taking the Maior neerer to him, with other that were about him priuie to that matter, said vnto him softly, What meaneth this, that the people bee so silent? Sir (quoth the Maior) perchance they perceiue you not well, that shall we mend (quoth hee) if that will helpe. And by and by somewhat lower, hee rehearsed them the same matter againe, in other order and other words, so well and ornately, so euidently and plaine, with voice, gesture, & countenance so comely, that euery man much maruailled that heard him, and thought they neuer had in their hearing, so euill a tale well told. But were it for wonder or feare, or that each man lookt that other speake first; not a word was there answered of all the people that stood before, but was as still as the midnight, not so much as rowning among themselves, by which they might seeme to commune what was best to doe. When the Lord Maior saw this, hee with the other partners of that counsell drew about the Duke, and sayd, That the people had not bene accustomed there to bee spoken vnto, but by the Recorder, who is the mouth of the Citie, and happely to him they will answer. With that the Recorder called *Fitz-William*, a sad man and an honest, who was so newly come into that office, that hee neuer had spoken to the people before, and loth was with that matter to beginne; notwithstanding, thereunto commanded by the Maior, he made rehearsal to the commons, of that the Duke had twice rehearsed to them himselfe. But the Recorder so tempered his tale, that hee shewed euery thing as the Dukes words, and no part of his owne. But all this noting, no change made in the people, which stood gazing at the bench as men altogether amazed. Whereupon the Duke rownd vnto the Maior, and said, This is maruailous obstinate silence, and therewith hee turned vnto the people againe with these wordes: Deare friends, wee come to moue you to that thing which peraduenture we not so greatly needed, but that the Lords of this Realme and the Commons of other parts might haue sufficed, sauing that wee beare you such loue, and so

much set by your friendship, that wee would not willingly do without you the thing which is for our honour and your wealth, which as it seemeth, either you see not, or wey not; wherefore we require you, giue vs answer, whether ye be minded as all the nobles of the Realme bee, to haue this noble Prince now Protector, to be your King or not.

(58) At which words the people beganne to whisper among themselves secretly, that the voyce was neither loud nor distinct, but as it were the sound of a swarme of Bees, till at the last, in the nether end of the hall, a bushment of the Dukes seruants, and Nathfields, and of others belonging to the Protector, with some prentises and laddes that thrust into the hall among the presse, beganne so dainely at mens backs to cry out as loud as their throats would giue, King Richard, King Richard, & threw vp their caps in token of ioy. But they that stood before, cast backe their heades, maruelling thereat, yet nothing they said. And when the Duke and Maior saw this manner, they wisely turned it to their purpose, and said it was a goodly cry, and a ioyfull, to heare euery man with one voice, no man saying nay: wherefore friends (quoth the Duke) since that wee well perceiue that it is all your whole minds to haue this noble man for your King, whereof we shall make to his Grace so effectually report, that we doubt not, but it shall redound vnto your great wealth, and commoditie: we require that to morrow you goe with vs, and wee with you vnto his Noble Grace, to make our humble request vnto him in manner before remembred. And therewith the Lords came downe, and the assembly dissolved for the most part sad, some with glad semblances, and yet not very merry, yea and some that came with the Duke, not able to dissemble their sorrow, were faine at his backe to turne their face to the wal, while the dolour of their heart burst out of their eyes.

(59) On the next morning, the Mayor with all the Aldermen, and chiefe Commoners of the City in their best array, assembling themselves together, resorted vnto *Baynards Castle* in *Thames* street, where the Protector lay. To which place repayed also according to their appointment, the Duke of *Buckingham*, with diuers noble men with him, beside many Knights and other Gentlemen. And thereupon the Duke sent word vnto the Lord Protector, of the being there of a great and honourable company, to moue a great matter vnto his Grace: wherupon the Protector made difficultie to come out vnto them, but if hee first knew some part of their errand, as though he doubted, and partly distrustful the coming of such a number vnto him so sodainly, without any warning, or knowledge whether they came for good or harme; then the Duke when hee had shewed this vnto the Maior and other, that they might thereby see, how little the Protector looked for this matter; they then sent vnto him by the Messenger such louing message againe, and therewith he humbly besought him to vouchsafe, that they might resort to his presence, to propole their intent, which they would not impart to any other person; that at the last hee came out of his chamber, and yet not down vnto them, but stood aboue in a gallery ouer them, where they might see him & speake to him, as though hee would not yet come too neere them, till hee understood what they meant. And thereupon the Duke of *Buckingham* first made humble petition vnto him on the behalfe of them all, that his Grace would pardon them, and licence them to propole vnto his Grace, the intent of their coming without his displeasure, without which pardon obtained, they durst not be so bold to moue him in their suite. In which albeit they meant as much honour to his Grace, as wealth to all the Realm beside; yet were they not sure how his Grace would take it, whom they would in no wise offend. Then the Protector (as he was very gentle of him-

selfe, and also longed sore to know what they meant) gaue him leaue to propole what him liked, verily trusting for the good mind that he bare them all, none of them would intend any thing to himward, wherewith hee ought to be grieved.

(60) When the Duke had this leaue and pardon to speake, then waxed hee bold to shew him their intent and purpose, with all the causes mouing them thereunto, as you haue heard before: and finally, to beseech his Grace, that it would like him of his accustomed goodness and zeale vnto the realm now with his eye of pittie, to behold the long continued distresse, and decay of the same, and to set his gracious hands to redresse an amendment thereof, by taking vpon him the Crowne and gouernment of the land; according to his right and title lawfully defended vnto him, and to the law of God, profit of the Realme, and vnto his grace so much the more honour, and lesse paine, in that, that neuer Prince reigned ouer any people that were so glad to liue vnder his obedience, as the people of this land vnder his.

(61) When the Protector had heard the proposition, he looked very strangely thereat, and answered: That albeit it were, he partly knew the things by them alleged to be true, yet such intire loue he bare vnto King *Edward* and his children, that so much more he regarded his honour in other Realmes about, then the Crowne of any one, of which he was neuer desirous, that he could not finde in his heart in this point to incline to their desire. For in all other Nations where the truth was not well knowne, it would peraduenture be thought, that it was his own ambitious minde and deuise, to depose the Prince, and to take himselfe the Crowne, with which infamie he would not haue his honour stained foranie Crowne, in which he had euer perceiued much more labour and paine, then pleasure to him that would so vie it, as he that would not, were not worthy to haue it. Notwithstanding hee not only pardoned them the motion that they made him, but also thanked them for the loue and hartly fauour they bare him, praying them for his sake to giue and beare the same to the Prince, vnder whom hee was, and would be content to liue, and with his labour and counsell, as farre as should like the King to vie him, he would doe his vttermost endeouour to set the Realme in good state, which was already in this little time of his Protectorship (the praise be giuen to God) well begun, in that the malice of such as were before, occasion of the contrary, and of new intended to be, were now partly by good pollicy, partly more by Gods speciall providence, then mans prouision repressed.

(62) Vpon this answer giuen, the Duke by the Protectors licence, a little rownd, as well with other noble men about him, as with the Maior and Recorder of *London*. And after that, vpon like pardon desired and obtained, he shewed aloude vnto the Protector for a final conclusion, that the Realme was at a point, King *Edwards* line should not any longer raigne ouer them, both for that they had so farre gone, as it was now no surety to retreat, as for that they thought it was for the weale vniuersall to take that way, although they had not yet begun it. Wherefore if it would like his grace to take the Crowne vpon him, they would humbly beseech him thereunto; if he would giue them a resolute answer to the contrary, which they would be loth to heare, then must they needs seeke, and would not faile to finde some other noble man that would.

These words much moued the Protector, which else as euery man may know, would neuer of likelihood haue inclined thereunto. But when hee saw there was none other way, but that either hee must take it, or else he, and his both goe from it, hee said vnto the Lords and commons.

(63) Sith wee well perceiue that all the Realme is so set, whereof we be very sorry, that they will not suffer in any wise King *Edwards* line to gouerne them, whom no earthly man can gouerne against their wills, and well we also perceiue, that no man there is to whom the Crowne can by iust title appertaine, as to our selfe, as very right heire lawfully begotten of the body of our most deare father *Richard* late Duke of *York*, to which title is now ioined your election, the Nobles and Commons of this Realme, which we of all title possible take for the most effectually: we be content, and agree fauorably to incline to your petition and request, and according to the same, we here take vpon vs the roiall estate, preeminence, and kingdom of the two noble realmes, *England* and *France*, the one from this day forward, by vs and our heires, to rule, gouerne, and defend; the other by Gods grace, and your good helpe, to get againe and subdue, and establish for euer in due obedience vnto this Realm of *England*, the advancement whereof we neuer aske of God longer to liue, then we intend to procure. With this there was a great shout, crying King *Richard*, King *Richard*. And then the Lords went vp to the King (for so was hee from that time called) and the people departed, talking diuerfly of the matter, euery man as his fantasie gaue him.

(64) Much was talked, and maruelled at the manner of this dealing, that the matter was made so strange vnto both parties, as though they neuer had communed either with others before, when as themselves with there was no man so dull that heard them, but perceiued well enough, that all the matter was so made betwene them. Howbeit, some excused that againe, and said all must be done in good order: And men must sometimes for manners sake, not beacknowen what they know: for at the consecration of a Bishop, euery man woteth well, by the paying for his bulles, that he purposeth to be one, and though he pay for nothing else, and yet must hee twice be asked, whether he will be a Bishop or no, and hee must twice say nay, and at the third time take it, as compelled thereunto by his owne will. And in a Stage-play the people know right well, that he who plaieeth the Sowdaine, is perforce a fower, yet if one should know so little good, to shew out of season what acquaintance he hath with him, and call him by his owne name, while he standeth in his maiesty, one of his tormentors might hap to breake his head worthily for marring of the plaie.

(65) The raigne of this yong King may well be accounted an *interregnum* without King, as well for his minoritie being vnder the rule of a Protector himselfe, as for the short time wherein he continued the name of a King; which onlie was two monethes and sixtene daies, and in them also hee fate vncrowned without Scepter or ball, all which *Richard* aimed at, and perfidiously got, before they could come to his head; or into his hands. His age at the death of his father and entrance into his throne was eleuen yeeres five monethes and five daies, and within three monethes after, was with his brother smothered to death in the Tower of *London*, as shall be shewed in his Raigne, of whom we are now by order of succession to write.

Richard III.

RICHARD THE THIRD, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SIXTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, ISSVE AND DEATH.

For the most part written by Sir Thomas Moore.



CHAPTER XIX.



Richard, the third sonne of Richard Duke of Yorke, born at Fotheringhay Castle in the County of Northampton, was first honoured with the title of Gloucester, being the third Duke of that number, & consequently by usurpation crowned King of England, the third of that name, a name indeed noted to the Kings so called, to bee euer ominous; and the title of Gloucester to those Dukes euer fatal, all of them both, dying violent and vntimely deaths, which ought to haue bene the more fearefull vnto Richard, now hauing possession and interest in them both. But that not regarded, or destiny enforcing,

his aspiring mind gaue him no rest, till his restless body found it lastly in the graue. For his brother deceased when his life was most desired, no man in shew tooke his death so heauily as himselfe, or tendered the young King with a more honourable respect, when as (God knowes) his mind ranne vpon deepe reaches, how to compasse the wreath for his owne head; which the better to fashion, hee withdrew a while into the North, and at Yorke in most sad and solemne manner obserued the Funerals of the dead King: but howsoeuer the Maske couered this subtle Dukes face from the eie of the multitude; yet Buckingham well knew the ambitious desire of his aspiring heart, and indeed was the Dedalus that made him the wings, wherewith he mounted so neere vnto the Sun, as that the wax melting (like the high-minded young Icarus) he caught his last fall.

(2) What

All the Richardes and Dukes of Gloucester came to vntimely deaths. Richard 1. being with an arrow. Richard 2. murdered at Pomfret. The Woodstocke murdered to death. Humphrey murdered at S. Edmundsbury. Richard 3. slain at Bosworth field.

Duke Rike subtilly plotted for Crowne.

The Duke Buckingham the onely of the Prince

(2) What intendments they had before the Kings death, is vncertaine, though it may be suspected: but sure it is, he now gone, the Duke of Buckingham twice solicited Gloucester by his messengers in the North, met him at Northampton himselfe, accompanied him to London, forwarded him in Council, and was the first Actor in this following tragedy. For first making him Protector, procuring his young Nephew forth of Sanctuary, disabling the young King, bastardizing them both, perverting the Citizens, working the Nobility: and all this done, so set the Crowne vpon crook Richards head, and so moulded their minds vnto the man, as they all became humble petitioners vnto him for to accept of the same: who in the meane while had well conned his owne part, by profuse liberalitie, by passing great grauity, by singular affability, by ministering of iustice, and by deepe and close deuises, whereby hee wonne to himselfe the hearts of all, but the Lawyers especially, to serue best his turn, which was so affected, that in the name of all the States of the Realme, a Petition was drawne and presented him to accept the wearing of the Crown: the true copy wherof as we find it recorded in the Parliament Rol, we haue inserted, & is as followeth. In Rotulo Parliamenti teneti apud Westm. die Veneris Vicesimo tertio die Ianuarii, An. Regni Regis Richardi 3. primo inter alia continetur ut sequitur.

Memorandum quod quadam billa exhibitu fuit coram Domino Rege in Parlamento predicto in hac verba: Where late heretofore, that is to say, before the consecration, coronation, and inthronization of our soveraigne Lord the King, Richard the third, a roll of parchment containing in writing certaine Articles of the Tenor vnderwritten on the behalfe, and in the name of the three Estates of this Realme of England, that is to witte, of the Lords Spirituall & Temporall, and of the Commons by name, and diuers Lords Spirituall and Temporall, and other Nobles and notable persons of the Commons in great multitude was presented and actually deliuered vnto our said Soueraigne Lord, the intent and effect expressed at large in the same roll: to the which Roll, and to the considerations, and instant petition comprised in the same, our said Soueraigne Lord for the publike weale and tranquillity of this land benignly assented. Now forasmuch as neither the said three Estates, neither the said persons which in their name presented, and deliuered as it is aforesaid, the said Roll vnto our said Soueraigne Lord the King, were assembled in forme of Parliament: by reason wherof diuers doubts, questions, and ambiguities becene moued, and engendered in the minds of diuers persons, as it is said: Therefore to the perpetual memory of the truth, and declaration of the same, be it ordained, provided, and established in this present Parliament, that the Tenor of the said roll, with all the contents of the same, presented as is aforesaid, and deliuered to our foresaid Soueraigne Lord the King, in the name and in the behalfe of the said three Estates out of Parliament, now by the same three Estates assembled in this present Parliament, and by authority of the same bee ratified, enrolled, recorded, approved, and authorized into remouing the occasions of doubts and ambiguities, and to all other lawful effects that shall now thereof ensue: So that all things said, affirmed, specified, desired and remembered in the said roll, & in the tenor of the same vnderwritten in the name of the said 3. Estates, to the effect expressed in the same roll be of the like effect, vertue & force, as if al the same things had bin so said, affirmed, specified, desired & remembered in a full Parliament, and by authority of the same accepted & approved. The Tenor of the said Roll of parchment, wherof aboue is made mention, followeth, & is such.

To the high and Mighty Prince Richard Duke of Gloucester.

Please it your noble Grace to vnderstand the confi-

deration, election and petition vnderwritten of vs, the Lords Spirituall & temporall, and Commons of this Realme of England, and thereunto agreeably to giue your assent to the common and publike weale of this land, to the comfort and gladnesse of all the people of the same. First, we consider how that heretofore in time past, this land many yeeres stood in great prosperitie, honour, and tranquillitie; which was caused, so much as the King then reigning, vied and followed the aduise and counsell of certaine Lords Spirituall and temporall, and other persons of approved sadnesse, prudence, policy, & experience, dreading God, and hauing tender zeale and affection to indifferent ministrations of iustice; and to the common and publike weale of the land: Then our Lord God was dread, loued and honoured, then within the land was peace and tranquillity, and among neighbours concord and charity, then the malice of outward enemies was mightilie resisted and repressed, and the land honourably defended with many great and glorious victories, then the entercourse of Merchants was largely vied and exercised: by which thinges aboue remembered, the land was greatly enriched, so that aswell the Merchants and Artificers, as other poore people labouring for their liuings in diuers occupations, had competent gaine to the sustentation of them & their households, liuing without miserable and intolerable poerty: but afterward, when that such as had the rule and gouernance of this land, delighting in adulation and flattery, and led by sensuality and concupiscence, followed the counsell of persons insolent, vicious, and of inordinate avarice, despising the counsell of good, vertuous, & prudent persons, such as aboue bee remembered; The prosperitie of this land dayly decreased, so that felicity was turned into misery, and prosperitie into aduersitie, and the order of policy, and of the law of God and Man confounded, whereby it is likely this Realme to fall into extreme misery and desolation (which God defend) without due prouision of couenable remedy bee had in this behalfe, in all goodly haste.

(3)ouer this, among other things more speciall wee consider, how that the time of the raigne of K. Edward the fourth late deceased, after the vngracious pretended marriage (as all England hath cause to say) made betwixt the said King Edward, and Elizabeth sometimes wife to Sir John Gray knight, late naming her selfe, and many yeeres heretofore Queene of England, the order of all politike rule was peruerterd, the lawes of God, and of Gods Church, and also the lawes of nature, and of England, and also of the laudable customes and liberties of the same, wherein euery English man is inheritor, broken, subuerted and contemned, against all reason and iustice, so that the land was ruled by selfe-will and pleasure, feare and dread, all manner of equity and law laide apart and despised, wherof ensued many inconueniences and mischiefs, as murders, extortions, and oppressions, namely of poore and impotent people, so that no man sure of his life, land or liuelyhood, nor of his wife, daughter nor seruant, euery good maiden and woman standing in dread to be rauished and deflowered: and besides this, what discords, inward battels, effusion of Christian mens blood, and namely, by the destruction of the Nobles blood of this land, was had and committed within the same, it is euident and notarie through all this Realme, vnto the great sorrow and heauinesse of all true Englishmen. And here also wee consider, how that the said pretended marriage betwixt the aboue named King Edward and Elizabeth Gray was made of great presumption without the knowing & assent of the Lords of this land, and also by forcery and witchcraft committed by the said Elizabeth and her mother Jaquet Dutcheffe of Bedford, as the common opinion of the people, and the publike voice and fame is through all this land: and hereafter if the cause shall require, shall be produced.

The forme of the petition exhibited vnto the Protector.

Faire gloses vpon foule pieties.

O time how dost thou turne and art turned.

Flattery teares not how to report.

How can Princes rule to than reproach when they are dead.

The Queene & her mother fallie slandered.

ued sufficiently in time and place conuenient. And here also wee consider how that the said pretended marriage was made priuily and secretly without edition of banes in a private Chamber, a prophane place, and not openly in the face of the Church after the law of Gods Church, but contrary thereto, and the laudable custome of the Church of England. And how also that at the time of contract of the same pretended marriage, and before and long time after the said King Edward was and foot married, and troth-plight to one Dame Eleanor Butler daughter of the old Earle of Shrewsbury with whom the same Edward had made a precontract of Matrimonie long time before hee made the said pretended marriage with the said Elizabeth Grey, in manner and forme aforesaid: which Premises being true, as in very truth they be true: it appeareth, and followeth evidently, that the said King Edward during his life, and the said Elizabeth lived together sinfully and damnable in adultery against the law of God and of his Church: And therefore no maruell that the Soueraigne Lord, and the head of this land being of such vngodly disposition, and prouoking the ire and indignation of our Lord God; such heinous mischiefe and inconueniences as are aboue remembered, were vied and committed in the Realme among the Subjects. Also it appeareth evidently and followeth, that all the Issue and children of the said King Edward, beeing bastard and vnable to inherite, or to claime any thing by inheritance, by the law and custome of England.

(4) Moreover, we consider how that afterwards by the three Estates of this Realme assembled in Parliament, holden at Westminster the 17. yeere of the reign of the said King Edward the fourth, hee then being in possession of the Crowne and royall estate, by Act made in the same Parliament, George Duke of Clarence brother to the said King Edward now deceased, was convicted and attainted of high treason, as in the same Act is contained more at large, by cause and reason whereof, all the Issue of the said George, was and is disabled and barred of all right and claime that in any case they might haue or challenge by inheritance to the Crowne and dignity royall of this Realme, by the ancient law and custome of this same Realme.

Over this wee consider that ye be the vndoubted sonne and heire of Richard late Duke of Yorke, very inheritor of the sayd Crowne and dignity royall; and as in right King of England by way of inheritance: and that at this time the premises duly considered there is none other person liuing, but ye only that by right may claime the said Crowne and dignity royall by way of inheritance, and how that ye be borne within this land; by reason whereof, as we deeme in our mindes, ye be more naturally enclined to the prosperitie and common weale of the same: and all the three estates of the Land haue and may haue more certaine knowledge of your birth and filiation aforesaid. We consider also the great wit, prudence, iustice, princely courage, and the memorable and laudable acts in diuers battels, which as wee by experience know you heretofore haue done, for the saluation and defence of this same Realme; and also the great noblenesse & excellencie of your birth and blood, as of him that is defended of the three most royall houses in Christendome: that is to say, England, France and Spaine. Wherefore these premises by vs diligently considered, we desiring effectually the peace, tranquillitie and weale-publique of this Land, and the reduction of the same to the ancient honourable estate and prosperitie, and hauing in your great prudence, iustice, princely courage, and excellent vertue, singular confidence, haue chosen in all that in vs is, and by this our writing choose you High and Mightie Prince our King and Soueraigne Lord, &c. To whom we know for certaine it appertaineth of enheritance to be chosen. And hereupon wee humbly desire, pray, and require your

most noble Grace, that according to this election of vs the three estates of this Land, as by your true inheritance, you will accept and take vpon you the sayd Crowne and royall dignitie, with all things thereunto annexed and appertaining, as to you of right belonging aswell by inheritance as by lawful election: and in case ye so doe, we promise to serue and assist your Highnesse, as true and faithfull Subjects, and liege men; and to liue and die with you in this matter, and in euery other iust quarrel. For certainly, we be determined rather to adventure & commit vs to the perill of our liues, and to jeopardie of death, then to liue in such thraldome and bondage as wee haue liued long time heretofore oppressed and iniured by extortions and newe impositions against the Law of God and man, and the libertie, old pollicie and Lawes of this Realme, wherein euery Englishman is inherited. Our Lord God, King of all Kinges, by whose infinite goodnesse and eternall prouidence all things beeing principally gouerned in this world; lighten your soule, and grant you grace to doe aswell in this matter as in all other, that may be according to his will and pleasure, and to the common and publike weale of this Land: so that after great clouds, trouble, stormes, and tempests, the Sun of Iustice and of Grace may shine vpon vs, to the comfort and gladnesse of all true-hearted Englishmen. Albeit, that the right, title, & estate, which our Soueraigne Lord the King, Richard the third hath to, and in the Crowne, and royall dignitie of this Realme of England, with all things thereunto within the same Realme, and without it vnited, annexed & appertaining, bin iust and lawfull as grounded vpon the Lawes of God and of nature: and also vpon the ancient Lawes and laudable customes of this said Realme; and so taken and reputed by all such persons as beene learned in the abovesaid Lawes and customes: Yet neuertheless, forasmuch as it is considered, that the most part of the people is not sufficiently learned in the abovesaid Lawes and customes, whereby the truth & right in this behalfe of likelihood may be hid and not cleerely knowne to all the people, & thereupon put in doubt and question. And ouer this, how that the Court of Parliament is of such autoritie, and the people of this Land of such a nature and disposition, as experience teacheth that manifestation and declaration of any truth or right made by the three estates of this Realme assembled in Parliament, and by the authority of the same maketh before all other things most feith and certaine, and quiering of mens mindes, remoueth the occasion of all doubts, and seditious language. Therefore at the request, and by the assent of the three estates of this Realme: that is to say, the Lords spirituall and temporal, and Commons of this Land assembled in this present Parliament, by authority of the same be it pronounced, decreed, and declared, that our said Soueraigne Lord the King was, and is the very vndoubted King of this Realme of England, with all things thereunto within the same Realme, and without it vnited, annexed, and appertaining aswell by right of Confangunity, and inheritance, as by lawful election, consecration, and coronation. And ouer this, that at the request, and by the assent and authority abovesaid, be it ordained, enacted and established, that the said Crowne and royall dignitie of this Realme, and the inheritance of the same, and all other things thereunto within the Realme or without, is vnited, annexed, and now appertaining, rest and abide in the person of our said Soueraigne Lord the King during his life, and after his decease, in his heires of his body begotten; and in especiall at the request, and by assent and authority abovesaid, be it ordained, enacted, established, pronounced, decreed, and declared, that the high and excellent Prince Edward, son of our said Soueraigne Lord the King, be heire apparent of the same our Soueraigne Lord the King to succeed to him in the abovesaid Crowne and royall dignity,

dignity, with all things as is aforesaid thereunto vnited, annexed, and appertaining, to haue them after the decease of our said Soueraigne Lord the King, to him, and to his heires of his body lawfully begotten.

Quia quidem Billa Communibus Regni Angli. in dicto Parlamento existent. transposita fuit. Cui quidem Billa idem Communes assensum suum praeberunt sub his verbis. A Ceste bille les Communes sont assentus. Quibus quidem Billa, et assensu eorum Domino Rege in Parlamento predicto lectis, auditis, et plenius intellectis, de assensu Dominorum spiritualium, et temporalium in dicto Parlamento similiter existent. et Communitas predicta, nec non autoritate eiusdem Parliamenti pronuntiatur, decretum, et declaratum existit, omnia et singula in Billa predicta contenta fore vera et indubia. Ac idem Dominus Rex de assensu dictorum trium Statuum Regni, et autoritate predicta, omnia et singula praemissa in Billa predicta contenta concedit, ac ea pro vero et indubio pronuntiat, decreuit, et declarat.

(5) These things I haue laid forth more at large out of the Parliament Roll, that ye may vnderstand both what and how great matters, the power of a Prince, the outward shew of vertue, the wily fetches of Lawyers, fawning hope, pensive feare, desire of change, and goodly pretences are able to effect, in that most wise assembly of all the States of a Kingdome, even against all law and right, so that the saying of Salomon in this State seemed most true that a *living dogge is better then a dead Lyon*. But this Richard is not to be accounted worthy to haue been a Soueraigne, had he not beene a Soueraigne as Calba was reputed; who, when he was a Soueraigne, deceived all mens expectation; but most worthy in deede of Soueraignty, had hee not beene transported with ambition (which blasted all his good parts) by lewde practises, and by mischievous means, made foule way therunto: for that by the common consent of all that are wise, he was reckoned in the ranke of bad men, but of good Princes; as indeed King Richard through his short time of raigne is accounted to haue beene.

(6) The Crown and Scepter accepted as is said, King Richard vpon the twentie fifth of June, went in great pompe vnto Westminster hall, and there in the Kings Bench Court tooke his Seat, saying, that he would take vpon him the Crowne in that place, where the King himselfe ought to sit, whose chiefest duety was to administer Iustice to his people, and with a pleasing Oration he tickled the cares of his Auditors, that hee lulled the rull to thinke that his like had neuer raigned in England; and to beginne himselfe with a pretended clemency, he pronounced pardon of all offences committed against him; for confirmation whereof, hee sent for one Fogge whom hee deadly hated, who for feare of him had lately taken Sanctuary at Westminster, and there in sight of the people with semblance accordingly, tooke him by the hand saying, that hee would be thenceforth his assured in affection; whereas the Commons greatly reioyced, and with applauses extolled, though others wiser among them tooke it to be but fained to serue his owne turne. And in his way homeward, whomsoever hee met, hee saluted: for a mind that knoweth it selfe to bee guiltie, is in a manner dejected to a seruile flattery.

(7) King Richard whose guilty heart was full of suspicion, had sent for five thousand Souldiers out of the North to be present in London at his Coronation; these vnder the leading of Robin of Ridgale, came vpy both euill apparelled, and worse harnessed, in rusty Armour, neither defensible for proofe, nor scowred for shew: who mustering in Finsbury Fields, were with disdain gazed vpon by the beholders. But all things now ready for his Coronation (and much the sooner in that young Edwards prouision was conferred vpon his) vpon the fourth of Iuly, he with his wife by water came

to the Tower, where he created Estates, ordained the Knights of the Bath, set at liberty the Archishoppe of Yorke, and the Lord Stanley, more for feare then for loue, whose sonne the Lord Strange was then said to be gathering of men in Lancashire, where those Lords haue great command.

(8) But Marston Bishop of Ely a firme man vnto King Edward, and vnpossible to bee drawn vnto the disinheriting of his children, as was well perceived by the Protector, among others at the Council held in the Tower, was left there prisoner, and accused of many great, but vnlike treasons. This man borne in Dorsetshire, and brought vp in the Vniuersity of Oxford, was from a Doctor of the Arches made a priuy Counsellour vnto King Henry, and after his death allured by King Edward to serue him, was sworne likewise of his Council, and made one of the Executors of his will: whose insight into the intended designs, the Protector much feared, and therefore hauing him fast, minded for to keepe him, when hee released others laide in the Tower for the like feare. But the reuerence of the man, or vnderstanding of his wrongs, moued so the affection of the Oxford Academians, that they directed to the King (who professed much loue to that Vniuersitie) a petitory latine Epistle, no lesse eloquent & pithy, then circumspect and wary, wherein they thus pleaded for his liberty.

(9) Though many important motiues wee haue most Christian King, earnestly to recommend to your princely clemency, the Reuerend Father in Christ, the Lord Bishoppe of Ely, as being not onely one of the most eminent Sonnes of our Vniuersity, but also a singular Patron and indulgent Father to vs all; yet could not these inducements (howsoever very ponderous with all gratefull minde) perswade vs to become intercessors for his pardon, but euer with due regard both to your owne honour and safety; the greatnesse of your princely fauours haue more obliged vs, then of any your royall Predecessors: whilst therefore wee stood in some doubt, how hee stood affected towards your Highnesse, wee held it an high offence, if by tending his safety, wee should any way hazard yours: but now vnderstanding, that his offence proceeded, not of pertinacy, but humane frailty; and that hee hath alwayes humbly sued for pardon thereof, the bowels of our mother Vniuersity, like Rachel weeping ouer her Children were moued with compassion ouer the deplored distresse of this her dearest Sonne; where in yet (as wee hope) her affection deserues no iust reprehension. For if a pious affection be prayse-worthy, even in an enemy, much more is it in this our Academy, full of due obseruance towards your Maiesty, and professing the study of all vertues. These things so being, wee thought fittest, (without longer delays) to flie vnto your clemency, as humble Suppliants, that your Highnesse, already hauing in part inflicted (though mildly) some chastisement on his fault would turn your roial aspect towards him, & impart to him the bounty of your gracious clemency; wherein you shall not onely perform an act most acceptable to him, to vs, and the whole Church, but very honourable & advantageous also (as we hope) to your own person. For, vpon notice of the readmittance of so great a Prelate into your grace, who is there, that will not extoll with prayles vnto the skies your fo great, and euen diuine clemency? Thus gloried the Romans, to haue it marshalled amongst their prayles, that *Submissus vultus they spared, but crushed the proud*; and this also they challenged as their peculiar honour, that they were readier to remit, then to reuenge wrongs. Now if you will aspire to this high honour, (as easily you may, by being gracious to this man) you shall surmount the Romanes themselves by lo glorious a deed. As for the great benefite which may hereby accrue to your

A.D. 1483.
States created by R. Richard.

At Bury or Bury

Ex Regis. O. nom. MS.

A letter written for the Vniuersity of Oxford in the behalfe of D. Marston.

* Virgil. Vltima Subiecta, Or. Salus.

K. Edward accused to haue bene contracted to the Lady Eleanor Butler.

The tongue of slander is a sharp arrow.

They haue taught their tonges to speake lies, Jer. 9. 3.

George Duke of Clarence and his heires made vn-capable of the crowne.

As bad his claim as his person deformed, but both made good by flatterers in Parliament.

Great pile that so faire flames, should bring forth so bad a branch.

All promises were not to be taken as law.

The Lord God is a true God.

cannot the present of the future.

Richard the third.

Richard the third, subject of the good.

A charitable mind in the Court is a rare thing.

Richard the third, subject of the good.

The effect of the Parliament.

Richard the third, subject of the good.

Richard the third, subject of the good.

The Crown entailed to Richard the third.

Richard the third, subject of the good.

Richard the third, subject of the good.

"your highnes, albeit(as we suppose) we can sufficiently conceiue thereof, especially if wee call to minde his singular vertues; yet had we rather leaue that point wholly to your secret considerations, then pursue it with a discourse tedious to you, and enuie-breeding to his: least happily by insinuating in his praises, it may be thought, that we seeke rather by violence to extort, then by submissiues to beg his pardon, and or else to relie more on the greatness of his vertues, then of your Clemency, or lastly to appeale rather to your Iustice, than to your mercy. Wherefore (most puissant Prince) thus periwade your selfe of vs, that whatsoever we haue spoken in the Bishops behalfe, we doe it rather out of a sense of our dutifullness then any diffidencie of your Gracifullnes: and therefore omitting all things which might be alleaged, either to lessen his offence or augment his vertues: it is your sole mercy wherein we repose all our hopes; vowing, howsoever other meanes of gratitute may be wanting to vs, yet we shall neuer suffer the remembrance of lo great a fauour conferred on vs to be extinguished amongst vs.

Dat. Oxenijm
Ecclef. S. Mariae
Vig. A. Sextilis.

Bishop Morten
committed to the
custody of the
Duke of Buck-
ingham.

The great estate
of King Richards
coronation.

Buckingham most
richly attired at
the Kings cor-
onation.

The order of the
Kings proceed-
ings to be
crowned.

Kiech. Grafton.

(10) King Richard, after this, intending some easier restraint, though not liberty vnto the Bishop, was content to release him out of the Tower, and committed him to the custody of Henry Duke of Buckingham, who sent him to his Castle of Brecknocke in Wales, there safely to be kept, vntill himselfe should come thither.

(11) The next day with great pompe, state and attendance of the Nobility, the King rode through London, so as a more royall had not bene seene at any Kings Coronation, for there attended him, three Dukes, nine Earles, two Vicounts, twenty Lords, feauenty eight Knights, all of them most richly furnished, whereof the Duke of Buckingham so farre exceeded, that the carpiation of his horse was so charged with embroydered worke of gold, as it was born vp from the ground by certain his footemen thereto appointed. And contrary to my owne affections, or manner of my former proceedings, I will yet continue the most honorable offices performed at his roiall enthroning with no little Admiracion, how these Lords assembled to fet the Crowne vpon the young Princes head, were so suddainly carried to Crowne his Protector, and that vpon such false and slanderous pretences, as euery one of them saw his title to be merely an vniuist vsurpation, but in them may be seene, that we are all the sonnes of Adam, and in times of extremities, forefoll all publike regard, as ouermuch fearing our priuate and present estate.

(12) Vpon the sixt of Iuly, King Richard with Queene Anne his wife fet forth from White-hall towards Westminster, roially attended, and went into the Kings bench in the great hall, from whence himselfe and Queen vpon ray Cloth, both of them barefooted, went vnto King Edwards shrine in Saint Peters Church, all the Nobility going with him in their degree, the trumpets and Heralds marshalling the way, the Crosse with a solemne procession followed, the Priests in fine surplices and gray Amysses vpon them, the Bishops and Abbots in rich Copes all of them myrted, and carrying their Crosses in their hands; next came the Earle of Huntingdon bearing a pair of gilt spurs, signifying Knighthood, after whom came the Earle of Bedford, who bare Saint Edwards staffe for a Relique, then followed the Earle of Northumberland with a naked pointed sword in his hand betokening mercy, next whom the Lord Stahley bare the Mace of the Constableness, vpon whose right hand the Earle of Kent bare a naked pointed sword, and on his left hand the Lord Louell the like naked pointed sword, the former signifying Iustice towards the temporality, and the other Iustice to the Clergy; the Duke of Suffolke then followed with the Scepter, which signified Peace: the Earle of Lincoln bare the Ball and Crosse which signified a Monarchy: Then

came the Earle of Surrey bearing the fourth sword sheathed in a rich scaberd, and is called the sword of Estate, next whom followed Garter King at Armes, vpon whose right hand went the Gentleman Viher of the Kings priuy Chamber, and on his left the Lord Maior of London, with a Mace in his hand; Next vnto whom went the Duke of Norfolk bearing the Kings Crowne betwixt his hands, and then King Richard himselfe came, in a Surcote and Robe of purple veluety, hauing ouer his head a Canapie borne by the four Barons of the five Ports, the Bishop of Bath on his right hand, and of Durham on his left. The Duke of Buckingham bare the Kings traine, and to signifie the office of high Steward of England, he bare a White Staffe in his hand.

(13) Then followed the Queene traine: before whom was borne the Scepter, the Ivory Rod with the Dove, and the Crowne, her selfe appaelled in Robes like the Kings vnder a rich Canapie, at euery corner thereof a bell of gold. On her head there were a circlet full of precious stones, the Countesse of Richmond bearing her traine; the Dutchesse of Norfolk and Suffolke in their Coronets attendants, with twenty Ladies of estate most richly attired. In this order they passed the Pallace into the Abbey, and ascending to the high Altar there shifted their Robes, and hauing other Robes open in diuers places from the middle vpward, were both of them annointed and Crowned, he with Saint Edwards Crowne, hauing the Scepter deliuered into his left hand, and the Ball with the Crosse a token of Monarchie in his right, the Queene had a Scepter giuen into her right hand, and the Ivory Doue in her left; then after the Sacrament receiued (hauing the host deuided betwixt them) they both offered at Saint Edwards shrine, where the King left his Crowne and put on his owne; and thus done, in the same Order and State as they came, returned to Westminster hall, and there held a most Princely feast. Whereof let Hall and Grafton tell you for me.

(14) But this his faire Sunne was soone ouercast with many darke Cloudes and mischiefes, which fell thicke vpon the necke of each other, for as the eching euill gotten, is neuer well kept through all the time of his raigne there neuer ceased death and slaughter, till his owne destruction ended it. Yet as he finished his daies with the best death, and the most righteous, that is to say, his owne: so began he with the most piteous and wicked, I meane the lamentable murder of his innocent Nephewes, the young King and his tender brother; whose deaths and finall misfortunes haue neuertheless come so farre in question, that some remaine yet in doubt, whether they were in his daies destroyed or no. Not for that only, that Perkin Warbecke by the malice of many, and the folly of more, so long a time abusing the world, was aswell with Princes as the other poore people, reputed and taken for the younger of these two: but for that also as all things were in late daies so couerly decaied, one thing pretended and another done, that there was nothing so plaine and openly proued, but for the common custome and close couert dealing, men had it euery inwardly in suspect, as many well counterfeit Jewels make the true mistrusted. Howbeit concerning the opinion with the occasions mouing either party, we shall haue place more at large hereafter to intreat of: in the meane time for this present matter shall be rehearsed the dolorous end of these young Babes, not after euery report I haue heard, but by such men, and by such meanes, as to my seeming it were hard but it should be true, saith Sir Thomas Moore.

(15) K. Richard presently after his mockish Electio & glorious Coronation, made his progresse towards Gloucester, to shew (as was thought) in that City his new Kingly estate, which first had vouchsafed him his old honour in bearing her Title; or else, and that rather, to bequestred from other busines, the better to attend that, vpon which his thoughts most busily ranne.

The order of
Queene
ceding to
the King

The King
Queen
ly annointed
crowned.

Sir Thomas
Moore.

The time
Richard
full of
deaths.

Deaths
the two
deaths.

King
progresse
wards Gloucester

ranne. For albeit the Barke of his beguine aduentures, had without perill well passed the straightes, and now got sea-roume to spread saile at will; yet being vnder gale, and at fortunes dispoise, he feared the gust of euery wind: at leastwise suspected that his young Nephewes liuing would stay the course of his deeper reaches, as doth the little fish Remora, who holdeth (as at Anchor) the biggest shippe vnder saile. His inward study therefore still forged, howsoever his outward countenance was carried to cleare his passage by taking those dangerous lets away, well knowing, that his little Nephewes enioying their liues, men would be meddling with their downcast cause, and account him an vsurper without all right to the Realme. To stop which streame, no other course could hee find, but to cut off the current by which it ranne, as though the killing of his Kinfolke could better his bad claime, or vnkindly murder make him a kindly King. But being resolu'd, he forthwith sent one John Greene, a seruant in especiall trust vnto Sir Robert Brakenbury Constable of the Tower, with a letter of credence, that the same Sir Robert should in any wise put the two children to death.

(16) This Greene thus posted to London, deliuered his errand vnto Brakenbury, whom hee found kneeling at his Orizons before the Image of our Lady in the Tower, the businesse being of such weight as the King must be serued before hee had ended with his Saint. The Constable reading the letter, and perceiuing the bloody intent of the King, answered plainly, hee would neuer put those innocent babes vnto death, to die therefore himselfe. With which answer John Greene returning, recounted the same to King Richard being at Warwick, yet in his way to Gloucester, wherewith he was maruellously perplexed, and thereatooke such displeasure, that the same night hee said to a secret Page of his: *Alas whom shall a man trust? those that I haue brought vp my selfe, those that I haue reueened would most surely serue me, even those I haue made, and at my commandement will do nothing.* Sir quoth the Page, there lyeth one on your Pallat without, that I dare well say, to doe your Grace pleasure, the thing were right hard that hee would refuse; meaning this by Sir James Tirrell, who was a man of a goodly personage, and for Natures gifts worthy to haue serued a much better Prince, if he had well serued God, and by grace obtained as much truth and good will, as hee had strength and wit.

(17) The man had an high heart, and fore longed vpward, not rising yet so fast as hee hoped, being hindered and kept vnder by the meanes of Sir Richard Ratcliffe, and Sir William Catesby, who longing for no more partners of the Princes fauour, and namely, not for him, whose pride they knew would beare no Peere, kept him by secret drifts out of all secret trust, which thing this Page had well marked and knowne: wherefore this occasion offered of very speciall friendshipp, hee tooke his time to put him forward, and by such wise to doe him good, that all the enemies hee had, except the Diuell himselfe could neuer haue done him so much hurt. For vpon this Pages words, K. Richard arose (for this communication had hee sitting at the draught, a convenient Carpet for such a Counsell) and came out into a Pallat-Chamber, where hee found in bed, Sir James and Sir Thomas Tirrells, of persons much like, and brethren in blood, but nothing of kin in conditions: Then said the King merrily to them, what Sirs, be ye in bed so soone? and calling vp Sir James, brake to him secretly his mind in this mischieuous matter, in which hee found him nothing strange. Wherefore on the morrow hee sent him to Brakenbury with a letter, by which hee was commanded to deliuer Sir James all the keyes of the Tower for one night, to the end hee might accomplish there the Kings pleasure in such things as hee had giuen him in commandement. After which letter deli-

ueted, and the keyes receiued, Sir James appointed the night next ensuing to destroy them, deuiling before and preparing the meanes.

(18) The Prince in the Tower slenderly attended; and altogether neglected by the Nobility, lastly, had newes that his vnkle had left the name of Protector, and taken vpon him the Title of King; who with full consent of the Lords was to be crowned within a few daies following, with the same Crowne, and in the like estate as had bene provided for his solemnitie, wherewith the dejected Innocent sighed and said: *Alasse, I would my vnkle would let mee enioy my life yet, though I loose both my Kingdome and Crowne.* Which words hee pronounced with such a feeling feare, as much moued the Relator to pittie, and to periwade him with the best comforts hee could: but forthwith the Prince and his brother were both shut vp, and all attendants removed from them, onely one called Black-will, or William Slaughter excepted, who was fet to serue them, and see them sure. After which time the Prince neuer lifted his points, nor cared for himselfe, but with that young Babe his brother lingered with thought and heauines, till their traiterous deaths deliuered them out of that wretchednesse: for the execution whereof, Tirrell appointed Miles Forrest, one of the four that kept them, a fellow fished in murder before time. To whom hee ioined one John Dighton his horsekeeper, a bigge, broad, square knaue.

(19) About midnight (all others being removed from them,) this Miles Forrest, and John Dighton, came into the Chamber, and suddenly wrapped vp the seely children in the Bed-clothes, where they lay keeping by force the feather-bed and pillows hard vpon their mouths that they were therein smothered to death, & gaue vp to God their innocent soules into the ioies of heauen, leaving their bodies vnto the Tormentors dead in the bed: which after these monstrous wretches perceiued, first by the struggling with the paines of death, and after long lying still to be thoroughly dispatched, they laid their bodies naked out vpon the bed, and then fetched Sir James their instigator to see them, who caused these murderers to bury them at the staires foot, somewhat deepe in the ground, vnder a great heape of stones. Then rode Sir James in haste to the King, vnto whom he shewed the manner of their death, and place of buriall, which newes was so welcome to his wicked heart, as he greatly reioiced, and with great thanks dubbed (as some hold) this his mericles Instrument, knight. But the place of their buriall hee liked not, saying, that vile corner should not containe the bodies of those Princes, his Nephewes, & commanded them a better place for buriall, because they were the sons of a King. Whereupon the Priest of the Tower tooke vp the bodies; and secretly interred them in such place, which by the occasion of his death could neuer since come to light.

(20) The continuer of John Harding tels vs from the report of others, that King Richard caused Sir Robert Brakenburies Priest to clothe their dead corps in lead, and so to put them in a coffin full of holes, and hooked at the ends with two hookes of iron, and so to cat them into a place called the Blacke-deepes at the Thames mouth, whereby they should neuer rise vp, or be any more seene. Wherefore they were buried, thus they died, and by these murderers. For very certaine it is, and wel knowne, that at such time, as Sir James Tirrell was in the Tower, for Treason committed against King Henrie the seventh, both Dighton and hee were examined, and confessed the murder in manner as is said, but whether their bodies were removed they could not say. And thus as I haue learned of them that knew much, and little cause had to lie, were these two noble Princes, these innocent tender children, borne of most roial blood, brought vp in great wealth, likely to haue liued, to haue reigned, and ruled in the Realme, by traiterous tyranny taken, deprived of their estates, shortly shut

The words of
Prince Edward
when he heard
that his vnkle
should be King.

The faithfull ser-
uants: the
Prince removed
from him.

Sir Thomas Moore.

Prince Edward
and his brother
murdered in a
featherbed.

Their bodies
were buried vnder
a heape of
stones.

The body of the
two Princes re-
moued, and bu-
ried no man
knowes where.

Hardings con-
tinues.

The murderers
confesse the
deed, and maner
of their death.

The report of
Sir Tho. Moore.

vp in prison, and impiously murdered, and the body cut out God wot where, by the cruell ambition of their vnnaturall vncke, and his hellish Tormentors. Which things on euery part well pondered; God neuer gaue this world a more notable example, neither in what vnfurery standeth this worldly weale, or what mischiefe worketh the proud enterprize of an high heart, or finally, what wretched end ensueth such barbarous crueltye.

(20) For first to beginne with the Ministers, *Miles Forrest* at *S. Martins*, speeche-meale rotted away; *Sir James Tyrell* died at Tower hill for treason. *Dighton* indeed walketh on aloue in good possibility to be hanged ere he die, lying at *Calles* no lesse distained and hated then pointed at of all. King *Richard* himselfe as ye shall hereafter heare, was slaine in the field, hacked and hewed of his enemies hands, carried on horsebacke dead, his haire in despite torne and tugged like a Curre dogge: and the mischiefe that he tooke was within lesse then three yeeres of the mischiefe that he did, and yet all the meane time spent in much paine and trouble outward, and much feare, anguish, and sorrow within. For I haue heard by credible report of such as were secret with his Chamberlaine, that after this abominable deed done, he neuer had quiet in his minde: he neuer thought himselfe sure: but where he went abroad, his eyes euer whirled about, his body priuily fenced, his hand euer on his dagger, his countenance & manner like one alwaies ready to strike againe, he tooke it rest a nights, lay long waking and musing, fore wearied with care and watch, rather slumbered then slept, troubled with fearefull dreames, suddainly sometimes start vp, leapt out of his Bed, and ranne about the chamber, so was his restlesse heart continually toiled and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his abominable deed.

Neither had he in his best, any time of quiet, for immediately began the conspiracy (or rather good consideration) betweene the Duke of *Buckingham*, and diuers other Gentlemen against him.

(21) Which Duke alsoone as *Gloucester* vpon the death of King *Edward* came to *Torke*, sent thither in secret wifes a trusty seruante of his, named *Perfall*, to assure him, that he would take his part in this his new world, and if need were, would waite vpon him with a thousand good-fellows: and againe sent others of the like vnto *Nottingham*, whither the Protector from *Torke*, with many Gentlemen of the *North* Countrey was come, and on his way to *London* ward in secret manner met him himselfe, but at *Northampton* openly with three hundred horse: and from thence still continued with him, being a partner of all his deuises, till that after his coronation they departed (as it seemed) very great friends at *Gloucester*: from whence as soone as the Duke came home, he so lightly turned from him, and so highly conspired against him, that a man would maruell whereof the change grew. And surely the occasion of their variance is of diuers men, diuersly reported: Some haue said, that the Duke a little before the Coronation, among other things, required of the Protector, the Duke of *Herfords* Lands, to the which he pretended himselfe iust inheritor. And forasmuch as the Title which he claimed by inheritance, was somewhat interlaced with the title of the Crowne, by the line of King *Henry* before deprived, the Protector conceived such indignation, that he reiecteth the Dukes request, with many spitefull and minatory wordes, which so wounded his heart with hatred and mistrust, that he neuer after could indure to looke a right on King *Richard*, but euer feared his owne life, so farre forth, that when the Protector rode through *London* towards his Coronation, he fained himselfe sicke, because he would not ride with him: And the other taking it in euill part, sent him word to rise, and come ride, or he would make him to be carried. Whereupon hee rode on with an euill will, and that notwithstanding on the morrow rose from

the Feast, faining himselfe sick, wherewith King *Richard* said, it was done in hatred and despite of him. And they say, that euer after continually each of them liued in such hatred and distrust of other, as the Duke verily looked to haue bene murdered at *Gloucester*: from which neuertheless he in faire manner departed. But surely some right secret at this day denied this: and many right wise men thinke it unlikely (the deepe dissembling nature of both those men considered, and what need in that Greene world the Protector had of the Duke, and in what perill the Duke stood, if he fell once in suspicion of the Tyrant) that either the Protector would giue the Duke occasion of displeasure, or the Duke the Protector occasion of mistrust. And verily men thinke, that if King *Richard* had any such conceived opinion, he would neuer haue suffered the Duke to haue escaped his hands.

(22) The very truth is, *Buckingham* was an high minded man, and could euill beare the glory of another; so that I haue heard of some that saw it, that the Duke at such time as the Crowne was first set vpon the Protectors head, his eye could nor abide the sight thereof, but wried his face another way. But men say, that hee was of truth not well at ease which to King *Richard* was well knowne, and nothing ill taken, nor any demand of the Dukes vncourteously reiecteth, but he both with great gifts and high behests in most louing and trustie manner, departed at *Gloucester*. But soone after his coming home to *Brecknock*, having there in custody by the commandement of King *Richard*, *Doctor Morton* Bishop of *Ely*, who (ye before heard) was taken in the counsell at the Tower, waxed with him familiar: whose wisedome abused his pride to his owne deliuerance, and the Dukes destruction.

(23) This Bishop was a man of great natural wits, very well learned, and honourable in behauiour, lacking no wise waies to winne fauour: he had bene fast vpon the part of King *Henry*, while that part was in wealth; and naythelesse leste it not, nor forsooke it in woe, but fled the Realme with the Queen & the Prince, while King *Edward* had *Henry* in prison, and neuer came home but to the field. After which lost, and that side vterly subdued, the other for his fast faith and wisedome not only was content to receive him, but also wooed him to come, and had him from thence forth both in great secret trust, and very speciall fauour, which he nothing deceived. For he being (as you haue heard) after King *Edwards* death, first taken by the Tyrant for his truth to the King, found the meanes to set this Duke in his top, joined Gentlemen together in aide of King *Henry*, deuising first the marriage betweene him and King *Edwards* daughter: by which his faith, he declared the good seruice to both his masters at once, with infinite benefit to the Realme, by the coniunction of those two bloods in one; whose feuerall titles had long time disquieted the Land; hee fled the Realme, went to *Rome*, neuer minding more to meddle with the world, till the noble Prince King *Henry* the seuenth got him home againe, made him Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Chancellor of *England*, wherunto the Pope ioined the honour of a Cardinall. Thus liuing many dayes in as much honour, as one man might well wish, ended then so godly, that his death with Gods mercy, well changed his life.

(24) This man therefore, as I was about to tell you, by the long and often alternate prooffe, of well prosperitie as aduerser fortunes, had gotten by great experience (the very mother or mistress of Wisedome) a deepe insight in politticke worldly drifts. Whereby perceiuing now this Duke glad to commune with him, fed him with faire words, and many pleasant praifes. And perceiuing by the proceffe of their communication, the Dukes pride now and then balke out a litle bread of enuy, towards the glory of the King, and thereby feeling him easie to fall out, if the matter were well handled: hee craftily fought

The feare of Duke of Buckingham.

No such love on between King and Duke as to be.

Ste Thomas opinion of King Richard.

The diuision of King and falling.

Stephen Bishop made his address.

The story of Bishop.

Stephen Bishop.

Stephen Bishop.

The vision of Lancaster.

Stephen Bishop.

His wisedome and experience.

The deep policy of B.

fought the wayes to pricke him forward, taking awayes the occasion of his coming, and keeping himselfe so close within his bounds, that hee rather seemed to follow then to leade him. For when the Duke first began to praise & boast of the King, and shew how much proficte the Realme should take by his raigne; *Morton* answered thus: Surely my Lord, folly it were for me to lye, for if I would sweare the contrary, your Lordship would not ween I belceue, but that if the world would haue gone, as I could haue wished, King *Henries* son had had the Crowne, and not King *Edward*. But after that God had ordered him to lose it, and King *Edward* to raigne, I was neuer so mad, that I would with a dead man strue against a quicke. So was I to King *Edward* a faithfull Chaplaine, and glad would haue bene, that his child should haue succeeded him. Howbeit, if the secret iudgement of God haue otherwise provided, I purpose not to spurne against the pricke, nor labor to set vp, that God putteth downe. And as for the late protector and now King, and euen there he left saying, that hee had already meddled too much with the world, and would from that day meddle with his Booke and his Beades, and no further.

(24) Then longed the Duke fore to heare what he would haue said, because he ended with the king, and there so suddainly stopped, and exhorted him so familiarly betweene them twaine, to be bolde to say whatsoeuer he thought, whereof he faithfully promised there should neuer come hurt, and peradventure more good then he would weene, and that himselfe intended to vte his faithfull secret aduise and counsell, which he said was the only cause for which he procured of the King to haue him in his custody, where he might account himselfe at home, and else had he bene put in the hands of them with whom he should not haue found the like fauour. The Bishop right humbly thanked him and said: In good faith my Lord, I loue not to talke much of Princes, as a thing not all out of perill, though the word be without fault. Forasmuch as it shall not be taken as the party meant it, but as it pleaseth the Prince to construe it. And euer I think on *Asops* tale, that when the Lyon had proclaimed vpon paine of death there should no horned beast abide in the wood, one that had in his forehead a bunch of flesh, fled away a great pace. The foxe who saw him runne so fast, asked him whether he made all that haste? and he answered, In faith, I neither wor, nor recke, so I were once hence, because of this Proclamation made against horned beasts. What foole (quoth the *Foxe*) thou maist abide well enough, the Lion meant not thee, for it is no horne that is in thy head. No many (quoth he) that wot I wellynough, but what if he call it a horne, where am I then? The Duke laughed merrily at the tale, and said, my Lord I warrant you, neither the Lion nor the Boare shall picke any matter at any thing heere spoken, for it shall neuer come to their eares. In good faith Sir, said the Bishop, if it did, the thing that I was about to say, (taken aswell as afore God I meant) could deferre but thanks; and yet taken as I weene it would, might happily turne me to litle good, and you to lesse. Then longed the Duke yet more to wit what it was; wherupon the Bishop said, in good faith my Lord, as for the late Protector, sith he is now King in possession, I purpose not to dispute his title, but for the weale of this Realme, wherof his Grace hath now the gouernance, and my selfe am a poore member, I was about to wish, that to those good abilities, whereof hee hath already right many, litle needing my praife, it might yet haue pleased God for the better store, to haue giuen him some of such other excellent vertues meet for the rule of a Realme as our Lord hath planted in the person of your Grace: and there left againe.

(25) The Duke somewhat maruailing at his suddaine pauses, said: My Lord, I note your often brea-

things and suddaine stopping in your communication; so that to my intelligence, your wordes neither come to any direct or perfect sentence in conclusion, whereby either I might haue knowledge what your intent is now towards the King, or what affection you beare towards mee. For the comparison of good qualities ascribed to vs both, maketh mee not a litle to muse, thinking that you haue some other priuie imagination imprinted in your heart, which you bee ashamed to disclose, and specially to me, which on my honour doe assure you to be as secret in this case as the deafe and dumbe person to the finger, or the Tree to the Hunter. The Bishop being somewhat bolder, considering the Dukes promise, but most of all animated, because hee knew the Duke desirous to be magnified, and also hee perceived the inward hatred which hee bare towards King *Richard*, hee opened his stomacke to the bottom, and said: My singular good Lord, sith the time of my captiuitie, which being in your graces custody, I may rather call it a libertie, then a strait imprisonment, in auoiding of idleness mother of all vices, in reading bookes and ancient pamphlets, I haue founde this sentence written, that no man is borne free and at libertie of himselfe onely: for one part of dutie he oweth to his parents, another part to his friends and kindred; but the natie Countrey in the which he first tasted this pleasant & flattering world, demandeth a debt not to be forgott. VVhich saying, caught mee to consider in what case the Realme, my natie Countrey, now standeth; and in what estate and assurance before this time it hath continued; what gouernour we now haue, and what ruler wee might haue; for I plainly perceiue (the Realme being in this case) must needs decay, and be brought to confusion: but one hope I haue, that is, when I consider your noble personage, your iustice and indifferencie, your feruent zeale and ardent loue towards your naturall Countrey; and in like manner, the loue of your countrey towards you, the great learning, pregnant wit, and eloquence, which to much doth abound in your person; I must needs thinke this Realme fortunate, which hath such a Prince in store, meete and apt to be Governour. But on the other side, when I call to memory the good qualities of the late Protector, and now called King, so violated by tyranny, so altered by vlturped authoritie, and so clouded by blind ambition, I must needs say, that hee is neither meet to be King of so noble a Realme, nor so famous a Realme meet to be gouerned by such a tyrant. VVas not his first enterprize to obtaine the Crowne, begonne by the murder of diuers personages? did hee not secondarily proceed against his owne natural mother, declaring her openly to be a woman giuen to carnall affection and dissolute liuing; declaring furthermore, his two brethren and two Nephewes to be bastards, and to be borne in adultery? yet not contented, after hee had obtained the Garland, hee caused the two poore innocents his Nephewes, committed to him, to be most shamefully murdered: the blood of which little babes daily cry to God from the earth for vengeance. What surety can be in this Land to any person; either for life or goods, vnder such a cruell Prince, which regardeth not the destruction of his owne blood, and much lesse the losse of others. But now to conclude, what I meane towards your noble person, I say & affirme, if you loue God, your lineage, or your natie countrey, you must your selfe take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, both for the maintenance of the honour of the same, as also for the deliuerance of your naturall countrey men from the bondage of such a tyrant. And if your selfe will refuse to take vpon you the Crowne of this Realme, then I adiure you by the faith you owe vnto God, to deuise some wayes how this Realme may be brought to some conuenient regiment, vnder some good Governour. When the Bishop hap ended

The Dukes protestation of feare.

The Bishop death plainly with the Duke.

The dutie of all men towards their native countreys.

The change of state vnder the tyranny of the usurper.

Blood cryeth for bloody vengeance.

The Bishop persuaded the Duke to take the Crowne vnto himselfe.

The next dayes conference.

The Duke disclosed himselfe vnto the Bishop.

The Protector desired the crowne till the Prince came to the age of 24. yeres.

The Protector desired the crowne till the Prince came to the age of 24. yeres.

Change of State change of maners.

Why Buckingham fell from the Viurper.

Margaret Countesse of Richmond.

The doubts of the Duke of Buckingham.

ended his saying, the Duke sighed, and spake not of a great while, so that night they communed no more.

(26) The next day the Duke sent for the Bishop, to whom hee said, My Lord of Ely, I must needs in heart thinke, and with mouth confesse, that you bee a sure friend, a trustie counsellor, and a very loue of your country. And sith that at our last communication, you haue disclosed the secrets of your hart touching the now vsurper of the crowne, & also haue alittle touched the aduancement of the two noble families of *Torke* and *Lancaster*, I shall likewise declare vnto you my priuie intents and secret cogitations. And to beginne, when King *Edward* was deceased, I then began to studie, and with deliberation to ponder in what manner this Realme should be gouerned: I perswaded with my selfe to take part with the Duke of *Gloucester*, whom I thought to be as cleane without dissimulation, as tractable without iniurie, and so by my means he was made Protector both of the King and Realme; which authoritie being once gotten, he neuer ceased priuily to require mee and other Lords aswell spiritual as temporal, that he might take vpon him the Crowne, till the Prince came to the age of foure and twenty yeres, and were able to gouerne the Realme as a sufficient King: which thing, when hee saw me somewhat stickie at, hee then brought in instruments, authenticke Doctors, Proctors, and Notaries of the Law, with depositions of diuers witnesses, testifying King *Edwards* children to bee bastards: which depositions then I thought to be as true, as now I know them to bee fained. When the said depositions were before vs read, and diligently heere, he stood vp bare headed, saying: well my Lords, euen as I and you would that my Nephewes should haue no wrong: so I pray you doe mee nothing but right, for these witnesses and sayings of famous Doctors bee true: For I am onely the vnderwrite heire to *Richard Plantagenet Duke of Torke*, adiudged to be the very heire to the Crowne of this Realme by authoritie of Parliament. Which things so by learned men for veritie to vs declared, caused mee and others to take him for our lawfull and vndoubted Prince and Soueraigne Lord. So againe by my ayde, hee of a Protector was made a King: but when he was once crowned King, and in full possession of the Realme, hee cast away his old conditions. For, when I my selfe sued to him for my part of the Earle of *Hertford* Lands, which his brother *Edward* wrongfully deteined from me, and also required to haue the office of the high Constableness of *England*, as diuers of my noble ancestors before this time haue had, and in long discent continued; in this my first suite, hee did not only first delay mee, and afterwards deny me, but gaue mee such vnkinde words, as though I had neuer furthered him: all which I suffered patiently. But when I was informed of the death of the two young Innocents, O Lord, my heart inwardly grudged, inasmuch as I abhorred the sight of him; I took my leaue of the Court, and returned to *Brecknocke* to you, but in my journey as I came, I had diuers imaginations how to deprive this vnnatural vncle. First, I fantasied, that if I list to take vpon me the Crowne, now was the way made plaine, and occasion giuen. For I well saw hee was disdained of the Lords Temporal, and accursed of the Lordes Spiritual. After diuers cogitations of this matter, as I rode betwene *Worcester* and *Bridgenorth*, I encountered with the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, now wife to the Lord *Stanley*, who is the very daughter, and sole heire to *John Duke of Somersets* my Grandfathers elder brother, so that he & her sonne *Henry Earle of Richmond* be both between me and the gate, to enter into the Maieftie roiall, & getting of the Crowne; and when wee had a little communed concerning her sonne, and were departed, I then beganne to dispute with my selfe, whether I were best to take it vpon me, by the election of

the Nobility and Commualty, or to take it by power. Thus standing in a wauering ambiguity, I considered first, the office, duty, and paine of a King, which I truly thinke that no mortall man can iustly and truly obferue, except he be elected of God, as *K. David* was.

(27) But further I remembred, that if I once took vpon me the Gouernance of the Realme, the daughters of King *Edward* and their Allies, being both for his sake much beloued, and also for the great iniurie done to them much pittied, would neuer cease to barke at the one side of me. Semblably my cosin the Earle of *Richmond*, his aides and kinsfolkes will surely attempt either to bite, or to pierce me on the other side, so that my life and rule should cuer hang vnquiet in doubt of death or depofition: And if the said two linages of *Torke* and *Lancaster* should ioine in one against me, then were I surely matched. Wherefore I haue cleerely determined, vtterly to relinquish all imaginations concerning the obtaining of the Crown. For as I told you, the Countesse of *Richmond* in my returne from the new named King, meeting me in the highway, praised me first for kindred sake, secondly for the loue I bare to my Grandfather Duke *Humfrey*, who was sworne brother to her father, to moue the King to be good to her sonne *Henry Earle of Richmond*, and to licence him with his fauour to returne againe into *England*, and if it were his pleasure so to doe, shee promised that the Earle her sonne should marry one of the Kings daughters at the appointment of the King, without any thing demanded for the said espousals, but only the Kings fauour, which request I soone ouerpaffed and departed. But after in my lodging I called to memory more of that matter, and now am bent, that the Earle of *Richmond* heire of the house of *Lancaster*, shall take to wife Lady *Elizabeth* eldest daughter to King *Edward*, by the which marriage both the houses of *Torke* and *Lancaster* may be vnited in one.

(28) When the Duke had said, Bishop *Morton* who euer fauoured the house of *Lancaster*, was wondrous ioyfull, for all his imagination tended to this effect; and lest the Dukes courage should affwage, or his minde alter, he said to the Duke: My Lord of *Buckingham*, sith by Gods prouision, and your incomparable wilddome, this noble coniunction is first moued, it is necessary to consider what persons we shall first make priuie of this politicke conclusion. By my troth (quoth the Duke) we will begin with my Ladie of *Richmond* the Earles mother, which knoweth where he is in *Britaine*: sith you will begin that way (said the Bishop) I haue an old friend with the Countesse, called *Reinold Bray*, for whom I shall fend, if it be your pleasure: so the Bishop wrote for him to come to *Brecknock*, who straight came backe with the messenger, where the Duke and Bishop declared what they had deuised for the preferment of the Earle of *Richmond*, sonne to his Lady and Mistress: willing her first to compass how to obtaine the goodwill of *Queen Elizabeth*, and also of her eldest daughter: and after secretly to fend to her sonne in *Britaine*, to declare what high honour was prepared for him, if he would sweare to marrie the Ladie *Elizabeth* asloone as hee was King of the Realme. With which conclusion, *Reinold Bray* with a glad heart returned to the Countesse his Lady. *Bray* thus departed, the Bishop told the Duke, that if he were in his *Sle of Ely*, he could make many friends to further his enterprife. The Duke knew this to bee true, but yet loth to loose the society of such a Counsellor, gaue him faire words, saying, he should shortly depart well accompanied for feare of enemies, but the Bishop ere the Dukes company were assembled, secretly disguised, in a night departed and came to *Ely*, where he found money and friends, and then sailed into *Flanders*, where he did the Earle of *Richmond* good seruice.

(29) When *Reinold Bray* had declared his message to the Countesse, no meruaile if shee were glad; wherefore

The greatest weight of a King.

A Physician her iustitiation.

Buckingham sent vnto King Edward.

The connection of the Countesse of Richmond with the Duke of Buckingham.

Henry Earle of Richmond and Ladie Elizabeth eldest daughter to King Edward.

An Eligedly re-define the mo.

Some to the aid.

With which how to be intended figures.

Two more precede the vision.

Intwaue actions as Richard.

Reinold Bray Instrument.

Conway into Britaine.

By Day the escape of the Breich knight guided.

Richmond with Duke of.

wherefore shee deuised a means how to breake this matter to *Queen Elizabeth*, being then in Sanctuary at *Westminster*, and hauing in her family a certaine Wellthman called *Lewis* learned in Philosophie, now hauing opportunity to breake her minde vnto him, declared that the time was come, that her sonne should be ioined in marriage with Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter and heire to King *Edward*: and that King *Richard* should out of all honour and estate be deiected, and required him to goe to *Queen Elizabeth* not as a messenger, but as one that came friendlie to visite her, and as time and place should serue to make her priuie of this deuise. This Physician with good diligence repaired to the *Queene*, and when he saw time convenient said vnto her: Madame although my imagination be very simple, yet for the entire affection I beare to you and to your children, I am so bolde to vtter vnto you a secret conceit, which I haue compassed in my braine. When I remember the great losse which you haue sustained by the death of your louing husband, and the great sorrow that you haue suffered by the cruell murder of your innocent children, I can no lesse doe, then daily study how to bring your heart to comfort, and also to reuenge the quarrell of you and your children, on that cruell tyrant King *Richard*. And first consider what bartel, and what mischief haue risen by the dissention betwene the two houses of *Torke* and *Lancaster*, which two families if they may be ioined in one, I doubt not but that your line shall be againe restored to your great ioy & comfort: you know Madam, that of the house of *Lancaster*, the Earle of *Richmond* is next of blood, & to the house of *Torke* your daughters now are heirs. If you could deuise the means how to couple your eldest daughter with the Earle of *Richmond* in matrimony, no doubt, but that the vsurper should shortly bee depofed, and your heire againe to her right restored.

(30) When the *Queene* had heard this friendly Motion, shee instantly befoUGHT him, that as he had bene the first inuention of so good an enterprife, that now hee would not desist to follow the same, requiring him further, that he would report to the Countesse of *Richmond*, mother to the Earle *Henry*, and to declare to her on the *Queenes* behalfe, that all the friends of King *Edward* her husband, should assist and take part with the Earle of *Richmond* her sonne, so that hee would take an oath, that after the Kingdome obtained, to espouse the Lady *Elizabeth* her daughter, &c. At *Lewis* so sped his busines, that he made a final end of this businesse, betwene the two mothers: so the Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Richmond*, brought to a good hope of the preferment of her son, made *Reinold Bray* chiefe solicitor of this conspiracy, giuing him in charge secretly to inuagel such persons of Nobility to ioine with her, & take her part, as he knew to be faithfull.

(31) This *Reinold Bray* within few dayes brought to his luer Sir *Giles Daubeney*, Sir *John Cheine* Knights, *Richard Guilford*, and *Thomas Ramney* Esquiers, and others. In the meane while the Countesse of *Richmond* sent one *Christopher Vrewicke*, a Priest into *Britaine*, to the Earle of *Richmond* her sonne, to declare to him all the agreements between her and the *Queene* agree: and with all to shew him that the Duke of *Buckingham* was one of the first Inuentioners of this enterprife: shee likewise sent *Hugh Conway* an Esquire into *Britaine* with a great summe of money, giuing him in charge to declare to the Earle, the great loue that the most part of the Nobility of the Realme bare towards him, willing him not to neglect so good an occasion offered, but with all speed to settle his mind how to return into *England*, and therewithall aduising him to take land in *Wales*. When the Earle had receiued this ioyfull message, hee brake to the Duke of *Britaine* all his secrets, aduising him that he was entered into a sure & red-fast hope to obtaine the Crown of *England*, desiring him of help towards the atchieuing of his enterprife,

A Physician her iustitiation.

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which the Duke promised, & afterwards performed: wherupon the Earle sent back againe *Hugh Conway*, & *Th. Ramney* to declare his coming shortly into *England*.

(32) In the meane season the chiefe of the conspiracy in *England* beganne many enterprises, which being neuer so priuily handled, yet knowledge therof came to King *Richard*, and because hee knew the Duke of *Buckingham* to be the chiefe head, and aide of this combination, he thought it most necessarie to plucke him from that part, and thereupon addressed his louing letters vnto the Duke, requesting him most earnestly to come to the Court, whose graue aduise for counsell hee then stood much in need of; with many words of kind complements to bee vttered from the mouth of the messenger: but the Duke mistrusting those sweet promises proceeded out of a bitter intent, and knowing *K. Richard* to speake most fayrest when he meant foulest play, desired the king of pardon, excusing himself that he was sickly & not wel able to trauel: which excuse the king would not admit, but sent other letters with checking wordes, commanding him without delay to repaire to his presence: vnto which the Duke made a determinate answer that hee would not come to his mortall enemy: and immediately prepared war against him. Wherupon *Thomas Marquess Dorset* came out of *Sanctuary*, and gathered a great band of men in the County of *Torke*, Sir *Edward Courteney* and *Peter* his brother, Bishoppe of *Excester*, raised another Armie in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, and in *Kent*, Sir *Richard Guilford*, and other Gentlemen raised a Company, and all this was done euen in one moment.

(33) King *Richard* roused from his pleasures in progresse, sent forth commission to muster his men, and with a great preparation from *London* marched towards *Salisbury*, thinking it not best to dispartle his power into small parts in pursuing his enemies euery way at once, and therefore omitting all others with a great puissance went to set vpon the Duke of *Buckingham*, the head of the spring. The Duke hearing of the Kings approach, made out to meet him before hee came too farre, accompanied with a great power of wild *Welshmen*, whom hee had enforced to follow him, more by his Lordly commandement then by liberal wages, which thing indeed was the cause that they fell off, and forsooke him. His march was through the forrest of *Deane*, intending for *Glocester*, where hee meant to passe *Suerne*, and so haue ioined his Army with the *Courteney*, & other *Welshmen*, which had hee done, no doubt *K. Richard* had bene in great eapordie. But before hee could attaine the *Suerne* side, by force of continuall raine the river rose so high, that it ouerflowed all the country adioyning, and was not againe bounded within his owne bankes for the space of ten dayes, so that the Duke could not get ouer, nor his complices any wife come vnto him, during which time the *Welshmen* lingring idle, without wages, or victual, sodainlie brake vp Campe and departed; wherupon the Duke was wonderously perplexed, not knowing how to recover this vnfortunate chance, and destitute of power, to shew himselfe in field, sought to secure himselfe in secret, till destiny assigned him a better day.

(34) A seruant he had in especial fauour & trust brought vp tenderly by him, and risen to great wealth and esteeme, his name was *Humfrey Bantler*, and place of residence nere vnto *Shrewsburie*, whither the distressed Duke in disguise repaired, intending there to remain secret, until he might either raise a new power, or else by some means conuay himselfe vnto *Britaine* to *Henry Earle of Richmond*: but as soone as the others which had attempted the same enterprife against the King, had knowledge that *Buckingham* was forsaken of his Company, and could not be found, as men trucke in sodaine feare shifted euery one for himselfe, many of them taking Sanctuary, but the most of the chiefe took into *Britaine*.

The Duke of Buckingham is sent for by the King.

The Duke of Buckingham refused to come to the Court.

Commotions begun.

King Richards expedition towards Salisbury.

The Duke preparch against the King.

Great matters letted that the complices could not ioyne.

The Duke of Buckingham keepeth in secret.

The Conspirators dispersed.

Many fled into
Britaine to Earle
Henry.

A proclamation
for the apprehen-
sion of the Duke of Buck-
ingham.

Banister betrayed
his Lord the Duke of Buck-
ingham.

Buckingham be-
headed.

Banister looses
his reward, but
findeth punish-
ment.

A Commotion
in Kent.

King Richard
sendeth to the Duke of Britain.

The Kings bre-
thren in law be-
headed.

Earle Henry ship-
ped for England.

tainc, among whom were Peter Courtney, Bishope of Excester with his brother Edward Earle of Devonshire, Thomas Marquesse Dorset the Quenes sonne, and his young sonne Thomas being a Childe, Edward Woodville Knight, brother to the Quene, John Lord Wells, Sir Robert Willoughby, Sir John Bourchier, Sir Giles Daubney, Sir Thomas Arundell, Sir John Cheine with his two brethren, Sir William Barkley, Sir Richard Edgecombe, and Sir William Brandon, Edward Poinings an excellent Captain, and others.

(35) Richard thus farre proceeded, and no enemy leene, his hopes were encreased, and feares daily lesse; yet being a Prince politicke and vigilant, he commanded the Ports to be securely kept, & knowing that Buckingham was not fled with the rest, made proclamation for the apprehending of that Duke, promising a thousand pound to the man that could bring him forth, with pardon of his faults, to enjoy the Kings fauour, and if he were a bondman, presently to be made free. Banister minding the present, and forgetting what was past, spread his lappe first to receive this golden shewer, and in hope of this gaine, made no conscience to betray his own Lord, who had now laid his life vpon trust in his hands: hee therefore repaying to the Shiriffe of Shrewsbury, revealed the Duke, who disguised like a poore Countreiman, and digging in a groue nere vnto Banisters house, was apprehended, and with a great guard of men was brought vnto Salisbury, where King Richard then lay, and where without arraignment or iudgement, vpon the second of Nouember he lost his head: whose death was the lesse lamented, for that himselfe had been the chiefe Instrument to fet the Crowne wrongfully vpon Richards head: and yet the treachery of Banister was moste cruelly punished, as many haue obserued, not onely in the losse of his reward promised, which he neuer had, and infamy receiued, neuer after shaken off; but also in himselfe and children, as are thus reported; his eldest sonne and heire fell mad, and dyed so distracted in a Boares styce: his second sonne became deformed in his limmes, and fell lame; his third sonne was drowned in a small puddle of water; his eldest daughter was sodainely stricke with a foule leprosie, and himselfe being of extreme age, was arraigned and found guilty of murder, and by his Clergy saued his life.

(36) An other Commotion at the same time was in Kent, where George Browne and John Gifford Knights, Foge, Scot, Clifford, and Bonting, with fife thousand men attempted great matters at Grauesend, but hearing of the Duke of Buckinghams surpris, disperfed themselves for that time. But when King Richard perceived how hee was euerie where beset, he sent one Thomas Hutton vnto Francis Duke of Britaine, with proffers of gold to circumvent and imprison Earle Henry, who as hee feared was too well friended in those forraigne parts, which thing indeed this Hutton well perceived, and so to the King reported, that the Duke was nothing forward to bite at this baite, whereupon, those that lately fled England, were indited of treason, and other of Henries factions beheaded, whereof Sir George Browne, and Sir Roger Clifford Knights with foure others were beheaded at London, and at Excester for the like cause dyed Sir Thomas Sentleger, who had married Lady Anne Dutchesse of Excester, King Richards own sister, with others; so ialous was the King of his vsurped Crowne; and that nothing should be laide to vnprouident foresight, the coasts hee stored with Armies of men, furnished the Ports with store of Prouision, and made all things ready to withstand Earle Henries arriuall. Who now hauing gotten aide of fife thousand Britaines, with forty vessels well furnished, set saile from thence the twelfth of October, but was taken with so terrible a tempest, that his Fleet was disperked, some into Normandy, and some compelled to returne into Britaine, only the Earles ship with one other kept the Seas, being fore tossed

all night, and in the morning arriued in the mouth of Poole in the County of Dorset, where he might behold the Shore full of men shining in armour, to his great amalement, whereupon hee sent out his shippe-boat to know whether they were friends or enemies; their answer was, that they were thither appointed by the Duke of Buckingham, to attend the coming of the Earle of Richmond, to conduct him in safety to the Duke, who lay encamped not far off, that so ioyning their forces, they might prosecute Richard the vsurper, who being in a manner destitute of men, was fore distracted, and desperate in his owne designs. These smooth vntruthes notwithstanding Earle Henry auoided, and with a forward gale returned to Normandy, whence he sent Messengers vnto young Charles King of France, whose father King Lewis was lately departed this life, to haue his safe conduct to returne into Britaine, which easily was granted with fauourable complements returned to the Earle. Lord Henry thus crossed by sea, had present news of Buckinghams surpris and death, with the flight of the Nobles escaped from Richard: who meeting with Richmond in Britaine, fell forthwith into Counsell: where first it was determined that Earle Henry should take his oath to espouse the Lady Elizabeth eldest daughter vnto King Edward, and the immediate heire to the Crowne, which hee solemnly did in the Church at Rhedon; and they for their parts swore vnto him fealty, doing him homage with no lesse respect then vnto their sole and crowned King.

(37) Of these proceedings King Richard soone heard, which indeed greatly appaied his thoughts, and all peniue and lad he returned out of the West towards London, where to cut off the hopes of Richards further calice, hee caused a Parliament to be assembled at Westminster, and therein attainted the said Earle Henry himselfe, and all such as had fled the land in his behalfe, enacting them enemies to their naturall Country, their goods to be confiscated, and all their lands and possessions to be seized vpon to the Kings vie, which was so forwarded by his lewd Counsellors, and so executed by his fawning followers, that some better affected, set forth the present and oppressed estate in these scoffing rimes, to their further disgrace, diuulging their names in manner as followeth;

The cat, the rat, and Lowell the dogge,
Rule all England vnder a hogge.

Alluding to the names of Ratcliffe the Kings mischievous Minion, and of Catesby his secret traducer, and to the Kings cognizance, which was the Boare: for which William Collingborne Esquier, who had been Shiriffe of Wiltshire and Dorsetshire, was condemned, and vpon the Towerhill executed with all extremity.

(38) King Richards state standing in dangers a-broad, and not altogether free from conspiracies at home, hee thought it best policy to enter amitie with Scotland, which hee did for the terme of three yeeres, and the more firme to assure himselfe of that King, hee intreated a marriage betwixt the Duke of Rothesay the Kings eldest sonne, and the Lady de la Pole daughter to John Duke of Suffolke, and to the Dutchesse Elizabeth King Richards owne sister, whom hee so much fauoured, as that after the death of his owne sonne, he proclaimed John Earle of Lincolne, her sonne and his Nephew, heire apparent to the Crowne of England, disinheriting King Edwards daughters, whose brothers hee had before murdered.

(39) His feares nothing lessened, but rather daily increased, he attempted once more to stop the Curran which led to the spring, to which end hee sent his Ambassadors laden with gold, and many gay promises vnto Francis Duke of Britaine, offering to give him all Richmonds lands, and yeerely reuenues if he would either send the said Earle into England or commit him there vnto prison. These coming to the

A subtle traitor
laid for the Duke

Earle Henry
turneth into
Britaine.

The Lord
Henry

The Lord
Henry

The Lord
Henry

Henry & also
attainted
Parliament.

Earle of Ox-
ford

Earle of Ox-
ford

Earle of Ox-
ford

Earle of Ox-
ford

Earle of Ox-
ford

the Dukes Court, could haue no communication with him, he lying extremely sicke, and his wits too weak to entertaine discourse. Whereupon Peter Landse his Treasurer, a man pregnant in wit, and of great authority, tooke the motion into hand, vnto whom the English Ambassadors promised all the Earles Reuenues if he could bring King Richards request to passe. He greedy of gaine, and being in place to doe what he would, promised to effect it, conditionally that King Richard would make good his offer. Thus whilest messengers posted betwixt Peter and Richard, John Bishop of Elie being then in Flaunders, was certified by Christopher Wysswick of all the circumstances of this purpose, whereupon the Bishop with all possible hast, sent the same intelligence the same day, and by the same man vnto Earle Henry in Britaine, willing him to shift himself and followers into France: who forthwith sent Wysswick vnto King Charles to haue his licence that he might with his good liking come into his dominions, which being obtained hee caused the other Lords vnder pretence to visite the sicke Duke to escape into Anion, and two daies after changing his Apparell with his seruant, waited vpon him as vpon his Master, and posted thence into France: whose escape when the Treasurer heard of, hee sent after to apprehend him, and that in such hast as at his entrance into the French dominions they were hard at his heels.

(40) This suddaine flight of the Earle and of the other English Lords, the Duke of Britaine (being somewhat recovered of his dangerous sicknes)ooke very greuously, imputing it a great dishonour vnto himselfe, to suffer the least suspect of breach betwixt him and the Earle, and therefore fore offended at Landse whom hee suspected to be deepe in the deed, hee sent for Edward Woodville and Edward Poinings two English Esquires, vnto whom hee deliuered a summe of money which hee had promised to Earle Henry, with a conuey vnto all the rest of the English, to depart Vannes, bearing all their charges till they came to their Earle in France. Neither was King Charles backward to forward Earle Richmond against the Tyrant and vsurper of the English Crowne. And the more to ioy Henry, John Earle of Oxford imprisoned by King Edward the fourth in the Castle of Hammes; with Captaine Blunt his keeper, and Sir John Fortescue Porter of Calles, came vnto Earle Henry to take their fortunes in following of his. This Earle of Oxford, as we haue seene, was a continuall aider of King Henry the first, against his opposit K. Edward, and had done many seruises in the Lancastrians cause, till destiny had cast downe the hopes of their side. Him therefore Earle Henry made his chiefe Counsellor for warre, as for experience, policy, valour, and faith in that busines, no man was more meete. Whose prowess further appeared when Earle Henry was the wreath at Bosworth field, where, in the Front of that Battell hee led the band of Archers, and euer after liued in great fauour with this King Henry the seuenth, and in great honour died the fourth yeere of King Henry the eighth. In the like trust for Counsell and fauour with these Kings, was Richard Fox Doctour of Diuinitie, who being then a student in Paris, was found by Earle Richmond to be the chiefe man for imployment in his French busines, which hee so prudently and faithfully effected, as the Earle being King, acknowledging him one of his principall aduancers, made him of his Priuie Counsell, Lord Priuie Seale, and raised him to very great places in Church and Common-wealth, and lastly to testifie in what deere esteeme hee held him, made him Godfather to his sonne Prince Henrie, who was after King of England with whom in great reuerence hee liued a long time, euen till his eyesight failed through age, and did many workes of piety, whereof Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford, is and shall be for euer a noble witness; and his honorable care of reuerend antiquity, in preserving the bones of many Saxon Kings, and by him bestowed

in faire Monuments in the Cathedrall Church of Winchester, shall neuer want due celebration amongst all that honour antiquity and glorious studies. But from these worthy Subjects, we returne againe to their Queraigne King Henry.

(41) Whose beginnings thus forwarded by the Duke of Britaine and the French King, drew many English into France, and filled the heart of the vsurper with an extreme feare, therefore to accomplish by policy, what was doubtfull by armes, he sought to baite his hooke yet another way. The title hee knew stood with the daughters of King Edward (his sonnes being murdered) and among them to Ladie Elizabeth the eldest, whose marriage hee well saw must bring Henry the Crowne. But that once diuerted, his streame of feare could beare no great floate, nor bring any inundation into the Land, and therefore Queene Elizabeth in Sanctuary must be Couraged, that her daughters might come to Court, and there be regarded according to their degrees. This so cunningly was carried, by men that could carry themselves to fit womens affections, that the King was purged of the murder of her sonnes; hee made to beleue that her selfe was respected a Dowager Queene, and sifter in law to the present King, and that himselfe had a Prince and many Princely Peeres most fit matches for those Princes her daughters; that her sonne Thomas Marquesse Dorset, whilst he followed the Runaway Henry, left his honorable preffements intended to himward; and lastly requiring a reconciliation with the Quene, forgave all iniuries vttered against him out of her womanish passions, with a most willing heart: and indeed these messengers were such Crafts-masters as they brought Queene Elizabeth into a fooles Paradise, and made her beleue that their words were his heart. Whereupon forgetting all things passed before, as the murder of her sonnes, the dishonour of her husband, the bastardy of their Children, and her owne scandall for Sorcery: nor remembering the faithfull promise shee made to Lady Margaret Earle Henries mother, shee deliuered her fife daughters as lammes committed to the rauening wolfe, in which act of hers is seene the weaknes of that Sexe, and the ambition whereunto by nature they are inclined, for presently vpon the deliuey of her daughters, shee sent priuily for the Lord Marquesse Dorset her sonne, then residing in Paris, willing him to desist from the Earles Faction, and come vnto King Richard, who promised him preferment, and that her selfe and daughters were in high fauour, and all iniuries on both parts forgien and forgotten.

(42) This entrance made vnto the Tragedy intended, to furnish the stage and finish the Scene of her owne life, the next Act must be Queene Anne, who onely now stood in the Tyrants way, her death hee meant should giue life to his intruded regencie, and ade a further Claime and strength to the possession which hee already had, by matching with his Niece the next heire vnto the Crowne the Lady Elizabeth, the le only telling that himselfe had a wife, her death therefore must immediately be sought, yet so as the honorable repute of his name should no waies be impeached, euer carrying himselfe in outward semblance for a good religious honest man, and much delirous that his people should account him so. First therefore hee began to lament the barrennes of his wifes wombe, and the great dangers that the Realme was like to sustaine, if himselfe should die issuelesse, complaining often thereof vnto his Nobility, but most especially vnto Archbishop Rotherham lately released out of prison, whereby the Prelate construed Queene Anne had not long to liue. Then restrained hee her bed vnder pretext of Penancy, taking her defect as a scourge for his owne sinnes, which day and night he sought to expiate by prayers: His next policy was, how her death might be wrought with the least suspect of wrong, and how taken when shee was gone: There-fore

King Richard in-
tendeth to
match with his
Niece.

A subtil deliuey.

Many faile pro-
mises intended
foole ends.

Queene Elizabeth
brought
into fooles Para-
dise.

King Edwards
fife daughters
deliuered to the
Tyrant their var-
le.

Queene Elizabeth
brought
into fooles Para-
dise.

Queene Anne
hindereth
the purpose of the
King.

King Richards
sained sorrow.

* Of Canterbury.

King Richard re-
straineth his
Queenes bed.

A report giuen
forth that
Queene Anne
was dead.

Queene Anne
feareth her
owne death.

Her death and
buriall place.

King Richard
courteth Lady
Elizabeth.

Leuit, 18. 14.

Thomas Earle of
Darby much
fufpected of the
King.

George Lord
Strange deliue-
red in pledge to
King Richard.

Hammes be-
sieged by the Gar-
rison of Calles.

The Earle of
Oxford breath his
old friends from
Hammes.

King Richard
conceit.

Henry solliciteth
the French man
by man.
Marquefle Dor-
set seeketh to e-
scape fro Henry.

fore as an affay to the Peoples taste, he caused it to be giuen forth that Queene Anne was dead, which was so commonly divulged, that the rumour thereof came to her owne care, and shee hauing had sufficient experience of her husbands proceedings, feared this to be one of his plots, mistrusting (and not without cause) that her life was in danger, whereupon all dismayd with a lamentable countenance, she came to the King, and with weeping teares demanded, what offence shee had done, that the sentence of death was giuen against her already. Richard made it strange to see her so perplexed, and with loving words and smiling semblance, bad her liue to scandalize report, and to thinke that many yeeres were yet added to her life, but whether in conceit for sorrow, or of poison, I cannot say, she died shortly after, and was solemnly buried in the Abbey of Westminster.

(43) The King thus deliuered from the bands of Matrimony, and now a widower at liberty to choofe where he would, cast glances of loue towards the Lady Elizabeth his owne brothers daughter, and began to court her for his second Queene, but the thing was so offensive to the Law of nature, and so directly against the Law of God, as all men abhorred the motion, and most of all the maiden her selfe, which Richard perceiving, hee forbore ouer earnest pursuit to gaine his time and all fit occasions; but most especially, hauing no leasure to woo, his subiects on all sides daily reuolting, and his Nobles more and more had in suspect; among whom one was Lord Thomas Stanley Earle of Darby who had married Lady Margaret Countesse of Richmond, Earle Henries owne mother: him therefore hee most mistrusted, and before hee would admit his departure from Court, hee commanded him to leaue his sonne and heire George Stanley the Lord Strange for his hostage, which he did, though it little auailed to binde Darbies affection vnto his side.

(44) In this while King Richard hearing that Oxford had escaped out of the Castle of Hammes, and that hee, with the Capitaine thereof James Blunt, were fled into France and ioined with Richmond; thought it high time to quench the sparkes in those parts, before they should rise to a higher flame; and therefore hee appointed (which was presently accomplished) the Garrison at Calles to frait the said Castle with a hard siege, being well assured that many wellwillers to the Earles proceedings lay there harboured, who vpon the least aduantage would be ready to play. But Henry not vnmindfull of his distressed friends, nor Oxford forgetting his kinde Hostesse Capitaine Blunts wife, made vnto the Pecece, and on the sudden put Thomas Brandon, with thirty approued Souldiers into the Castle, who from the walles played vpon the besiegers, whiles Oxford annoied them vpon their backs, so that presently they offered, and came to a composition, which was, that they within should safely depart, but the Castle to remaine in Subiection to the King.

(45) Hammes thus restored in danger to be lost, and nothing had thence besides a woman and a few suspected persons, King Richard thought himselfe now sure of all, and fearing no inuasion at home, imagined that much harme could not bee done abroad: for Henry in France (as he thought) found very few friends, and was fully perwaded that the French Kings assistance flood more of words then in deedes. And indeed some occasion of such suspicion was ministred, for King Charles but young, and the Princes at variance, Earle Henry was enforced to make suite vnto them man by man. Besides Thomas Marquefle Dorset sent for by his mother the Queene, suddenly in the night made an escape from Paris, with purpose for England, which stroke great feare among Earle Henries part, chiefly for that all their Counsels were knowne vnto the Marquefle, which if he should reueale, their designs were made desperate. To prevent which, hee was posted after,

and brought backe againe, though much against his will. These things considered, King Richard to lessen his great charges, discharged his Navy at seas, commanding the Welsh to watch the shoare; Beacons to be built, and armour to bee ready at euery call; then giuing his affections leaue to entertaine more security, saw not the sword that hung ouer his head.

(46) But Earle Henrie deliuered from the feare of the Marquefle, thought it not best to prolong time, lest others vpon like purposes should bewray his intents; and thereupon obtaining a small aide of the French with a certaine summe of money, for which the Lord Marquefle (whom he much mistrusted) and Sir John Bourcher were left in pledge, hee set forward to Rean, and prepared his shipping in the mouth of Seyn: whither tidings was brought him of Queene Annes death, & that King Richard purposed to marry Lady Elizabeth: a feare indeed fitte exceeding the former, theee being the Princesse by whom hee must claime, whereupon much distemperate arose, euery mans braine working vpon the newes. But after much consultation, it was held the best to make ouer into England, to interpose the proceedings ere the match was fully made, whereupon Earle Richmond with two thousand men onely, and a small number of ships, set saile from Harfleur the fifteenth of August, and the seuenth day following arrived at Milford haue in Wales, where taking land hee came vnto Dale, and thence the next day marched to Hereford well, ten miles into the Maine, from thence hee marched to Cardigan, where hee had newes that the Countrey was forelaide against him, but finding that vnture, hee made still forward, beating downe such Houlds as held against him: then sending secretly to Lady Margaret his mother, to the Lord Stanley, Talbot, and others, signified vnto them, hee meant to passe Seuerne, at Shrewsbury, and thence to march directly towards London. In his way to Shrewsbury, there mette him Sir Rice ap Thomas a man of great command in Wales, with a number of men to side in his quarrell, which Henry afterwards required in making this his first aide the Gouernour of Wales.

(47) The Earle more boldly from Shrewsbury, held on his march to the Towne of Newport, whither Sir Gilbert Talbot with two thousand strong from the young Earle of Shrewsbury gaue him his aide. Then passed hee forward to Stafford, and had conference there with Sir William Stanley, and proceeding forward was honourably received into the City Lichfield, where Thomas Earle of Darby with five thousand armed men had bene some few daies before, but hearing of Earle Henries approach removed to Anderson to auoide suspicion of the jealous King that kept his sonne Hostage for his further truth.

(48) King Richard at this time helde his Court at Nottingham, where being informed that Earle Henrie with a small company was landed in Wales, made small account of what hee could doe, altogether relying vpon the Lord Walter Herbert, and Sir Rice ap Thomas two principall men, in whom hee conceived no little trust: yet left this new risen spring might gather in more heads, hee sent to John Duke of Norfolk, Henry Earle of Northumberland, and Thomas Earle of Surrey willing them with a selected power to repress the insolency of this headstrong Earle: moreover hee sent for Sir Robert Brakenburie Lieutenant of the Tower, Sir Thomas Bourcher, and Sir Walter Hungerford Knights, all of them in great ialousie and mistrust, commanding them with their forces to come and attend vpon his person which accordingly they set forward to doe, meane while sending his Spials to know the way Henrie went, had intelligence that hee was past Shrewsbury without any impeachment; whereat storming in choller and cursing their vntuthes whom hee had put in trust, craued vengeance from heauen, and instantly

King Richard
chargeth his
Nauie.

Richard set
sail to meet
Henry.

Richard set
sail to meet
Henry.

A sudden

Henry of
Lancaster
arrived at
Milford haue.

Henry sent
of arrange to
Mother and
others.

Sir Rice ap
Thomas
Henry.

Sir Gilbert
Talbot
Earle Henrie.

Henry come
to Lichfield.

King Richard
Nottingham.

John Duke
of Norfolk
Earle of
Northumberland,
Thomas Earle
of Surrey sent
to the King
Brakenburie,
Bourcher,
Hungerford.

King Richard
put in choller.

stantly intended to reuenge it himselfe; then hauing notice the Earle was at Lichfield, and his partie increased by daily repair, incontinently hee marshalled his followers; and like a valiant Capitaine and politike leader set forward his Battailles five and five in a rancke. In the midst of his troopes he bestowed the Carriages belonging to his Army: and himselfe mounted vpon a white Courser, inuironed with his Guard, followed by his footmen, and the wings of Horsemen ranged on euery side, with a frowning sterne countenance, but yet in great Pompe, entered the towne of Leicester after the Sun was set, being full of indignation and swelling in anger, which somewhat hee allayed with threats of reuenge.

(49) Earle Richmond from Lichfield departed for Tamworth, and in the way met Sir Thomas Bourcher and Sir Walter Hungerford going towards the King, who vpon this vnlooked for occasion, and knowing themselves in what suspicion they stood, secretly left the company of their Capitaine Brakenburie the night following, and wandering in waies vnknowne, with much adoe gotte safely vnto the Earles Companies.

(50) In the like danger through darkenesse of night, Henry himselfe chanced to come, for albeit hee was aman both valiant and forward, and by his owne widome could manage his weightiest affaires; Yet now hauing notice that King Richard with a strong army was nere, and that his father in law, the Lord Stanley stood as a Neuter, hee was stricke deepe in his dumps, and with twenty light Horsemen lingering behind, so seriously musing what was to bee done, as lastly, hee lost the sight of his Host, and by the darkenesse of night missed his way; neither durst hee for the Kings Scout-watch demand direction to Tamworth, but lay in a small village about three miles distant, to his no little griefe, and his whole Armes great amazement, the one prognosticating it to be a preface of an ill beginning, and the other doubting some detrimment of their Lord, but in the dawning of the next morning conducted by good fortune hee came to his Host, excusing that his absence was to haue conference with his secret friends; and then priuily departing to the Lord Stanley, had conference with him, and was put in good comfort.

(51) But contrariwise, King Richard was wrapped and perplexed with feare, not onely with the departure of Sir John Saunge, Sir Brian Sanford, and Sir Simon Digby, in whom hee had reposed great trust, but also in the dreadfull dreames which nightly hee suffered, wherein to his seeming, terrible diuels so pulled and haled him, as by no means hee could take any rest, which fearfull imaginations stricke so deep an impression vnto his heart, that the signes thereof appeared in his countenance, howsoever hee fought to put them off in fiew.

(52) But being determined to put himselfe to the trial of battell, or else, (and that rather) enforced by diuine Iustice to pull the reuenging hand of heauen against him, in the morning hee marched toward the enemy, and vpon a faire plaine called Redmore nere vnto Bosworth about seuen miles west from Leicester hee pitched downe his Tents, and thence sent a Pursuant to the Lord Stanley, commanding him to aduance forward with his company, and to come to his presence, which if hee refused to doe, hee sware by Christs passion, his fannes head should off before that hee dined. The Lord Stanley answered the Pursuant, that if the King did so, hee had more finnes alie; but to come to the King hee was not at that time determined. This answer declared, King Richard commanded the Lord Strange incontinently to be beheaded, at the very season, when the two Armies came in fight each of others, but his counsellors tolde him, that the time was now to fight, and not to execute, which might bettet bee done when the field was fought: whereupon the

Lord Strange was deliuered prisoner to the keepers of the Kings Tents, and the Kings holy vow thus broke, the Lord Strange escaped with life, by this bad tyrants too good a death.

(53) But now the time and houre of Battell being come, he drew out his Army vpon the plaine, whose order for fight hee thus placed, the forward hee ordered of a maruellous length, to strike the more terror in the Beholders hearts, in whose forefront hee placed his Archers, as a Bulwarke to defend the rest, the leading whereof was committed to John Duke of Norfolk, with whom was Thomas Earle of Surrey, his sonne, his owne Battailion was furnished with his best approued men of warre, hauing Horsemen for wings on both sides of his battell: and being thus ordered for their further encouragement King Richard mounted in place to beheard, thus said to his Souldiers.

(54) "My faithfull followers, friends, and selected Chieftaines, I confesse by your puissant valours I first aspired to the top of this royal estate, in obtaining & wearing this Diademe of Imperiall Maiefty, and maugre the feditious attempts of all cankered aduersaries, by your prudent & politike counsels I haue gouerned the Realm, People and Subiects, as I haue omitted nothing I hope attaining to the office of a iust Prince, nor you pretermitted any thing belonging to the parts & duties of most prudent Counsellors. And albeit, that in the getting of the Garland I was prouoked by sinister Counsell, and seduced by a diabolical temptation to commit a most wicked & detestable Act, yet with salt teares and strait penance I haue, I trust, expiated that heinous offence: which abominable crime, I desire you as clearly to forget, as I daily remember to deplore and lament. If you will now vouchsafe to call to minde in what case we all stand, and in what doubtfull perill we are intrapped, I doubt not but that you will with me confesse, that if euer amity preuailed betwixt the raised, and the raisers, betwixt the Prince and his Subiects, this day requires as much in vs both. For if wife men say true, that there is not so much power in getting, as there is policy in keeping; the one, mere fortunes chance, the other wisdoms deepe insight, then I with you, and you with mee this day must needs take labour and paines, to keepe that preeminence & possession by force, which by your prudent labour I haue obtained. The diuel, you know, a continuall enemy to humane society, a disturber of Concord, and a fower of sedition hath entred into the heart of an vnknowne Welshman (whose father I neuer knew, nor him euer personally saw) exciting him to alpire and couet our Realme and Crowne, to the dishonouring of vs and of our posterity: you see further how a company of Traitors, Theenes, Out-lawes, and runnagates of our owne Nation, besides a number of beggerly Britaines, and faint hearted Frenchmen, are ayders and partakers of this his wicked enterprize, ready at hand to oppress and spoile vs, our lands, our wiues and children; which eminent mischiefs, if we then will withstand and resist, wee must liue and die together as brethren, fight together as Lions, and feare not to die together like men; thus resolu'd, beleue me, the fearefull Hart neuer fled faster before the greedy Grayhound, the silly Larke before the spar-hauke, or the simple sheepe before the Wolfe, then these proud bragging enemies will run out of the Field at the sight of your manly visage. For haue we not already manifest tokens of victory and triumphs? Is not the Capitaine of the Rebellion Richmond a Welsh milke-jop, of no courage and lesse experience in Marshall teates of war, brought vp by my brothers means, and mine, like a bird in a cage, in the Court of the Duke of Britaine, neuer saw Army, neuer wore Armour, without practise and therefore without knowledge,

The order of
Richard's battell.

King Richard's
Oration vnto
his Souldiers.

King Richard
confesseth his
faults.

R r r r r

"how

"how to gouerne a field. What are his followers but
"a fort of fainting runagates, whose fearefull eyes,
"as they could not behold our raies in peace, can
"worshipe to see our royal banner displayed against
"them in fight; for their owne consciences shall be-
"wray their guilt; their oathes, their perjury; their
"promise, infidelities; and the sight of vs their annoin-
"ted Soueraign shall either cause them shamefully to
"fly, or submissively to yeeld themselves to our mercy.
"As touching his French and Britaine aiders, their
"valours haue bene well knowne to our Noble
"Progenitors, often vanquished but neuer vanqui-
"shed, onely braggers without any great deeds,
"drunkards without discretion, Ribaulds without
"reason, Cowards without resistance, and (in a
"word) effeminate, lasciuious, and neuer seene in
"the Front of a Battell, seeking ten times more
"meanes to flee and escape, then once to assault the
"face of their enemies. Therefore like valiant Cap-
"taines aduance forth your Standards, and make
"knowne your manhood by dint of sword, and be
"yee sure that if euer one of you giue but one sure
"stroke, the day wilbe ours; for how can a handfull
"withstand a whole Realme? Aduance therefore
"forward, my Captaines; in whom I well know is
"wanting neither courage, pollicy, wisdom, nor
"puissance. I therefore desire you, for your loue
"to meward, the zeale of your native Countrey,
"and the safety of your Prince and felues, to shew
"this day your true English valour, and for my selfe
"I assure you I will this day either triumph in a
"glorious victory, or die in this quarrell with im-
"mortal fame; in whose Palace all our names shall
"be enrolled, if we preferre the renowne of our
"Countrey before our owne liues. Now *S. George*
"for vs, and for victorie; haue therefore forward,
"and remember this, that I am he who with high
"aduancement will preferre the valiant and hardy,
"and with seuerer torture will punish the dastard and
"cowardly Runaway. The Oration ended, as it
"gaue courage to some, so gaue it distast vnto others,
"whose hearts carried gall though their mouthes
"dropped honny; some intended to turne to Earle *Henry*,
"some determined to take part with the strongest;
"and some meant to stand still and doe nothing; so vi-
"sured was he of his Subjects loyalty, that had been so
"trayterous to his owne Nephewes.

The diuers opi-
nions of King *Rich-
ard* do heere.

Lord *Stanley* sent
for to Earle *Hen-
ry*.

The Earle mar-
shaleth his bat-
alions.

The Earle of
Oxford Captaine
of the Archers.

Henry Earle of
Richmond ora-
tion.

(55) Earle *Richmond* then seeing King *Richard*
thus embattell'd, sent to the Lord *Stanley* who stood
houering aloofe off, to come helpe him to order his
fight, whose answer was, that *Henry* should doe it
himselfe, and that he would come to him when he
saw time conuenient, which stricke the Earle into a
great dumpe, but now hauing no time for delay, ne-
cessity compelled him to order his men. The Fore-
ward he made single according to his small number
of souldiers, and in the Front placed his Archers, o-
uer whom *John* Earle of *Oxford* was Captaine,
the right wing was led by Sir *Gilbert Talbot*; and the
left assigned to Sir *John Saunce*; Earle *Henry* himselfe
with his vnkle *Tasper* Earle of *Pembroke* gouerned
the Main-Battell, better replenished with horse, then
foote, whose whole number consisted hardly of fife
thousand, the kings doubling the number and more.
The Battells thus ordered, Earle *Henry* armed at all
peeces suauing his helmet, rode from ranke to ranke,
and from wing to wing, encouraging his men, and
the more to encrease their hot spirits, mounted vp-
on a little banke, the better to be seene and heard,
these wordes he vttered in all their hearing.

(56) If euer God gaue victory to a iust quar-
rell, if euer he aided warre for the tuition of a king-
dome or Countrey, or euer succoured them that
fought for the reliefe of poore innocents, oppres-
sed by tyranny, then no doubt my friends and fel-
low souldiers, but that this day he will giue vs a
triumphant victory. For if we consider for what,
and against whom we fight, we may not doubt but
that God himselfe will fight for vs. The thing

"which we are here ready to try by sword, is the li-
"berty of the Land from vnder the vsurpation and
"yoke of a Tyrant, and hee, against whom we
"draw sword, is the Monster (for I may not call him
"man) which feareth neither God, Lawes, Justice,
"nor Humanity, an homicide, a murderer of his
"owne kindred, a destroyer of the Nobilitie, a Mawle
"to his subjects, and a firebrand to the whole King-
"dome, whom iust vengeance craeth to haue quic-
"ched; and consider I pray you, who be of his band,
"euen such as by murder and vnruth to their kin
"and Countrey, haue got wrongfull possession of
"our rightfull inheritance, letting your wiues weep,
"and Orphanes wander, to seeke their liuelihood
"where they can get it, whose teares I doubt not
"crie in the eares of the Lord, who will punish these
"Malefactors either with pricke of conscience cow-
"ardly to flee, or deliuer themselves into our handes
"without Battell. Consider further, I pray you,
"that in yonder great Battell are men brought more
"for feare then for loue, by force compelled and not
"willinglie assembled persons that desire more the
"destruction, then the life of their Captaine, and fi-
"nally a multitude, whereof the most part be our
"friends and the least part his that leads them; and
"surely it stands in suspence, whether the malice of
"the souldiers towards their Generall, or his feare
"conceiued against them, be the greater, for this is a
"rule infallible, that as ill men daily couet to destroy
"the good, so God appointeth the good men to con-
"found the ill, and if it be true that Clerkes preach
"that the one is to be hated, and the other beloued,
"who then can spare yonder tyrant *Richard* Duke of
"Gloester vntruly calling himselfe king, that hath
"broken both the Lawes of God and man, in the
"blood of his brother, the murder of his Nephewes,
"the death of his wife, the slander of his owne mo-
"ther, and the bastardizing of his brethren. If you
"haue not heard, yet I haue read that *Tarquinius*
"the proud, for the rape of *Lueretia*, lost the Kingdome
"of *Rome*; yet was not his fact so detestable as *Ne-
"raes*, who slew his owne mother, to behold the
"place of his conception: but yonder vsurper is
"both these persons in one; a Nero in murder of his
"young Nephewes, and in defaming the wombe of
"his owne conception; and a *Tarquinius* intending to
"defile, and carnally to know his owne Nece vnder
"pretext of holy Matrimony, which Lady you are
"witness, I haue sworn shalbe my wife. This is the
"quarrell for which we are here this day assembled,
"and for whose equity we craue God to be iudge:
"a good beginning, of his Protection we haue alrea-
"dy seene, in escaping the treasons laid for vs in *Br-
"taine*, the dangers of Seas, and our safe arriuage vnto
"this place, not hunted by anie, but rather our felues
"hunting after that furious Bore; who this day, and
"in this place, is so intangled in his owne toyle, as his
"crooked tuskes shall not be able to gnaw the cords
"of his snare asunder, nor himselfe haue power, to
"free himselfe from his pursuers, whose Iauelines (I
"doubt not) shall be dield in the blood of this filthie
"swine, and shall well rid the world of an vglie hogd-
"backed Monster: which thing to accomplish let vs
"remember, that victory is not gotten by multitude
"but by manhood, but the smaller number we bee,
"the greater is our glory if we vanquish, if vanqui-
"shed steretring time shall neuer consume our memo-
"ry, that died to free our felues, and Nation from
"the oppression of an vsurping Tyrant; and thus I
"assure you, that for to iust a cause you shall finde
"me this day rather a dead Carrion vpon the colde
"ground, then a Carper prisoner kept alive for re-
"proch. Aduance therefore forward like true hearted
"Englishmen, display your Banner in defence of your
"Countrey, get the day and be Conquerors, loose
"the Battell, and be villaines; God and Saint *George*
"giue vs a happy successe. Which no sooner was said
"but that the souldiers buckled their Helmes, the
"Archers stript vp their slieues, bent their bowes and
"frushed

The readie
Earle *Henry*
souldiers

frushed their feathers attentively listning when the
Trumpet should giue the sound of Battell.

(57) Betwix both the Armies there lay a great
marsh, which Earle *Henry* left vpon his right hand,
with purpose to haue that for a defence, as also the
Sunne at his backe, and face of the enemy, which
when King *Richard* perceived, with sound of trum-
pet and shout of his Army, hee passed the Marsh,
when the bow-men on both sides freely flie their
arrowes: the rest comming to encounter with
strokes: but the Earle of *Oxford* fearing to be en-
compassed by the enemy, commanded euer of his
rankes to keepe within ten foot of his Standard,
which being accomplished, and their fight a while
stayed, their opposites mistrusting some fraud or de-
ceit, ceased likewise from theirs, many of them
willing inough so to doe; notwithstanding, the L.
Stanley at the same time ioyning with the Earle, a
cruell battell was againe begunne, and manfully
continued vpon either part. Till lastly, King *Richard*
hauing intelligence that the Earle of *Richmond* was
but slenderly accompanied with men of Armes, and
them also builed in their owne guardes, meant by
his incounter to finish the day, as the onely man, vpon
whom stood all the hope of his enemies successe,
and therefore hauing the markes of Earle *Henry*,
made from the range of his owne battell, and vpon
the spur with his Speare in his Reft, ranne violent-
ly towards him in a furious plee; in which rage,
at the first brunt, hee bare downe and ouerthrew
the Earles Standard, and slew Sir *William Brandon*
the bearer thereof; next matching with Sir *John*
Cheine a man of great might, manfully threw him
to the ground, thereby making an open passage by
dint of sword vnto the Earle himselfe: *Richmond*
beholding the high valour of *Richard*, most lion-
like coped with this cruell Bore, and held him mau-
gre his tuskes at his sword point, betwix whom the
fight was so desperate, that *Henries* company were
strucke in great despair; at which very instant Sir
William Stanley came in with three thousand tal fresh
Souldiers, who entred the battell with such cou-
rage and valour, as they bare downe all before them
where they went, whereat the Kings side began to
faint, and to giue ouer fight; but the more resolute
a while maintaining their ground, and now mistrus-
ting treason among themselves, turned their backs
and ran away, whereby King *Richard* presently per-
cieued the downefall of his ill raised glory, and the
full period of his short raigne: and all hope of resis-
tance now past, a swift horse was brought to escape
the field, with comforts that another day might
set the victory on his side: but with a mind vn-
matchable in hatred against *Henry*, or rather to haue
his death registred in fames honorable role, whose
life had bene blotted with the penne of diuiled
infamie, hee hastily clofed his helmet, saying, that
that day should make an end of all battels, or else
in this now in trying he would finish his life, which
last was presently performed; for thrusting into the
middell of his enemies, and there valiantly fight-
ing among the thickest, hee obtained more honor
in this his two howres fight, then he had gained by
all the actions of his whole life.

(58) There died that day with him *John* Duke
of *Norfolke*, *Walter* Lord *Ferrers* of *Charley*, Sir
Richard Ratcliffe Knight, Sir *Robert Brakenbury* Lie-
utenant of the Tower, and not many Gentlemen
more: Sir *William Catesby* one of King *Richards*
chiefe Counsellors with two others, were taken and
two daies after beheaded at *Leicester*, among them
that escaped were *Frances* Viscount *Lowell*, *Humphrey*,
and *Thomas Stafford* brethren, which three tooke
Sanctuary at *S. Johns* in *Gloester*. *Thomas Howard*
Earle of *Surrey* though he submitted himselfe vnto
Henry, yet was hee committed to the Tower and
therein a long time remained. Vpon Earle *Henries*
part onely ten men were slaine, as Sir *Gilbert Tal-
bot* wrote the newes from the field, whereof for

note Sir *William Brandon* was the best, in all to the
number of foure thousand men. This battell was
fought the two and twentieth of *August*, and yere of
Christ Iesus 1485. in the field *Redmore*, nere vnto
Bosworth, in the Countie of *Leicester*; after which
Earle *Henry* gaue thanks vnto God, and commen-
ding his Souldiers, with suffrance for them to take
the spoiles of the field, dubbed many of the knights;
which his doings was so acceptable to the whole Ar-
my, as with great applaue they all cryed King *Hen-
ry*, King *Henry*; whose forwardnesse to him-ward,
when the Lord *Stanley* perceived, hee tooke K. *Rich-
ards* Crowne, found among the spoile of the field,
and set it vpon the Earle of *Richmonds* head, thereby
confirming the election of the people, at which in-
stant beganne the raigne of this new King.

(59) The slaine body of the vsurping Tyrant, all
tugged, and torne, naked, and not so much as a clout
left to couer his shame, was trusted behind *Blanch*
Seint Leger (or *White Bore*, a Pursuant at Armes,) like
a hogge or Calfe, his head and Armes hanging
on the one side of the horse, and his legges on the o-
ther, and all besprinkled with mire and blood, was
so brought into *Leicester*, and there for a miserable
spectacle the space of two dayes lay naked and vabur-
dized, his remembrance being as odious to all as his
person deformed, and lothsome to be looked vpon:
for whose further despite, the white Bore his cogni-
zance was torne downe from euerie Signe, that his
monument might perish, as did the monies of *Ca-
ligula*, which were all melted by the decree of the
Senate: Lastly, his body without all funeral solem-
nity was buried in the *Gray-Friers* Church of that
City. But King *Henry* his Successor, of a princely
disposition, caused afterward his Tombe to bee
made with a picture of Alabastrer, representing his
person, and to be set vp in the same Church, which
at the suppression of that Monastery was pulled
downe, and vtterly defaced; since when his graue
ouergrowne with nettles and weedes, is very obliu-
ous and not to be found. Onely the stone chest wherin
his corpes lay, is now made a drinking trough for
horses at a common Inne, and retaineth the onely
memory of this Monarches greatesse. His body al-
so (as tradition hath deliuered) was borne out of the
City, and contemptuously bestowed vnder the end
of *Bow-Bridge*, which giueth passage ouer a branch
of *Stowe* vpon the west side of the Towne. Vpon
this Bridge (the like repore runneth) stood a stone
of some height, against which King *Richard*, as hee
passed toward *Bosworth*, by chance strucke his spur,
and against the same stone as he was brought backe,
hanging by the horse side, his head was dashed and
broken, as a wife woman (forsooth) had foretold,
who, before *Richards* going to battell, being asked
of his successe, said, that where his spurre strucke,
his head should be broken; but of these things, as
is the report, so let be the credite. Dead he is, and
with his death ended the factions a long time con-
tinued betwix the Families of *Lancaster* and *Torke*;
in whose bandings, to bring, let & keep the Crown
on their heades, eight or nine bloody set battels
had bene fought, and no lesse then foure score per-
sons of the blood-royall slaine, as *Philipp Commies*
the French Writer saith; many of them being wel
knowne to himselfe: after which stormes, and this
Tirants death, a blessed vnion ensued, by joining
those houses in *Henry* of *Lancaster*, and *Elizabeth* of
Torke.

(60) Hee was of stature but litle, and of shape
deformed, the left shoulder bunching out like a
Mole-hill on his backe, his haire thinne, and face
thort, a cruell countenance, in whose aspect might
bee perceiued both malice and deceit. When hee
stood musing (as hee would doe oft) his vie was, to
bite and chaw the nether lip, his hand euer on his
dagger, which euer hee would choppye and down in
the sheath, but neuer draw it fully out. Pregnant
in wit hee was, wily to faine, apt to dissemble, and haugh-

The number slaid
at *Bosworth* field.

Harding saith 27.

Henry procla-
med king in the
field.

Dead *Richards*
body stark
naked, was trust-
ed vp to *Leice-
ster*.

Blasphemed.

King *Richard*
laid naked to be
scene of all.

His badge defe-
ced and torne
downe.

K. *Richards* mo-
nument.

K. *Richards* coffin
made a drinking
trough.

A flying pro-
phcy of King
Richard.

With *Richards*
death dieth the
quarrell of *Torke*
and *Lancaster*.

Phil. Commies 1. c. 7.

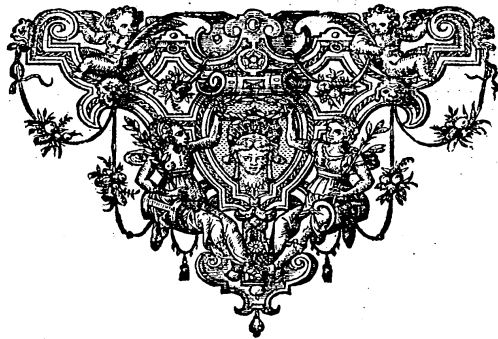
The description
of K. *Richard*.
John Harding
continues.

John Stow.
John Rous.

haughty of Stomacke, an expert Souldier, and a better King then a man. He founded a Colledge at *Middleham* beyond *Tork*, and a Collegiat Chauntry in *London*, neere vnto the Tower, called *Our Lady of Barkings*; he endowed the *Queenes Colledge* in *Cambridge* with five hundred Marks of yeerely reuenew; and disforrested the great Field of *Wichwood*, which King *Edward* his brother had inclosed for his game: he reigned two yeeres, two months, and one day, and was buried, as we haue said.

His Wife.

(61) *Anne* the second daughter and Coheire to *Richard Neuil*, the stout Earle of *Warwicke* and *Salisbury*, was first married to *Edward* Prince of *Wales*, the sonne to King *Henry* the sixth, and after his death was remarried to *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, Anno 1472. afterwards by vsurpation King of *England*, with whom in great State and solemnity shee was Crowned *Queene* the sixth of *July*, and yeere of *Salutation*, 1483. She was his wife to the last yeere of his Raigne, and then leaving her husband to



HENRY

choose another *Queene*, was laid at rest in the Abbey of *Westminster*, in this thing happy, that she saw not the death of the Tyrant.

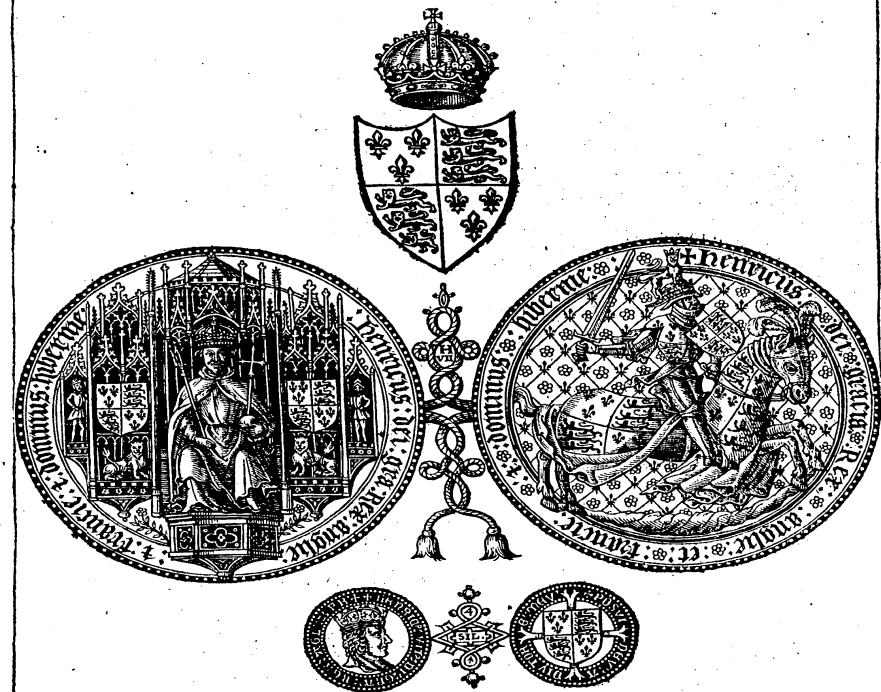
His Issue.

(62) *Edward* the sonne of King *Richard*, and of *Queene Anne* his Wife, and the onely childe of them both, was borne in the Castle of *Middleham*, neere *Richmond*, in the Countie of *Yorke* Anno 1473. and being vnder foure yeeres of age was created Earle of *Salisbury* by his Vncle King *Edward* the fourth, the seuenteenth of his Raigne; but his father King *Richard* in the first of his vsurpation created him Prince of *Wales*, the foure & twentieth of *August*, and yeere of *Christ*, 1483. he then being about ten yeeres of age, vnto whom also the Crowne was intailed by Parliament; but this Prince dying before his father, and much vpon the time of his mothers decease, law not the reuenge that followed the Tyrants Raigne, whole bad life. no doubt hath made doubtfull the place of this Princes buriall, and other Princely offices done him in his life, and at his death.

Rob. Rous.
Comb. Epit.



HENRIE THE SEVENTH, KING OF ENGLAND AND FRANCE, AND LORD OF IRELAND, THE FIFTIE SEVENTH MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XX.



HENRIE of that name the seauenth, hauing by such mixt meanes of valor and practise as are already described, obtained the possession of *Englands* Crown, we must now present vnto you his actions in the person and state of a King, maintained by him with like mixture of courage and skill as it was achieved; to the verification of that rule, *That things are kept by the same Arts whereby they were gained*. In describing whereof, wee meane nothing lesse, then for humoring the vaine admirers of phraze and conceit, to mount vp into Panegyricall flourishes, in honor of the man, though his excellent vertues would worthily beare, if not duely also exact them: yet may

wee not omit to obserue, that as in his attaining to the Crowne, there was (through diuine prouidence) a concurring disposition of all important Circumstances, without which his attempt might haue proved disastrous; so hee, hauing now possessed the Soueraigne power, and mastered the State in the maine pointes, callly made circumstance waite vpon his wisdom, and to take their forme from his directions: Of the first kind, wherein his felicity deserues to be celebrated, were these. That he by the *Male*-line a meere stranger to both the roiall houses, as descended from the *Welsh* and *French*, and by the *female* springing out of such a family of *Lancaster* (the *Beaufords*) as by the same law which enabled it to inherite in ordinary estates, was made incapable of succession in the Regalitie, should so safely be conuayed away into forraigne parts, there to continue a head of expectation and reuolt, during

Monarch 57

Generall observations concerning this Princes whole course.

D. p. 1649

Concurrence of fortuitous to K. Henries felicity.

1485.
August.
date of his coronation.

ring the intestine troubles and dangers, to him in-
 estimable here at home. Secondly, that the Realme
 of England should bee so averted from Richard,
 (though a very honorable, wise, iust and necessary
 Prince, after hee was somewhat settled) as for his
 sake, to neglect (in a sort) so many naturall heires
 of the house of York, some of them in right pre-
 ceding Richard, such were the children of Edward the
 fourth, and George Duke of Clarence, Richards elder
 brethren, and all of them iust barres to the Earle of
 Richmond, who scarce had any thing of a legal title,
 or of a warrantable intention; but his purpose
 to remove an Usurper and marry the Lady Elizabeth,
 the rightful inheritor. Thirdly, a long and fatal
 slackness of Richard in his warlike preparations,
 through the meer contempt of his enemy the Earle,
 which was the cause, that both he landed securely,
 and Richard was driuen to fight in a manner with tu-
 multuary, rather then trained forces. And finally,
 that a principall, potent, noble, and yet a deeply in-
 spected Conspirator, (as being Father in law to the
 Earle) should haue charge, vnder Richard, ouer a
 chiefe portion of his Army at the very instant of
 ioyning battell.

(2) These considerations (among many other)
 had in them such an aptitude to his designe, as no
 humane wit could fashion, and without the which
 a man of equall statures and parts to Henry, or Henry
 himselfe, might in vaine haue beene wife, in vain, in-
 dutious and valiant. Circumstances of the other
 sort shall plentifully occur in the whole carriage of
 his ensuing actions. In both which, are verified two
 contrary rules; for the state of the first obseruation
 teacheth vs with *Plautus*, that *Centum doctorem
 hominum confilia huc vna vincit Dea*, This one God-
 desse can effect more, then the wits of an hundred learned
 men; speaking as an Heathen man of that famous
 Idole Fortune; and in the second, that which *Tuene* all
 excellently noteth;

*Nullum numen abest, si sit prudentia, sed te
 Nos facimus Fortuna Deam, colloque lacamus.*

No Goddesse wants, where Prudence guides, though Chance
 A Goddesse deems, yond Men to Heauen aduance.

(3) Now for the Character of this famous
 wife Prince (which with reason ought to bee fer in
 front to his actions, as certain lights of the mind;
 by which to discern the fountain of counsels and
 causes) a learned, eloquent Knight, and principall
 Lawyer of our time, giues vs many things, of which
 these selected, are very regardable. This King
 (saith he) attained vnto the Crowne, not onely from a
 "private fortune, which might endue him with a mode-
 "ration, but also from the fortune of an exiled man,
 "which had quickned in him all the seeds of obseruati-
 "on and industry. His wisdom (speaking thereof, as
 "it was in his raigne) seemed rather a dexterity to
 "deliuer himselfe from dangers when they pressed him,
 "then any deepe foresight to prevent them a farre off.
 "Icious hee was ouer the Greatnesse of his Nobility, as
 "remembering how himselfe was set vp. Great and de-
 "uout reuerence hee bare vnto religion, as hee that
 "employed Ecclesiasticall men in most of his affaires. In
 "his government hee was led by none, scarcely by his
 "lawes, and yet he was a great obseruer of formality in
 "all his proceedings, which notwithstanding was no im-
 "pediment to the working of his will. In his wars (mean-
 "ing domesticke) hee was rather confident then en-
 "terprising, by which all hee was commonly then en-
 "poored. Generally, hee seemed inclinable to live in peace,
 "and in the quenching of the Commotions of his subiects,
 "hee was euer ready to achieve those wars in person,
 "sometimes referring himselfe, but neuer retiring him-
 "selfe. Of nature hee coneyed to accumulate treasure: in
 "expending whereof hee neuer spared charge that his af-
 "fares required, and in his foundations was magnificent
 "enough. He chose commonly to employ cunning persons,

as he that knew himselfe sufficiently to make use of their
 "uttermost reaches, without danger of being abused with
 "them himselfe.

(4) Another hauing a purpose to write in Eng-
 lish the history of this Henry (an argument which
 for the worthy doing thereof, requires as wife a man
 as Henry himselfe,) hath among many extraordi-
 nary praises (most what framed out of his strong affec-
 tion) truly noted concerning his achievement of
 "the Crowne: That the Almighty hand of God brought
 "him ouer the toppe of the highest and most dangerous
 "obstacles, to sway this Scepter, when neither Title,
 "Power, nor (great) Probability could giue him formach
 "as one found push to set him forward. And of the man
 "himselfe, That hee entertained that, as Iodaine, as So-
 "meraigne change of fortune, with such moderation, and
 "untransported discretion, as it well appeared hee had
 "throughly conquered himselfe, before hee subdued the
 "Usurper his enemy. What could bee added greater
 to true a praye? nothing certainly; for that he
 (as else-where that Writer saith) was the *Salomon*,
 who brought peace to this Kingdome, long before oppress-
 ed by warre and tyranny: it was onely an excellent
 effect of that excellent moderation. Other Authors
 of our times concur in the same iudgement of him,
 whom they prayse "for singular wisdom, excellent
 temperance, and moderate frugality; for policy, iustice,
 and gravity: which princely vertues caused him to
 bee highly reuerenced of foraine Princes. These
 honourable Eulogies after so many yeeres from his
 death, iustly countenance their relations, who writ-
 ting, in or about his owne dayes auerre no lesse; a-
 mong whom, *Bernard Andreas* of *Tholoz*, is most
 flowing and abundant. This *Andreas* (as himselfe
 writes) was afterward entrusted with the instructi-
 on of Prince *Arthur* (eldest sonne to King Henry) in
 good letters, though hee was blind; and hauing af-
 well the title of *Poet Laureat*, as of the Kings *Histori-
 ographer*, (how hardlie fouer those two faculties
 meet with honour in the same person) meant to
 haue historified and poetized the Acts of this king,
 but (for want of competent and attended instructi-
 ons in many places of chiefe importance) left his la-
 bour full of wilde breaches, and vnfinished; yet in
 such points as he hath professed to know, not vn-
 worthy to bee vouched: for there is in him a great
 deale of cleare elocution, and defecated conceit a-
 boue the ordinary of that age. Hee, among other
 verses in honour of this our Henry (whom he enty-
 leth the most sapient King) hath these not hyperbo-
 licall, but proper, wherein hee salutes him,

*Princeps ingenio nitente praestante,
 Famâ, religione, comitate,
 Sensu, sanguine, gratia, decore.*

*A peerlesse Prince for wisdom rare,
 Fame, piety, courtesie, debonaire,
 Knowledge, birth, grace, and feature faire.*

Whereby also, after these portraicts of his inward
 faculties, and gifts, may be guessed that a body they
 had for their mortall mansion, no way vnfitable;
 and it seemes by that *Maely* (so they call the Im-
 ages of our Kings, which are carried for representa-
 tion in their funerall Chariots) which at this day is
 "extant, that hee was of stature tall and slender, com-
 "what round vifaged, and though in * his childhood
 "sickly, yet of aspect in all his outward lineaments,
 "so noble and gracious, as well prefiged, and after-
 "ward fitted the most fortunate height to which he
 "was now ascended. But notwithstanding these great
 "praises, there want not some who think him to haue
 "been an heauy Father to the common wealth, which
 "by sundry courtes hee greatly laboured to bring vnder,
 "as a seeming ground-work of his owne, and his
 "posterities security. And in his last dayes *Anaric*,
 (the naturall maladie of age) tooke him stronglie,
 the enuy whereof he partly diuerted from himselfe

* John Da. of
 MS.

* John Da. of
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by the splendor of some few public buildings, which
 as they gaue the people cause to talke of their braue-
 rie, to they also intensibly wrought in their light
 minds a mitigation of their burthen.

(5) Let vs now behold his vertues as they are shi-
 ningly deduced into action. After the Battell he ha-
 uing truly first ascribed the whole good of his suc-
 cesse to God, commanded, that to the body of * his
 enemy King Richard, an honorable interment should
 be giuen in the Friars at Leicester, where notwith-
 standing * hee was with little reuerence buried. From
 thence the King made speed to London, as to the
 chiefe seat and Epitome of the English Monarchie,
 without which no Prince found himselfe heere se-
 cure enough: he entred the Citie vpon a * Satur-
 day, as vpon a Saturday he obtained his triumphall
 and Crowning victory. The Mayor of London
 and his fellowship, * receiued him in violet at *Harn-
 sey Parke*, but his entrance (which was at * *Shor-
 diech*) was honoured with a very great troope of the
 Peeres, and Nobles in his traine, at which our Poet-
 icall Historian *Andreas* was present, and saluted the
 victorious Prince with certaine Latine *Sapphicks*,
 which hee sung vnto him as himselfe writeth. But
 Henry staid not in Ceremonious greetings and po-
 pular acclamations, which (it seemes) hee did pur-
 posely eschue, for that (*Andreas* saith) hee entred *
 covertly, meaning belike, in an Horie-litter or
 clofe Chariot. His lodging was in the Bishoppe of
 London Pallace, where (after publike offertories and
 solemne thanks giuen to God in the Cathedrall
 Church of *S. Paul*) the businesse of his Coronation
 was seriously consulted of; which was afterward
 (vpon his remove to the Tower, where hee * cre-
 ated his vncle *Isabel* Earle of *Pembroke*, Duke of *Bed-
 ford*, and other Estates) with due pompe and rituall
 magnificence * accomplished at *Westminster*.

(6) But the naturall solder and indissoluble ec-
 cement, which must make this Kingdome stand, was
 his marriage with the Lady Elizabeth, eldest daugh-
 ter of the late Edward the fourth. This as a point of
 most importance was with great maturity and
 iudgement againe thought vpon, when Henry was
 now already crowned. The remoter danger, suppo-
 sed to reside in the person of Edward Earle of War-
 wick (only sonne and heire, euen in his infelicities,
 to that vntfortunate Prince George Duke of Clarence)
 was prevented; for he had bene, by King *Henries*
 direction, brought vp prisoner from the Manour of
 * *Sheriff-hutton* in *Yorkshire*, (where as well he, as the
 Lady Elizabeth were kept by King Richard vnder
 guard) and immediately shut vp within the Tower
 of London.

(7) *Frances* * Duke of Britaine had offered Hen-
 rie before his departure to match him with the La-
 die *Anne* his eldest daughter and sole heire, but hee
 was otherwise affected, as placing his loue where it
 might afford him greatest & presentest strengths. *An-
 dreas* addeth, that King Edward himselfe destinated
 his eldest daughter vnto Henry then Earle of Rich-
 mund, and fought in his life time to haue effected it;
 but his meaning being (belike) suspected, as but a
 drift to get Henry into his hands, the motion tooke
 no hold as referred till God had cleared the way of
 all such impediments, as might hinder the consoli-
 dation of both the Royall families, *York* and *Lanca-
 ster*, (after their fo mortall and confusue massacres)
 in the person of one Soueraigne.

(8) The Lady her selfe, besides youth and beau-
 tie (precious Ornaments of that Sexe) had in her
 from her * infancy a wonderfull feare, and care to please
 God, and a like dutious and humble carriage toward her
 parents: her brothers and sisters (see did exceedinglie
 loue, and as well toward the poore, as all the Seruants of
 Christ, see bare a singular affection. * Her Vncle the
 late vlturper) in contempt of God and man (whose
 Lawes hee was so long accustomed to violate, till the
 iust reward thereof did at the length ouertake him)
 incessantly meant to haue defiled her, vnder the a-

bused name of Matrimonie. When therefore the
 newes of his death came to her eare, the ioy of her
 heart brake forth into these words. * So yet at the
 last thou hast, O God, regarded the humble, and not despised
 their prayers. I will remember, neither shall I at any time
 be weary to remember, that my most noble Father of fa-
 mous memory meant to haue bestowed me in marriage vpon
 this most comely Prince. O that I were now worthy of
 him; but my Father being dead, I want such good friends
 as should motion so great a matter: and perhaps hee will
 take a wife from forraigne parts, whose beauty, age, for-
 tune, and dignity shall bee more then mine. What shall I
 say? I am all alone, and dare not open my minde to * any.
 What if I acquainted my mother therewith? Baseness
 forbids: What if some of the Lords? Audacity wanteth.
 O then that I might but confer with him! perhaps in dis-
 course I might let slippe such a word as might discouer my
 intention. What will bee I know not: this I know, that
 Almighty God cannot tell how to absent himselfe from
 them who trust in him. Therefore I make an end of think-
 ing, and repose my whole hope vpon thee, O my God, doe
 with mee according to thy mercy. Shee secretly thus re-
 uoluing all matters, and resolving of them in her
 minde, was heard from aboue; for King Henry ha-
 uing vnderstood the honour, chastity, and singular
 vertues of the maiden Princeesse, the rather inclined
 to make her the Soueraigne of his affections: assign-
 ing therefore * a day, wherein (for the viter abolishi-
 ment of all Hostilities betweene the two Roiall hou-
 ses of *York* and *Lancaster*) to establish an vnion of
 Families by coniunction of their two persons in
 marriage.

(9) The meane while hee wisely goes on to secure
 the maine, which consisteth in setting the generall
 state, and securing his owne person, hee, for the one,
 * holds a Parliament at *Westminster*, and for the o-
 ther, institutes a certaine number of choise * Ar-
 chers, with allotment of fees and maintenance,
 which vnder a peculiar Capitaine, and the name of
Yeoman of the Guard, he assigned to that seruice, for
 him and his successors, Kings and Queenes of Eng-
 land. In the Parliament was attained Richard late
 Duke of Gloucester, stilling himselfe by vsurpation, King
 Richard the third; and with him by name many other
 of the Nobility and Gentry. And yet withall to lay
 a foundation for his green Government in loue and
 clemencie, hee, during the Parliament proclaimed
 free pardon and entire restitution of their fortunes,
 to all such as submitted themselves to his mercy,
 and made oath of Fidelity. A seasonable and necessa-
 rie Act; Whereby hee greatly weakened ma-
 licious humors, and wanne to himselfe no small
 accession of friendship and seruices; for many for-
 sooke Sanctuaries, and tooke vp their refuges in his
 goodnesse and most gracious fauour. And to re-
 moue all scandall and danger from his friends, he re-
 uerued and reuoked all former Acts, hurtfull either
 to himselfe, or to them for his cause, the whole house
 of Parliament, * concurring finally in establishing
 by a solemne Act, the Crowne vpon him, and his
 heires for euer.

(10) After dissolution of which Parliament, the
 King redeemes such pledges, as hee had left in France
 for money borrowed, and assumes into his Coun-
 sel those two renowned agents in aduancing his for-
 tunes, *John Morton* and *Richard Foxe*, as the most ne-
 cessarie parts and supports of his State; the former
 of which, not long after (*Thomas Beuchier* dying)
 was elected and enthronized Archbishop of Canter-
 bury, the latter, was forthwith aduanced to be Lord
 Keeper of his Priuy Seale, & successively preferred
 to the Bishopricks of *Exeter*, *Bath* and *Wells*, *Dur-
 ham*, and *Winchester*.

(11) The most wished and most welcome * day
 of marriage betweene King Henry and the Princeesse
 Elizabeth being now come, was celebrated by them
 with all religious and glorious magnificence, and
 by the people, with * fires of ioy, dancings, longes
 and bankets through London, all forts and sexes beech-
 ing

* Bern. Andr. MS.
 Her Christian &
 chaite mediati-
 on about mari-
 age.

* How then did
 Andreas know it
 either hee doth
 positize here, or
 else had it from
 her after-relati-
 on.

* John Da. of
 MS.
 Helinfect.

* 7. Decemb.
 * Helinfect.
 * The Kings
 Guard first in-
 stituted.

King Richard and
 others attained.

* Holinshed,
 The Crowne cit-
 tised vpon King
 Henry and his
 heires.

The King mari-
 eth the Lady Elizabeth.
 18. January.
 1486.

* Bern. Andr. MS.

ching Almighty God to send the King and Queene most prosperous success, and an infinite increase of the common joy by bestowing upon them a young Prince, and other issue at his good pleasure: Which prayers (saith Andreas) our Lord Iesus Christ vouchsafed to heare; the Queene within a while after, prouing with Child, of whom shee was happily deliuered in the moneth of September following at Winchester, which to the most fortunate King was a new happinesse, to the Queene a great reioycement, to the Church a souveraine delight: to the Court an exceeding pleasure; and in briefe to the whole Kingdome an incredible contentment. Nor that without reason, as it afterward appeared, for (if God had bene pleased to haue granted longer life) not England onely, but the whole world should in such a pledge haue had cause of eternall reioycement. But God who gouernes all things, and in whose hand are all the Scepters of Princes, as dates of their liues, disposed otherwise.

(12) Meanwhile there were not a few who did enuie to King Henry this vnexpected height of felicitie; but they who first discouered themselves, were certaine remaines of the late ouerthrow at Bosworth, whose diffidence, or euill will, was greater then to relie vpon King Henries clemencie, or to behold the dazzling brightnes of his new achieved glorie; and for that cause refused to forsake the Sanctuarie, which they had taken at Colechester. These were the Lord Louell, Sir Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford his brother. Who, while the King, secure of dangers behind him, was in his Progresse at Torke, meaning by affability, bounty and other his wisest courtes, to gaine the good will of the Northern people, (with whom the memory of King Richard was very deare) and so to weaken the strengths and hopes of all future conspiracies, forsooke their refuge, and secretly in several places gathered forces, therewith to surprize and dethrone the King. The Lord Louell raised his forces with such speed, that the King who at Lincoln first heard of his escape, and lightly regarded the same, was no sooner settled in Torke, but certaine intelligence came that he approached fast with an Armie; and withall, that the Staffords had assembled forces in Worcester-shire, meaning to assault the City of Worcester. The extremity of the King (who neuer dreamt of such a darling) was not small, for neither had he any sufficient numbers about him of his sure friends, nor could iustly repose confidence in the Northern men, whose loie to King Richard their late laine Lord, made them still suspected. But danger quickeneth noble courages, and therefore vpon due recollection of himselfe, hee armed about three thousand men, (furnished leather, whereof the most of their breast-pieces, for want of other stiffe, were framed, may be called armour) and sends them vnder the leading of Jasper Duke of Bedford, with commission to pardon, or to fight. The Duke offering pardon, the Lord Louell fled by night to Sir Thomas Broughton into Lancashire, where hee lurked certaine monethes; the headlesse multitude yeeld without stroake, and the felicity of King Henry preuailes in every place; for the Staffords hearing what had happened to their Confederates, disperie their Clouds of rebels, and speedily take refuge at Colham a village about two miles from Abingdon in Oxfordshire. But the priuiledges of that place * being iudicially found in the Kings Bench, they were found vnable to afford protection to open traitors, whereupon they were forcibly taken thence, and conueighed to the Tower of London, from whence Sir Humphrey Stafford was drawne and executed at Tiburne, but his brother Thomas by the Kings mercy had his pardon. These short dangers and troubles, by reason of their fainttude did worthily make the King wakefull euen ouer smaller accidents; this blaze being kindled from so neglected sparkles. But there followed deuises, which in their owne nature were so strangely impudent, and in their vent so strongly bolstered, that if Louels enterprise made

him suspicious, these other might iustly fill him with innumerable ialousies.

(13) The records are immortal, which testifie, that the erection of Idols and Counterfeits, to dethrone them who are in possession, is a verie old Stratagem. What troubles a Pseudo-Nero wrought, by support of the Parthians (who wonderfully fauoured Nero liuing,) the Romane writers teach vs. Neither hath the Duell (Father of Impostures) any so solemne practise, as Personation and Resemblances of true, whether men or things. In so much that some Diuines haue thought, that as he can, and often doth transfigure himselfe into the forme of a Celestiall Angell, so that he also deceiued our first mother vnder that resplendent but assumed habit. And what mischiefs he wrought, in this very kind of thrusting out into the world false pretenders, the speech of wile Gamaliel testifieth, who rehearseth the names of Theudas and Judas Galilee; but the world hath since had more woeful experience hereof, in that execrable Impostor Mahomet, pretending to bee the Mesias. In England it selfe (before the time of this Henry) what strange practises and conspiracies were set on foote vnder the title of a Pseudo-Richard in the reigne of Henry the fourth, the former Histories haue sufficiently opened, so that this Prince encountered nothing new in the Generall, how soeuer pestilent and extraordinarie in the particular. Indeed his reigne (more perhaps then any other of his predecessors) afforded plentiful matter for such deuises to worke vpon, there being many then, who hauing bene * concealed (as it were) in the bowels of Sedition, and nourished with the bitter and pernicious milke of dissension, were not onely apt to embrace, but also, where they were not offered, euen there to beget occasions of confounding all. Men, who could neither endure warre, nor peace long, nor any lawes in either, as desirous to enioy the licentious violence of ciuill warre; a misery, which all wordes (how wide soeuer) want compass to expresse. The strange attempts of which kind of men (or rather Monsters) we shall see exemplified in the subsequent tragedies. Richard Simon, an ambitious and impetuous wretch, and withall a Priest, neither vnlearned, (the sacred shadow of which name the rather countenanced his practises) in hope to make himselfe the principall Bishop of England, plotted the aduancement of Lambert Symnell (being his pupil in the Vniuersitie of Oxford) to the Crown of England; instigated there to by the duell, and suborned by such as fauoured the White-roffe faction, vpon this occasion. There went a rumour, that Edward Earle of Warwick, sonne and heire to George the late vnfortunate Duke of Clarence, second brother of King Edward, * was either already murdered, or should shortly bee. This Architect of guile, Simon hauing this Symnell in tuition, (the sonne of a Baker, or Shoemaker, but a well-faced and Princely-shaped youth, of no very euill nature, but as it was corrupted by his Tutor,) means out of this rumors aerie substance, to produce an apparition and prodigie, which in Title, behaviour, and artificiall answers (insufed by his Tutors practises) should resemble * one of King Edwards children. Here we must confesse that our authors leade vs into a perplexitie: Some affirming, that this counterfet was exhibited to the world vnder the name of Edward Earle of Warwick, sonne of the Duke of Clarence, by the most turbulent and fatal Earle of Warwick slain at Barnet-field. But hereunto reason seemes repugnant. For what ground of claime could that Gentleman haue, not onely for that his Father was attainted, but much more for that the Queene of England then in being, was the indubitate eldest daughter and heire of King Edward the fourth, and sister and next heire to Edward the fifth? Neither wants there ancient authority then any of the others, affirming, that this Idoll did vnrue the name of one of King Edwards sonnes; many arguments concurring to buttresse this affirmation. For, if at

the same time (as Polydore writeth) it was bruted, that the sonnes of King Edward the fourth had not been murdered vnder their usurping vncke Richard, but were escaped, and liued in obscurity beyond the Sea; how can that be true, which Stow and the rest (who follow Polydore therein) affirm, that Lambert was crowned King of England at Dublin in Ireland, as heire to George Duke of Clarence? For with what iniurie to the roiall brethren (fained to be alive) was that? Verily there seemes no coherence in the circumstances, nor apparence of truth in the substance. And how much stronger to the purpose of the Conspirators was the fiction of an Edward, the Kings sonne, and himselfe once proclaimed King, then of an Edward, who was but an Earle, and a Duke of Clarendon heire? But you will aske, what was the poore Earles part in this tragedie? what other? then that by rumoring his murder, they might bring the person of King Henry into common detestation for his crueltie; for clearing whereof the King publickly afterward shewed the Earle to the view of all. And albeit the vulgar fame is, that Lambert was called Edward, yet * one who then liued, saith directly, that this Cypher was dubbed & mounted from his owne meane ranke to the title of a King, vnder the name of the second brother, who for certaine was called Richard: but what Record there is to the contrary, it vs vs yet vnknown; for our vulgar Bookes extant can hardly passe with a Iury of ordinary Criticks, and Censors for vnchallengeable euidence.

(14) This aery Typhon (which grasped at the embracement of the two Kingdomes of England and Ireland) thus thoroughly schooled and instructed, is secretly conueighed by his Sionian Tutor to Dublin, the chiefe City of the Irish, where he was confidant of partakers, as amongst the hereditary Clients, and adherents of the house of Torke; which affection was first breathed into them by the cunning popularities of the Lord Richard Duke of Torke, the first of that line, who publickly named the English Crowne. His hopes deceiued him not, for the Lord * Chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Fitz-Gerald (of the noble Familie of the Geraldines) presently professed himselfe for the plot, and by his authority and persuasions drew the generality of the Irish after him into it. Messengers are hereupon dispatched, vpon all hands both into England, to such as they had hope of, and into low Germany to the Lady Margaret, sister of King Edward the fourth, Dutchesse Dowager of Burgundy, a most mortall enemy of the Lancastrian family. In both places the lighted matches of sedition found powdry spirits, and wonderfull correspondence. There is flocking from all parts to support the quarrell, and the Irish (to haue the glory of giuing England a King) proclaim & reuerence this painted puffe, & flying bubble with royall style and honors.

(15) Henrie seeing the fire so strangely kindled round about the wals of his best hopes & strengths, fals seriously to counsell at the Monastery of Carthusian Monkes nere Richmond, where after exact deliberation it was decreed, 1. That general pardon (to stay the minds of as many as it was possible) should without any exception bee proclaimed to such as from thenceforth should continue dutifull. Which was principally done to temper, and assure some priuate persons, as Sir Thomas Broughton and others, whose forces, willes, and wealth were held most in suspicion. 2. That Elizabeth late wife to Edward the fourth, and mother in law to Henry now King of England, should forfeit all her lands and goods for that (contrary to her faith giuen to them, who were in the plot for bringing in King Henry) shee had yeelded up her daughters to the hands of the Tyrant Richard. 3. That Edward Earle of Warwick then Prisoner in the Tower, should bee openly shewed alive in London. All which was accordingly executed, but without any great fruit, for still the plot went on.

(16) The condemnation of Elizabeth Queene Dowager, rather moued enuy towards Henry, then relieved his cause; for to many the iustice of that sentence was doubtful, the circumstance of a mother in law inferred a breach of pietie, and the iudgement it selfe did alwaies want example. The iustice was doubtfull both in regard of the cause, and of the proceeding. Of the cause, for how could shee haue defended her daughters by the priuiledge of sanctuary from such a Wolfe and Tyger, as would haue infringed it for her sons, had they not been quickly deliuered to his bloodie hands? The same Tyrant doth now demand her daughters as to honour, not to slaughter; but if it had bene to slaughter, what helpe? shee, terrified with the motion, after much deliberation yeelds them to him, when shee neither could, nor durst detain them. But you say the violated her faith, and hazarded thereby the liues and hopes of all that were in the plot for her cause. A great crime certainly. But Richard was in title, and power a King, and hung ouer her head with inuitable terrors; when Henry of Richmond was but an Earle, and he farre off, and in banishment, and without any apparence of preuailling, and her selfe a friendlesse widow. The manner of proceeding was no lesse strange; for by what law or triall was shee condemned in a Præmure? Shee neuertheless is put out of all, and confined to the Monastery of Berghamstedt in Southwarke, where finally she ended her dayes, borne to bee an example of both fortunes, hauing from a forlorne widowes estate bene raised to the bed of a Bachelour Monarcke; and in his life time bene reduced to the seeming of a priuate fortune, when her Lord was driuen to flie the land; and afterward saw those turnes and varieties as few Queenes euer felt, or saw so many, or more contrarie; whether we regard the height of worldly felicity, when shee did behold her sonne a King, or the depth of misery, when the Tyrant invaded his Crowne and life, or now her daughter being Queene, and her selfe a miserable prisoner. The consideration whereof, as it may worthily mortifie ambitious affections; so the strangeness of the sentence verifies that collection among others, which * that learned Gentleman makes of this Kings reign in these wordes. Hee had (saith hee) a very strange kind of interchanging very large and vnexpected pardons with seuerer executions. Nevertheless, (his wisdom considered) it could not be imputed to any inequality, but to a discretion, or at least to a principle, that hee had apprehended, that it was not good, obstinately to pursue one course, but to trie both wayes. How soeuer that was; certainly, hee being so iust an object of his commiseration, who had married that daughter, by which hee enioyed a Kingdome, and gotten that verie power, wherewith he ruined her; it cannot bee reasonably thought, but that there were other most important motives, perswading such a sharpe course, or otherwise, that it must bee reckoned among the chiefe of his errors. But as in the times of her flourishing estate, shee founded and endowed a faire Colledge for Students in Cambridge, which of her is called the Queenes; so we will leaue to those her Beneficiaries the farther search of this Argument, and deploration of her fortune, which seems such to vs, as if King Henry affected to leaue somewhat in this example, wherewith to oppose & amale the world. Vnlesse perhaps it were, that hauing proclaimed a general pardon for all offences without exception to such as in future should remaine loyall, and foregoing that some, who might be willing to lay hold of that benefite, might also bee cunningly practised with to fall away, vpon distrust of his word, when once hee had serued his present vices, hee therefore meant (by so cleare a demonstration, as the vtter vndoing, and perpetuall emprisonment of his wiues owne mother,) to giue them assurance, that hee, who vpon her person had bene so seuerer a punisher of breach-breath, would

Queene Elizabeth deprived of her estate, and condemned to a Monastery.

* Sir Fr. Bacon, frag. 215.

A probable cause why King Henry dealt so rigorously with his mother in law.

John de la Pole
Earle of Lincoln
and others, flee
to the Duchesse
of Burgundy.

* Polyd. Verg.

* Camb. in Nat.
ing.
* Io. Left.
* Ber. Andr.

* Phil. de Com.

* John Da. MS.

* Polyd. Vergil
faith he was
summo genere
natus.

Lambert crown-
ed King of
England at Dun-
blin.
John Stow.

Bern. Andr.

King Henry pro-
vides for battell.

neuer violate it in his own, and thereby secure them in that point, and secure himselfe of them.

(17) Yet neither could this deuise take so good effect, but that John Earle of Lincoln (sonne of John de la Pole Duke of Suffolke, and Elizabeth King Edward the fourths sister) secretly fled into Flanders to the Dutchesse of Burgundy, whither Francis Lord Lowell was likewise not long before escaped. Sir Thomas Broughton (another principal confederate) temporized in England, there to remaine, a stay to the businesse, aswell for mutuall intelligence, as receipt of an Army when it should arriue. This Earle of Lincoln, besides that he could not with any patience behold a Lancastrian weilding the English Scepter; was also of a *sharper wit, and high reach*, and therefore not without an ambitious sensibility, that in countenancing King Henry, hee wronged that expectancie, and relation to the Crowne, which hee had in right of his mother, sister to King Edward the fourth, and to King Richard the third, who had * designed him for heire apparent, & contracted his sister the * Lady Anne de la Pole, to James Prince of Scotland: was also the rather animated by letters receiued from his aunt the Dutchesse of Burgundy, earnestly calling vpon him for his preference. This Dutchesse was the second wife of Charles Duke of Burgundie, * slaine by the Swiss at the battell of Nancy, by whom thogh hee had no issue, yet by reason of her great dower, & wise behaviour among the Dutch, shee was strong in money and friends; all which shee was willing to conuert to the vtter subuersion howsoever of the Lancastrian line. Though therefore, shee well knew that this Lambert was but an Idoll, * hammered out of the hote braine of that Bouteferre Richard Simon, yet the embraceth the occasion, countenanceth the Imposture, and leaues nothing vnaid or vndone, which might giue life and successe to the enterprize. The Earle, the L. Lowell, and others theee furnished abundantly, and ioyneth vnto them a renowned Coronell Martin Smart, a Gentleman of * honorable birth, exemplary valour, and singular experience, and certain selected companies, to the number of about two thousand Almaines, which soone after arriue at Dublin. Lambert, who before was but proclaimed, is now in Christs Church there solemnly by them crowned King of England, * feasting and triumphing, rearing mighty howtes and cries, carrying him thence to the kings Castell vpon tall mens shoulders, that he might be seene and noted, as hee was surely (saith Stow) an honourable boy to look vpon; though nothing lesse was meant, than that hee should enioy that honour if they prevailed; as meaning then to erect Edward Earle of Warwick. Posterity might worthily doubt of the truth of these so desperate impudencies, and ridiculous Pageants, practised in the highest affaires of mankind, but that the thing is so vniuersally testified, and also that the highest affairs of the world (when once they are passed) are little better then such like Pageants.

(18) K. Henry (on the other side) though he had by most diligent epials endeouored to know the truth of Lamberts quality, to diuert the streame of affections, which hee saw inclined that way, for that the practise was carried with such wonderful art, as that very many (otherwise discreet and sober men) were induced to beleue that hee was indeed King Edwards sonne; and although the generall pardon proclaimed by King Henry, did vndoubtedly stay very many from open reuolt, but much more the carefull watch which was kept at the Ports, to hinder the escape of Malecontents or factious Fugitiues: yet hee manifestly saw, that it would in the end come to a field: for which cause he takes order for the leuie of an Armie, resoluing to giue his enemies battell with the first opportunity, it being the ancient and manfull fashion of the English, (who are naturally most impatient of lingering mischiefes) to put their publike quarrels to the trial of

the sword. Lambert attended with John Earle of Lincoln, Francis Lord * Vicount Louell, Thomas Fitz-Gerald, or rather Maurice Fitz-Thomas (belike his sonne) and Coronell Smart, with an Army of desperate and pickt souldiers, aswell English, Dutch, as Irish (all fired with infinite hopes and promises to bee employed vpon the ouerthrow of King Henry) come on shore in Lancashire at a place called the pile of Fowday, where they ioine with their assured confederate Sir Thomas Broughton, and his sequele, and after some short refreshment in those partes, march with erected courages against King Henry, taking their way through Yorkshire (the hoped nursery of their furest friendshippes) and gloriously publishing their new King euery where, though without any increase of force by conourse, (for King Henries widome had marred their errand), their iourney was directed toward Newark vpon Trent.

(19) The King then at Countree, being by such scowtes as hee had appointed for that seruice, pretently aduertised of Lamberts arrival, and hauing his forces ready vnder the conduct of Jasper Duke of Bedford, and the Earle of Oxford, because delay in this case was on all hands reputed mischievous, sets forward to Nottingham, and by a wood side called Bowry, encampeth his people; in whom there appeared a gallant forwardnesse to reuenge themselves by the sword of that indignity, which was offered to the English name by strangers and rebels, who durst hope to giue them a ruler. Thither repaired George Talbot Earle of Shrewsbury, George L. Strange his son, Sir John Cheine, and other noble and valiant Gentlemen with their numbers, which added no small sinewes to K. Henries muirers. Polyd. hath diligently set downe the names of such principall men in those parts as repaired thither, partly voluntary, partly sent for to the common defence of the King and Kingdom; but without due additions of each mans degree and place of precedency; yet their names doe well deserue to be remembered, both for the honour of their Families, and examples of loyalty. He recounteth sixty six Captaines which assembled from places thereabout, vnder whom there cannot probably be thought fewer Souldiers then eight or ten thousand, the English usually, till of late, hauing commonly an hundred and fifty in a Company. Their surnames (besides Edward Lord * Hastings) are in him as followeth; Langford, Montgomerie, Vernon of the Peke, Shurley, Folgerham, Grifley, Sutton, Stanley, and Stanley, Houghton, Meryng, Stanhop, Clifton, Stapleton, Willoughby, Perpointz, Babbington, Bedyll, * Marchel, Markham, Merbury, Brough, Tyrwit, Hufey, Shefield, Newport, Ormeston, Tempest, Knyvett, Willoughby, Dygby, and Dygby, Harrington, Sacheuerel, Vyllers, Eydling, Poulney, Vaux Gryne, Gryfin, Lucy, Belknap, Tregonmorton, Gray of Nuthin, Wolfson, Eynder, Phillips, Cheney, Cotton, S. John, Morand, Trevel, Rainford, Paynton, Daniel, Marney, Armidel. From the vttermost bounds of the North, there repaired also other chiefe persons and leaders (saith he) as * Ogle, * Newble, a Latimer, Bulmer, Langford, Norres, Newble of Torthenbrig and Williams. The Earle of Lincoln neuertheless comes forward with his Counter-king, nothing perhaps adding greater courage to that side, then the example of Henry himselfe, who with lesse numbers (but much more secret Art) prevailed in a pight field at Bosworth: his meaning was to get into Newark. The King wakefull vpon all aduantages, and perfectly instructed of his enemies courses (whom desperation did thrust forward to a daring hope) dislodged with his Army, & passed through Newark, leauing it behind him about 3. miles, to intercept the Lambertaines, and there sits downe againe. The Earle of Lincoln encamps with great brauerie and shew of courage in the face of the Kings forces.

(20) The next day both the Armies are brought forth to fight, neere to a little village called Stoke. The Earle of Lincoln marshalled his people by the aduise of

* Camb. in Nat.
Lambert
Lancaster.

Nottingham
Rendevous
K. Henries

* Nijl. Angli

Great repaire
the noble and
people to him

Polyd. Verg.

* Polyd. Verg.
him Reputing
ning a Baro.

Brown de Ham
Polyd. Verg.
ouly cald him

* These three
leeue Baron
as them whom
hee meanes by
principles with

of Coronell Smart and others, to the best aduantage, vpon the * Brow or hanging of an hill expecting the charge. The Almaines were all of them hardie and approued men, and thoroughly well-appointed, and so in likelihood were such English as stood for that side; but the Irish, besides multitudes and fiercenesse, had small prouision, save (after the rude manner of their Nation) darts, spears, or the like. The maine of the Battell rested wholly vpon the English and Almaines. King Henry on the other side, (as hee that thirsted for an end of this bloody daies worke,) speedily disposed his whole numbers into three Battailions: the Voward whereof was best replenished with store of choice and pickt men, well armed and appointed, and fortified with wings. The Armie being thus ordered, Andrew saith that King Henry vlteth this speech:

(21) Most faithfull Lords, and you most valiant Companions in Armes, who haue (together with vs) endured so great perils by Land and Sea; lo, we are againe against our wils, drawne to trie our fortunes in another Field. For the Earle of Lincoln (a perjured man) without any occasion mistred by vs, defends an vnjust quarrell against vs: neither doth hee it diffembly, but most openly impudent, without any feare of God, nor so much onely to endamage vs, as to fulfill the humor of a giddie, and intemperate-tongued woman, who is not ignorant that her blood was extinguished by her brother Richard; but because that line did alwaies maintaine a most deadly feud against ours, theee (without any great regard to her Name, my dearest Consort) affiaies to destroy aswell vs as our posterity. Yee see therefore how often wee are provoked by them, but they shall not carrie it away vnuengued. God therefore and his holy Angels we first call to witnes, that we are prouident both night and day for your safetie, and for the Common quiet; though thus the ancient enemy repugneth. But God, a iust, strong, and patient Iudge, will also bring a remedy to this euill. In the meane time we exhort and admonish you, that the consideration of our iust inheritance be at this present more forcible with you, then their wickednes, neither doubt, but that the same God, who in the former warre made vs victorious, will enable vs to triumph now also ouer these enemies. Let vs therefore set vpon them courageously; for God is vpon our side to assist vs.

(22) The Earle of Oxford (on the behalfe of the whole Army) was prepared to make answere, but the King hastening to the prooffe, brake off all Ceremonies, and the signe of Battell giuen, they thunder forward with shewes of people, and found of martiall musicke, and like a blacke tempest, powre themselves vpon the Front of the Enemies Battels: who rushed forward with equal violence and furie, as men that at once encountered against feare and fortune. The fight continued doubtfull aboue three houres. A long space for men of courage to be employed in killing one the other, and sit to glut the hunger of furie. The Earles English wanted nothing but a good cause, and the Almaine gave not place to the Kings people in any point worthy of gallant Souldiers, but sold their liues dearly, and their Coronell Smart had scarce any before him in personal performance. Neither were the Irish behind for their parts, if their skinnas had bene sword-prooffe, for the contempt of death was alike in them as the rest. Briefly, the wonder of that daies worke was, that Christian men, in no sounder a quarrell, could dare to die so boldly, such chiefly, as the Earle of Lincoln and some others, who knew the secret of that desperate enterprize. But God, the Lord of reuengers, punishing their vnjust malice, with a suddaine whirlewinde rising in the heat of the Battell, (even as when Constantine fought against the Enemies of the Church) our souldiers, who seemed vanquished, became victorious. For the Kings vanguard * reanforced it selfe, and

gaue so furious a recharge, (in likelihood vpon this encouragement sent as it were from Heauen) that it vtterly brake the Enemies Squadrons; and giuing in among them with full randon, flew * first such Captaines as relisted, and put the residue which yielded not, either to the sword flight. Herewith the whole Armie * shouted, the trumpets sound victorie, and the generall cry runnes King Henry, King Henry. When the battell and chafe were ended, so that there was time and leasure to view the field, it then appeared what mindes the slaine bodies carried; for all the chiefe Captaines, the Earle of Lincoln himselfe (though the King would gladly haue had him saved, to come thereby to a greater light of his dangers) the Lord Lowell, Sir Thomas Broughton, Coronell Smart and * Maurice Fitz-Thomas, General of the Irish, were (like Castille and his Complices) found to couer those places dead, which they defended liuing, among foure thousand other souldiers which were slaine vpon that side. The King at this battell lost * almost halfe the People in his Vangard, and Surgeons had store of worke among the Suruiuers, so that the Garland gained at this iourney was not vndipt in blood; Howbeit there is no mention that any man of honor or speciall note, fell vpon the Kings side.

(23) Among the Prisoners was the Countersfeit himselfe, and the lewd contriuer of this wicked Stratagem, Richard Simon, who with little change may most truly be called another Simon. The King (who referred himselfe in this battell, (as in others, but * neuer retired) made both their perious examples of his clemency. For Lambert being questioned, how such a breaching-boy as hee was durst attempt so great a wickednes, denied not, that hee was compelled therunto, by certaine bad persons, who were of that conspiracie; and as for his parents quality, hee confessed them to bee such as indeed they were; altogether of base and despicable calling. * Sim subtil, or Sir Richard Simon the Priest, whether for discouery of some great secrets, or the extraordinary reuerence borne to his function (extraordinary say we, for otherwise * Priests had bene openly put to death) was not executed, but * condemned to a dungeon, and perpetuall shackles. Lambert (whom the glittering periwig of regal style did but lately to adorne) was condemned to * the Kings kitchen, there to manage spits at the fire; who if his wit and spirit had answered his late Titles, would haue chosen much rather to haue bene turned from the Ladder by an hangman. But * hauing in this abiection giuen sufficient prooffe that hee was but a Puppet, or a property in the later tragical motion, * hee was at length (promoted wee cannot say) made one of the Kings Falconers, in which estate it seemes hee liued and died inglorious. This battell was fought vpon a * Satterday a day of the weeke which is * obserued to haue been fauourable and luckie to this Henrie. His first care after the victory setled, was that which most became a religious Prince, the humble and ioyous acknowledgement of thanks to God, in the very place. From thence hee passeth to * Lincoln, where hee spent three daies in publike supplications, processions, and thankgiuings, and sent his Standard to our Ladies Church at Walsingham in Norfolk, there to remaine as a Monument of his victorie and gratitude. Such as were taken in the Battell or chafe, are then executed. From Lincoln hee progreseth into Yorkshire, where hee tooke a sure course aswell by execution, as ranfome, for purging those parts from such as were culpable, or probably dangerous. At Newcastle about * the middle of August, hee dispatched his experienced and trusty Agent Richard Fox Bishop of Excester, and Sir Richard Edgcombe Knight into Scotland, there to settle a peace with King James the third, to empeach the retreat and protection, which his enemies and rebels found therein. Himselfe hauing spent a great part of Summer in this progresse, or rather itinerary luiting, returnes by Leicester toward London. Those prudent Ambassadors

The king pre-
sauld.

* Polyd. Verg.

* Bern. Andr.

The Earle of
Lincoln and all
the chiefe lea-
ders of that side
sleight in the field.
* Polyd. Verg.
* Bern. Andr.
* Cr. Salust.
in Cato. Cato.

* Polyd. Verg.
But Bernard
And, saith that
very few were
slaine.

* Fragm. MS.

* Polyd. Verg.
Bern. Andr. MS.

* Io. Da. MS.

* Thomas Walslin
H. 4. & alib.
Polyd. Verg.
Huntley, who also
followes Polyd.
* Polyd. Verg.
* Io. Da. of Henr.
MS.

* Polyd. Verg.
Lamberts for-
tunes.
* Io. Da. MS.

* 16. Iun. A. D.
1487. A. Reg. 5.
* Bern. Andr. MS.

* Polyd. Verg.

* A. Reg. 5.
Ambassadors in-
to Scotland.

* Left in Jacob 3.

Bishop Foxe, first a great father, and now a child preceptor of King Henrie's Regality.

* Bern. Andr. MS. The Duchesse of Burgundy as immortal malice.

* Polyd. Virg.

* Bern. Andr.

* 3 November, Anno D. 1487.

* Ad. to Fab. Elizabeth Crowned Queen of England.

A difficult case, whether King Henry should aide the Britains or no.

Christie King of France pacifist to unite Britaine to his Empire.

Ambassadors out of France to King Henrie.

ladors in the meane time negotiating with the Scottish King, wrought * him to bee more inclinable to a perpetual peace, then it stood with his safetie to let his Subjects vnderstand, who fauoured him not. Seven yeeres truce is consented vnto, with a secret promise of King James to renew that terme, as it began to expire; with which assurance the Ambassadors returning, gladdened their wife Soueraignes heart; who thereby found that the Bishop of Exeter, was no lesse industrious in preferring his Regall state, then he had bene prudent in furthering him vnto it. The firebrands and readiest fuel of Rebellion thus seemed to be quenched, and the King beholds himselfe in the Grace and fauour of his people, nor lesse of foreigne Princes; Margaret Duchesse of Burgundy (his implacable * Inno) excepted; whom the newes of her Nephewes Earle of Lincolnes death, and the bloody blowing vp of all her late hopefull and costly contriements, did gall and wound extremely; but added fresh appetites of reuenge to her former immortal malice, which * neuer gaue ouer working, till shee had vented another no lesse prodigy then Lambert was. But the King being honoured and fought vnto, aswell by a *Nuncio* * from the *Romane* See, who obtained leaue to publish a Croisado here against the Turkes, as also from the *French*; after his many labours, aswell Marriall as Ciuill, sustained on behalfe of himselfe and the Common-weale, makes a triumphall * entrie into London, which was adorned in the best manner. And in the same moneth vpon * *Saint Katharines* day, his wife Elizabeth was Crowned *Queene* of England, as if that then first hee had held himselfe assured of Roiall estate: for he saw not what dangerous lifts would yer be given by that vnquiet Ladies practices, to heaue him out of authoritie.

(24) The next maine action which fitted the iudgement, and tride the finewes of King Henry, wasa forraigne case of more difficulty and Arr, then of intestine danger, as in which the high and paramount respects of Common-weale were intangled, or encountered with offices most neerely concerning the honour of a Princes minde, which neuer is more blemished then with the note of ingratitude. A dispute and combat betweene wisdom and blood, publicke and priuate, (if any quality, or action of a King may be said to be priuate) which seemed worthy of so excellent, cleare, and considerate a discourse, as that of *Henries*. You heard what notable fauours and humanities, when he liued a banisher Earle in the Continent, he had receiued, first of the Duke of Britaine, then of Charles K. of France; so that he stood equally (as it were) obliged to them both, & could acknowledge no lesse, Charles (more ambitiously then iustly) desired exceedingly to annex Britaine to the Crowne of France, taking occasion of the time, and other circumstances, which all seemed to conspire with his affections. The Duke old, and the father of one onely daughter suruiuing till marriage; Maximilian King of Romans, and riuall of King Charles in the same desires, (aswell for the Dutchy, as the daughter,) feeble in meanes; and King Henry well obnoxious to the French for benefites, as busied in his particular at home: and the Duke of Britaine, by succouring Lewis Duke of Orleans, and other French Lords, whom King Charles reputed his aduersaries, ministred to the French an occasion (or colour at least) of warring vpon Britaine, and so by the apt concurrence of circumstances, to annexe it by conquest, if by treaty hee could not. Henrie of England, now knowne to be victoriously feiled, seemed worth the Courtting. Ambassadors come from the French, who lay open the wrong offered by the Britaines, in succouring the enemies of France, put Henrie in minde of passed benefites; and pray his assistance, or at the least a neutrality; but altogether concealing the mystery of this warre, which was to annexe Britaine to the Crowne of France. Howsoever, Henry, though he well enough

knew, that a King must euer bee the best part of his Councell, (for what are others opinions, if himselfe want the happinesse, or iudgement, to choose the best?) propounds the points to his priuy Councell, whereupon hee Christianly offers himselfe a Mediator betweene the French and Britaine; an office, in which it was apparant he might best satisfie all obligations and duties both to God and them. The French pretend liking, but in the meane time follow their designe hard. Henry sends his Chaplen, Master Christopher Ypswicke a man * whom he very often imploied. The French maske on. Things come to some extremities. It becomes manifest that King Charles abused the King of Englands credulity; for the City of Nantz in Britaine was brought by sledge to point of yeelding, while messengers, and packets, outwardly oiled with the name of peace, slide to and fro, and the French doubt nothing so much, as left the English should stirre, before their victorie had made Britaine irrecoverable. The Lord Woodville (as without the Kings will, or priuaty) slips ouer into Britaine with three or foure hundred choise men to asside the Duke, and came time enough to bee slain with almost all his Souldiers, at the battell of *Saint Albins*, where the French wanne the day; notwithstanding that the Britains, the rather to appall their enemies, had apparelled * seauenteene hundred of their owne Souldiers in white Coates with redde Croffes, after the English manner, and made thereby a shew of two Regiments of English. The Britains had a great losse in that battell, wherein they were made fewer by fixe thousand. The Duke of Orleans and Prince of Orange, who then were British in faction, were taken Prisoners in the same fight. The French lost about twelue hundred, and their Generall an Italian. So that the state of Britaine seemed ripe for a fall.

(25) But King Henry, hauing long since suspected, and foreseene, what the vttermost marke of the French might be, and seeming to haue enough suffered the interest, which they might expect in him as a man, to be abused by their practices to the prejudice of his other friend, the Duke of Britaine, (who forgate not to sollicite and vrge that point,) had made the quality of this affaie knowne to the body of State in open Parliament, for that purpose assembled; as meaning by authority thereof to purge himselfe from all imputation, if, as a King, he did that which the reason of Government required, which would not assent, that Britaine should be made French, left by that accession their Neighbourhood might grow intolerable, Britaine hauing so many Sea-townes and Outlets to mischiefe the English trafficke. Himselfe was otherwise also sufficiently reioiced, that the general good ought to predominate the particular, and that his priuate obligations ought not to entangle, or prejudice the publicke seruice. The Parliament therefore, considering that which stood for the Common-weale, decrees aide of men and money, on behalfe of the Duke of Britaine; it being (besides all other respects) a perillous example, to suffer the great to deuoure the lesser Neighbour States, vpon pretences of iustice, or reuenge. Forces are leuied; but (for respect of King Charles, and in hope that the shew of preparations would stoope him to equal conditions,) not yet so roundlie, as the Britons necessities expected. Meane while that no formality or Princely Ceremony should be vnaccomplished, King Henry by his Ambassadors certifies King Charles of his Parliaments decree; praises him to desist from farther Hostilities; otherwise that he must asside the Duke; but yet (for the French Kings sake) with this reservation, of pursuing his subiects no where but in Britaine. Charles made small account of these ouertures, because hee truly perriued himselfe that the English aides would not arrive in season; which fell out accordingly; for before that time, the French had gotten that victorie, (whereof euen now wee speake) at the Battell of *Saint Albins*. Vpon newes whereof, the English Regiments were immediately sent ouer vnder Robert Lord

The Lord Woodville

* Paulus in Caroli.

The Battell of Albins, where the French walle.

King Henrie sent to the Parliament.

Eule of Woodville by the Duke of Britaine.

The Parliam grants aide money to the Duke of Britaine.

Polyd. Virg.

Broke

Bosch.

Broke General, Sir John Cheyny, Sir John Middleton, Sir Ralph Hilton, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir Richard Lecon, and Sir Edmund Cornwall Knight, and Coronels.

Polyd. Virg. 24.

Polyd. Virg.

Polyd. Virg.

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Polyd. Virg.

Broke General, Sir John Cheyny, Sir John Middleton, Sir Ralph Hilton, Sir Richard Corbet, Sir Thomas Leigh, Sir Richard Lecon, and Sir Edmund Cornwall Knight, and Coronels. The whole Army contained eight thousand men. These march toward the enemy; who, acquainted with the temper of the English, whilst they are fresh, as * being then almost insinuable, containe themselves within their Campe; but yet * molest the English with continuall skirmishes on horsebacke in several places at once; finally to the profit of the French, who * were alwaies put to the worke, the Archers received them with such perpetual stormes. In the meane space, Francis Duke of Britaine dies, leauing in effect, one onely daughter, the Lady Anne, (for the other, * being the younger) deceased not long after. This altered the whole state of the case. The British Nobility (vnder their young Mistresse) immediately fall at variance among themselves, and the English thereby were on euery hand in danger: so that God (as it appeared by the sequelle) had destined Britaine to be annexed to the Crowne of France; for the English (after five moneths stay) were in widome compelled to returne; the rather, for that Winter now was come vpon them, and Britaine, destitute of competent defence, (her Rulers disagreeing among themselves) was finally by the marriage of King Charles with the Lady Anne, made a parcell of the French Monarchy, as hereafter will appeare.

(26) King Henry the while was againe in danger to haue had present vfe of Souldiers at home. Wee shewed, what care was heretofore taken by him to weede the North, and free it from lurking enemies. That notwithstanding, when the Earle of Northumberland, (Lieutenant of the North) signified at an assemblie (according as the truth was) that the King (though the Northern people had sought it) would not remitte one penny of such Subsidy, as was granted in Parliament for supportation of the warres in Britaine * left the Aids of State should beauered at the rude peoples pleasures; but that on the contrary Commission and warrant was sent downe for him to see the same leuied by distress, or otherwise: the desperate multitude, falsely supposing that the Earle was the occasion of such an answer, did suddenly set vpon him at the incitement of one John a Chamber, and furiously murdered him, with certaine of his seruants in a place called *Cocklegge by Thrusk*, eightene miles from *Torke*. They to carry their wicked attempt through, make head vnder Sir John Egremond, a discontented Knight of those parts, openly declaring where they came, that their meaning was to fight with the King in defence of their liberties, as if the causeless killing of a most noble Lord had bene one of them. Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey sent from Court with some forces to repress their increase, skirmished with a route of these Rebels, beats them away, and takes John a Chamber prisoner. The whole swarme flockes to *Torke*, where they roosted about three or foure daies, when hearing of the Kings approach (who was euer one of the first in the necke of such occasions) they scattered themselves, but the ring-leaders were hanged and quartered, and John a Chamber, with some others, were executed at *Torke* after an extraordinary manner. Sir John Egremond elcaped, fled to the common Center of all King Henries dangers and enemies, Margaret Duchesse of Burgundy, to that though the colour of rising was about money, yet Egremond at least had reference, it seemed, to the general perturbation of the Kingdom, vpon the old ground of quarrell (hatred of the Lancasterian Familie) and this to bee but a sparke or flash of that great and troublesome fire, which afterward brake forth and blased so prodigiously. The Earle of Surrey is left by the King (hauing * severely punished the mutherers) Lieutenant of the North, and Sir Robert Tunsall Knight, as chiefe Commissioner for leuying the tax or subsidie.

(27) The unworthy death of the Earle of Northumberland was followed by a more unworthy of James the third King of Scotland, so as King Henry lost at home a most honorable Ray of his Northern affaires, and a sure Ally abroad. This unfortunate Prince, hauing * by some irregularity of life, and partialities, and errors of government (amplified perhaps by the constructions and reports of his malignant Subiects) incurred extreme hatred with many of the Nobility and people, laboured with * King Henry, as also with the Pope, and King of France, to make an accord betweene him and his Mutinados, for that they had compelled Prince James, his sonne, to be the titular and vnnatural Head of those armes, which traitorously (as pretending to haue a right on behalfe of the Common-weale to depose an euill King) they assumed against him. The Kings accordingly interposed their mediations by earnest Ambassadors, but could obtaine no other then this outrageous answer: That there was no talking of peace vntill he would resigne his Crowne. King Henry and King Charles vehemently protested against these their whole proceedings, declaring by their Ambassador, that they thought the same to be as a common injury done vnto themselves; for the example to be very wicked and pernicious, and not sufferable by Princes; that Subiects should be permitted to put hands vnto their Soueraigne. Hereupon it came to a Battell at *Banockburn* by *Stripelin*, whereat K. James (rashly fighting before his whole numbers were come) was (notwithstanding the contrarie commandement of the Prince his sonne) slaine in the Mill of that Field, whither he fled after the battell ended. By reason of this infortunate precipitation of the Scottish King, Hadrian de Castello an Italian Legate, whom Pope Innocentius the eight had sent to take vp the cruell quarrell, came too late, (for he arrived not in England till the battell at *Banockburn* was passed,) but not too late to receiue honour at the hands of King Henry, who respecting his wilddome and excellent learning, (vpon the special commendations first * of John Morton Archbishop of Canturburie, but afterward vpon his owne experience of the man in sundry employments to the Roman Sea,) bestowed vpon him the Bishopricke of Hereford, and (after renegation thereof) the Bishopricke of Bath and Wells; who was also at the length created Cardinal by Pope Alexander the sixth. * But who is hee among many thousands (saith Polyd.) that wish not to admire these outward honours which may like be given to the unworthy as well as to the well-deserving, and may like be taken away from either? But the praise of this Hadrian is of another farre more noble kinde and eternal: for he was the man who first reuined the glory of the ancient Latine eloquence, and of all other sorts of abuse and exquisite learnings, as in which himselfe excelled. Thus doth Polydore (himselfe an Italian,) celebrate the learning of his Country-man, of whose other qualities, yet others write more harshly; as that out of meere ambition to be Pope (without any other grudge) hee conspired, with *Alphonso Petruccio*, and other sacred Cardinals, to murder Pope Leo the tenth: induced thereto by suggestion of a Witch, who foretold him that one Hadrian, an old man, of meane parentage, of great Learning and wisdom, should succeed in the Papacy. The man thought it must needs be himselfe, as being, though of very base Parentage, yet of some noble qualities: but another * Hadrian, the sonne of a Dutch Brewer, and instructor of Charles the fifth the Emperour, procured to be the man; and this our Hadrian lost by deprivation all his promotions whatsoever, for his nefarious attempt. Into such extreme folly is learning and wisdom metamorphosed; where it is tainted with Ambition, or wants a Religious discretion to manage it aright.

(28) And albeit the King himselfe could verie gladly haue spent his time in the studies of peace, as those

* Left in Jacob 3.

* Polyd. Virg.

King Henry in vaine seeks to reconcile the Scots to thack King.

In. Earl Bath, of Suff.

James the third King of Scotland slaine in battell by his Subiects.

* In. Siew. Annot.

K. Henries bounty to a stranger for Learning cause.

* Polyd. Virg. 26

The first ruler in this age of pure Latine and choise learning.

Godwin Catal of EB. in Bath, &c. pag. 309. Paul. iohannes.

* Hadrian 6.

Warre with
France and the
cause.

The young Dut-
cheffe married
by proxy.

*Stowes Annal.
*Bern. And. MS.

The French car-
ried the practice
of marriage with
the inheritance of
Britaine most ac-
tually.

*Polyd. Verg.

*Tol. Hist. Chron.
*Le. Chron. MS.
*20. derch. MS. Span.

those which were farre more apt for the service of God, and for attaining of knowledge, then in martiall tumults; yet the quality of his supereminent place enuied vnto him that felicitie; for he was necessarily drawne into a warre with France vpon lesse occasions. Anne the young Dutcheffe of Britaine, (by their aduise, who affected to preferre the liberty of that Dukedome, which by vnion with France, would be absorpt & extinguished,) had for farre entangled and engaged her selfe with the Procurators of Maximilian King of Romane, that shee was not only publickly contracted, but contented for vitermost performance of those rites whereof marriage by proxy was honorably capable) to take vpon her the Bride, and being solemnly bedded, to permit Maximilian Deputie, in the presence of sundry Noble witnesses all men as women, to put in his legge, stript naked to the knee, betweene the spousall sheetes, that ceremony seeming to amount to a Consummation. Charles King of France, notwithstanding these solemnities, and his owne particular engagement with the Lady Margaret daughter of Maximilian, (whom for the purpose of marriage he had already entertained into France,) did so ambitiously and vehemently couet to gaine Britaine, that vpon confidence of his force, hee resolved to breake through all respects, and not only to offend all his forreine friends, but to make them his iust enemies, rather then to faile in effectuation. Instruments are therefore very secretly set on worke, and batterie is placed with bags of gold at all the opportunities which might let in his purpose. Ambassadors also (the Lord Frances of Lutzenburg, Charles Marillac, and Robert Gaguine) Generall of the Order of the holy Trinitie, are dispatched to Henrie, praying that with his good will he might dispose of the body of the Lady Anne in marriage according to the right which he had thereunto, as the chiefe Lord of whom shee held the Dukedome. Henrie denied the request, but yielded notwithstanding to send Ambassadors into France there to Capitulate about a peace. The French carried this affairsto notable Art, for to diuert the world for looking into the depth of their drift, King Charles still detained the young Lady Margaret, Maximilians daughter; so as at most it could be but suspected, that Charles meant to match her with some of his blood, and all the entercourse of Orators and Ambassadors vsed in the meane time, tended but to hold the English busied vpon other objects, till they had wrought their feate in the Court of Britaine. For Maximilian, (to let the world see what injuries shall be offered euen to Kings, that are not strong) him they altogether neglected; King Henrie they plaied with, and Ferdinando King of Castile (who was ready to ioin with Maximilian and Henrie against the French) they resolve to appeale, with rendering vp vnto him the Counties of Ruscinoon, and Perpinian; as accordingly they did, without reembursement of one penny of those 300000. Crownes, for which Iohn King of Arragon (father to Ferdinando) had morgaged them. The young Ladies doubts, rising either out of religion, or point of honor, his cunning Agents, and Emisaries wipe away with these solutions. That Maximilians daughter was not of yeeres to consent, and therefore the contract between King Charles and her did not binde either in law, or conscience: That her owne contract with Maximilian was void, for that it was done without the consent of her Soueraigne Lord, King Charles, whose ward or Client shee was. The Lady vanquished in her iudgement with these reasons, attracted with the present greatnes of King Charles, and loath by refusal to make her Countrey the seat of a long and miserable warre, secretly yielded to accept of another husband. Thomas Goldstone Abbot of S. Augustines in Canterbury, and Thomas Earle of Ormond in Ireland, King Henries Ambassadors into France, hauing beene dandled by the French during these illusive practises, returned without other fruite of their labors.

(29) What could now the most patient doe lesse then take sword in hand vpon so palpable and vnworthy illusion? But Maximilians wrongs were too impudent and intollerable; for Charles sent home the Lady Margaret, and married the Inheretrix of Britaine, annexing it to his owne Realme: whereas King Henrie found himselfe rather mockt, then otherwise empaired. James Contibald hereupon comes Ambassador from Maximilian, and obtained his request, which was, that they with might forces should by a certaine day prefixed, invade the French, in full reuenge of their bold provocations; Maximilian for his part, promising to support that warre with at least ten thousand men for two yeeres. King Henrie hauing formerly in abundant manner prouided himselfe of treasure, was ready before the day with a roiall army: but Maximilian (whose will to worke the vitermost mischief to France was not doubted,) being sent vnto by King Henrie, signifying his forwardnes, was found vterly vnfinshed. Causes of Maximilians weakenesse in state, were the rebellions and dislikes of his Flemish Subiects cherished by the French, the ialousie of Princes neighbourhood making them vniufully glad either of others molestations. For subduing whereof though King Henrie had heretofore giuen him good and successfull assistance vnder the conduct of Giles Lord Dawseney Governour of Gallis, the Lord Morley and others, whereby he the rather ouercame, yet was hee the feeble, as then, by reason of so fresh exhausters. King Henrie with good cause was not a little troubled at these newnes, secretly signified by his trustie Almer M^r. Christopher Pyrwick, and Sir Richard Kifley knight, his Ambassadors to Maximilian; For hee was very loath to vndergoe so great an Action vpon his particular strengths, though he doubted not to finde a potent party among the Britaines, (whose affections were as yet but loosely setled toward King Charles,) and yet farre more loath to deuide the expectation of his owne people, who had so largely contributed; Chiefly the City of London, out of which, euen in those daies hee received for his furniture in that voyage almost ten thousand pounds from the Commoners, and (as it seemes by our Author) two hundred pounds besides from euery Alderman, where the same King could not, but with some difficulty, leuie in the third yere of his Reigne a loan of foure thousand pounds, whereof three of the best Companies are noted (as for hauing done and deferred extraordinarily) to haue lent about nine hundred. And verily this wife King (knowing how great a strength that rich City was vnto him) humored that people with all sortes of popularities, for himselfe did not onely come among them, and cause himselfe to be centred a brother, in one of their Companies, but ware the habit of a publicke feast, and fate as Maister, as is verie credibly reported out of the Records of their Hall. His wisdom therefore saw, that in giuing ouer the inuasion of France; he should foolishly abandon a goodly occasion of making himselfe vniuersally acceptable to his people. His resolutions therefore are by him at leastwise pretended to continue, and for that cause he sufficiently encreased his numbers, that he might seeme able to goe through with that enterprize alone; and though the time of yeere were too farre spent (for he landed not at Calais till the sixth day of October) yet marcheth he with his whole forces toward Bologne, being well assured that with this trowell he should at once plaister two wals, that is, humor his English subiects, and for a peace draw to himselfe store of Crownes from the French.

(30) He had with him besides the flower of his Nobility, and Capitaines, answerable numbers of People fit for the seruice. The most named persons were these, Jasper Duke of Bedford Lieutenant General of the Army, Thomas Marquess Dorset, the Earles of Arundell, Oxford, Suffolk, Shrewsbury, Derby, Kent, Denonshire, and Ormond, sundry Barons, as Dawseney

Britaine annexed to France.

Maximilian prouided to ioin with Henrie.

Henrie moving Kings to a side Com.

Henrie moving Kings to a side Com.

*Addition to the laste Com. The Look large com. tions to the

King Henrie pulsatius den. *The Met Taylors.

A.D. 1520. An. reg.

The chief names used in this age.

Henrie, 1520. An. reg.

Henrie, 1520. An. reg.

ney, Abernethy, Delawar, South, Hastings, Cobham, &c. But this is needlesse to weary our felues with long relations of a short voyage; for King Henrie before hee set forth out of England, was secretly dealt with by the Lord Cordes Governour of Henault, according to instructions on the French Kings behalfe, to accept of conditions, which till Bologne was besieged (as now by him it was) was not knowne. The ignorance of this mystery made many forward Gentlemen to mortgage their lands, and runne into much debt for their fuller and brauer furniture, in hope to get great matters in this warre, whereof to their griefe they found themselves deceived. In the mean time the L^d. Cordes hauing met at Calais with Richard Fox Lord Bishoppe of Excester, and *Giles Lord Dawseney, the Kings Commissioners; after iust and long debate, concluded vpon Articles of peace betweene the two Kings.

(31) Bologne was brought to some distresse, when by interuention of this agreement it remained safe and quiet. King Charles was chiefly moued to buy his peace at a deare rate, both for that the state of Britaine was as yet vnsettled, and for that hee meant forthwith to march into Italy for the conquest of the Kingdome of Naples; and K. Henrie on the other side was not vnwilling, because Maximilian had failed, and Britaine seemed clearly past possibility of euiction. To which may be added, a natural, noble, and religious inclination in King Henrie, to liue in amity with his neighbours; the inclining of new dangers, then in brewing against him by the turbulent, and vnappaeable Dutcheffe of Burgundy, and *cherished by King Charles; and lastly, the enrichment of himselfe by reembling the charges both of this, and the Britishe warre out of the French elsewhere, whereby he should farre the better be able to withstand all forraign practises, or meddlesome outrages. As for the preferuing of himselfe, and his honour with his Subiects, hee wanted not both true and honourable glosses: Such as were the care to auoid vnecessary effusion of Christian blood: the vses of his presence at home, besides many other: but his wisdom in the carriage of this right weighty action was chiefly eminent in this, That hee would not enter into Treaty, till hee was in the field; and that with such a puissance, as was likely enough to force his owne conditions; nor suffer the least signe of his secret willingness to peace, or inward doubt of troubles at home, to creepe out at any cranny or chinke of his discourse or carriage, whereby hee as farre outwent the French fairly, as they formerly seemed to haue ouerwrought him fubly. Had they truly bene informed in those points, it is probable they might haue gone a cheaper way to worke: for, besides what other Articles locuer, it was concluded, That Henrie should not quit his claim to France; but that for a Peace, which by the contract was only to continue during the two Kings liues, Charles of France should pay in present to Henrie for his charges in that warre, seven hundred, forty and five thousand *. Duckets, and twenty five thousand Crownes yearly toward the expenses, which hee had heretofore beene at in aiding the Britons. Which (by the English called Tribute) was duly paid during all this Kings raigne, and also to Henrie his son, till the whole debt was run out, thereby to preferue amity with England. There were moreover (by Henries consent, who was thus content to gratifie his Peeres at anothers cost) not onely present rewards, but also certaine annuall pensions allotted to the chiefe Lords of his priuie Councell. A course of bounty which might otherwise haue proued prejudiciall to the seruice of the King of England, by engaging his Counsellors affections to the French: The siege of Boleine lasted till the eighth day of November, & Henrie (whom his Queens most tender, frequent and louing liues, did the rather inuite to speediest returne,) hauing setled all his transmarine affaires, *arrived at Douer, from whence hee iour-

nied to Westminster, there to celebrate the Feast of Christmas. This voyage into France, affording no greater exploits then wee haue heard, was celebrated by blind *Bernard with hyperbolicall and well-borne verses not ordinary, in which directing his speech in honour of Henrie, to the Henries he concludes.

*Effugite igniuomros coleres coniungere Solis,
Quadrupedes: Hore proximus ecce parans;
Non opus est vobis ignia, si priuatus Apollo,
Pauerit Admeti rursus, & ipse boues,
Principis hic nostri vultus Ionialis abunde
Lumina, crede mihi, Phoebe recede, dabit.*

(32) The famous counterfeiance of Perkin Warbeck, with which the braine of the Lady Margaret Dutcheffe Dowager of Burgundie had long travelled, doth now beginne to disclose it selfe, and make new businesse for King Henrie. The inglorious glorie of the first inuention in his raigne of this kind of vexation, Lambert Simmels perion had giuen to his Master the wily Simon, so that our Dutcheffe was but an imitatrix, and yet perhaps shee gaue not place in any point to the first example, or Archetype, neuertheless the fortune of the first deuise, being no more successfull then it was, might reasonably haue deterred her from the edition of a second: but whether it were an immortal enuie toward the Lancastrian race, or a burning zeale of aduancing one that might at leastwise beare the name of a Plantagenet, though by any finisier practises, as if it had bene lawfull to attaine her ends (admit them iust) by any iniurious courtes, shee resolves to erect another Idoll, as perceiving by the first, how notable an engine impolture was, to trouble Henrie; being well assured, that England was full of corrupt humors, and ill-affections to worke vpon, not so much through the desert of her present King, as for that the dregges which naturally reside in the bottom of mens hearts, where most bloody and barbarous factions haue for a long time weltered, and worried one the other with various euent, were not cleansed and auoided. The Diuell therefore ready to furnish all attempts which may raise trouble, and mischief, easily fitted her. There was come therefore to her hands a youth adorned with such a shape, as might easily perswade the beholders was worthy of a noble fortune; he had thereunto a natural fine wit, and (by reason of his abode in England in K. Edwards dayes) could speake our language, as also some other, which hee had by a kind of wandring trauell obtained. This youth was borne (they say) in the City of Torney, and called *Peter Warbecke, the son of a conuerted Iew, whose Godfather at Baptisme King Edward himselfe was. The English in *contempt (and for a note perhaps of his forraigne birth) did afterward call him by a diminutive of his name, Peterkin or Perkin. Him the Dutcheffe (as a fine peece of timber, out of which to carue a new Idoll) moulds by degrees, & makes him take shape according to that Idoll, which shee had prefigured in her working imagination; before the which the late honours of her house conspicuous in three Princes (which altogether made not twenty and five yeeres of raigne) did so perpetually houer, as her soule could neuer take contentment, but in the hope that the house of Torke should againe be the dwelling place of Mainely.

(33) Her offence against Henrie wanted not many seeming reasons, but none so great, as that hee had slaine her own brother King Richard, who albeit he was there reputed murderer of her Nephewes, yet were they a degree more removed from her, and so lesse deere in likelihood to a brother; and howsoever shee might secretly detest, or belieue the commitment of that parricide, yet could she neuer brooke (seeing they were gone) that the reward of her brothers death, and that euen to him who slew him, should bee the Crowne of England, whereby not onely

R. Henrie returned.
*And. Theol. MS.

The Dutcheffe of Burgundy addressed a letter to Richard against Henrie.

*Polyd. Verg.
*Bern. And. MS.
*Polyd. Verg.

Causes moving the Dutcheffe to beare K. Henrie so mortal hatred.

only her brother, but the whole male-line of her family was for euer to bee excluded; much lesse could shee (a Plantagenet) abide that *Henry*, who brought to the Crowne the surname of a newly raised Familie. These and other considerations in the breast of a Lady, bred vp in a dominating Familie, her selfe a Dowager, in such a fortune, as in which shee was Paramount for the time, and absolute without controule, being carelesse withall of fauing for posterity, because shee was without a child, and in that regard the more abundantly stored with treasure; all which made her spirits ouer-boile with impatience and verulency; so farre forth, that hauing infused al her principles into *Peter* her creature vnder the Title of *Richard Plantagenet*, second son of King *Edward* the fourth; the most couerly sends him into *Portugall*, from thence to take his *leucon flight*, as * elsewhere is related. Neuertheless, there will not (perhaps) want some, who in defence of the Dutcheffe, had rather referre it to *Magnanimity*, and *Noblenesse of Spirit*, in seeking the honour of her house; which, if it might passe for such among the heathen, yet can it not among Christians; much the lesse, for that her duty to *England*, & the royall flourishing estate of her own *Necce*, the right heire, exacted at her hands a greater tendernes.

* Infra § prox. & sequenti

Perkin Warbecke first the Dutcheffe's tunc, by exact representation of a *Richard Plantagenet* * Videtur § prox. * Panzerollus.

(34) That *Peter Warbecke* should bee inflamed by her fauours, and encouragements, to dare in earnest the personation of a Kings sonne, seemes not a thing to be admired; for there is in humane nature (which ties not her self to Pedigrees, nor Parentages) a kind of light matter, which will easily kinde, being toucht with the blazing hopes of ambitious propositions. He therefore vpon the first disclosure of * himselfe, did put on so excellent a seeming as might iustly moue *King Henry* to bee ieaalous, whereunto the pernicious practise might come at last; for there wanted nothing in the whole forme of the young vpsart, but only the confidence of a truth, and truth it selfe: which makes me call to mind * what one hath written of a goodly white Saphyr in *Venice*, made by art so neerely to resemble a true Diamond, that with much difficulty, and but by one onely lapidary, it was discovered; which if it had beene graced with some great Princes, wearing, what would want to haue made it passable for a very Diamond of great esteeme? *Perkin* came such from out of the Burgundian forge; and (if his parentage bee respected) assumed the image and resemblance of a king, being otherwise not so much as a meane Gentleman. Neither can it be maruelled at, if such a Phantasmie as this, did abuse, and trouble the common people of that time; for euen to such as do write thereof, it begets a kind of doubt (which without some little collection of their spirits doth not easily vanish,) it seeming almost incredible, that such a bloody play should meere be disguised and fained; the discouery therefore was worthy such a wit as *King Henries*, and the pulch it gaue to his foueraignty did throughly try his sitting, being of force enough to haue cast an ordinarie rider out of saddle.

* Holinsh. Id. d. a. M. S.

(35) Therefore, it was the Dutcheffes misfortune, that her intentions (if they were hers) had to encounter to politicke and constant man as *King Henry*; whose prudence searcht into the abstrusest secrets, and whose diligence ouercame all difficulties. Yet the Lady *Margarets* course to vent her Creature at the first was exquisite, for she (as in a Magicke practise) hauing kept him secret till shee saw her time, caught him to bee closely conuayed into * *Portugall*; from whence (attended with fitt associates and Priuadoes) hee sailed into *Ireland* (the Foster-place and nursery of immortal good will to the house of *Torke*) where (notwithstanding their late calamities,) he so strongly enchanted that rude people with the charmes of false hopes, and mists of seemings, as he was sure of partakers in great plenty. *Charles* the eight, King of *France*, hearing (and

perhaps beleeuing) that the Duke of *Torke* was alive, and glad to haue so probable an occasion of doing mischief to *Henry of England*, in regard of these flagrant enmities which as then remained vnquenched betweene them, inuited Duke *Richard* most officiously to *Paris*, and besides all other honours, assigned him (at his coming) a guard for his person, whereof the Lord *Congreshall* was Capitaine. Afterward there repaired to this new Duke, Sir *George Nevill* Knight, (* a bastard of the noble house of the *Nevills*;) Sir *Iohn Taylor*, *Rowland Robinson*, and about an hundred English, to whom (as a principal) wee may adde * *Stephen Frien*, French Secretary to *King Henry* himselfe; all which, together with the whole Stratagem, was smooke out of *France* with the first graine of incense sacrificed vpon the Altars of *Peace* at *Bologna*, after the same was once made and ratified (as you haue heard) between the French and vs. The Dutcheffe then seeing her artificiall creature thus turned againe vpon her hands, pretends an extreme ignorance that euer shee had seene him before that present, and an excuse for his miraculous escape, and preservation, which seemed such to her (as shee pretended) as if hee had beene reuiued from death to life, and that the fable might want no quickning, which her personal countenance, or her Court could afford, shee openly salutes him by the delicate Title of the * *White Rose of England*, and questions him of the manner of his escape, with such like, to beget a firme beliefe in the hearers, that the neuer had seene him before that time, and that he was indeed her Nephew *Richard Duke of Yorke*. The Nobility of *Flanders* accordingly, doe vnto him all honour, and three enuiours his person with a guard of thirty men in murrey and blew. Neither was hee in any point wanting to his part; but fitted such likely answers to all questions, and such princely behaviours to all occasions, as made fame bold to publish him with the fullest blast of her Trumpet, for no other then a true *Richard Plantagenet*; and as it is so obserued of some, that by long vsing to report an vntruth, at last forgetting themselves to bee the Authors thereof, beleue in earnest; so these honors making our *Peter* to bury in viter obliuion his birthes obscurity, he seemed to bee perswaded; that hee was indeed the selfe partie, whom hee did so exactly personate. Nought, and impudency were scarce euer knowne to haue found more applause, or beliefe, euen among many verie wise, and (otherwise) worthy men; who moued in confidence, and not onely vpon discontent, inclined to partake with this new *Plantagenet*, as the onely right heire of the English Diadem, as if, whether he had beene the true one, it was past dispute. This intoxication, & abuse of the world, was wonderfully encreased by the secret reuolt of Sir *Robert Clifford* Knight, whom (as one that had seene, and knowne the true *Richard*) the cunning conspirators in *England* had sent ouer, to informe himselfe, and them, whether hee was indeed as hee seemed. Sir *Robert* (whose presence and errand were to the Dutcheffe most welcome,) being brought to his sight, did forthwith giue credite, and constantly signifie, that this was indeed *Richard Plantagenet*, the true Duke of *Torke*, and that hee well knew him for such. Money and encouragements, were hereupon sent out of *England*, from such as fauoured him; among whom was * Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlain to *King Henry* (by whose punctual reuolt from *K. Richard* he had principally atchieued the Crowne of *England*;) * *Iohn Ratcliffe*, * *L. Fitzwalter*, * *Sir Simon Montfort*, * *Sir Thomas Thwaites* Knights, and others; but the maine countenance of the cause in forraigne parts was Sir *Robert Clifford* (a knight of an honourable fame and family) which moued the secret friends of the new Duke to set the rumor so cunningly on foot among the English, that * sooner might a cloud, which causeth thunder, be caught or knowne, then the Author thereof; and multitudes being weakened therewith, store of

A summe of a lation of the first fortune of the Duke of Torke was published.

* Stow Ann.

* Bern. And. M.

Perkin in France with the Dutcheffe. * Stow Ann.

Remaine are- mouing King Ed- ward's sons were of them desired.

St. More.

Sir Rob. Cliff. signifies with friends in England shared was the true Duke.

* Bern. And.

* Stow Ann. * Polid. Vag.

St. More.

* John Dail. M. S.

humor, dangerously prepared to mutation, did euer where discouer it selfe. (16) For prevention therefore of all those effects, which might issue out of these causes, (being in their proper nature most generative of sedition, and of all sorts of ciuill furies) King *Henrie* diligently caught the coasts of *England* to be well and strongly watcht, as well to empeach the landing of enemies, as the escape of fugitives: but about all, he writes letters to his best friends in forraigne parts, & also employs nimble wits with feuerall instructions, (some to assaile the constancy of Sir *Robert Clifford*, (the maine stay and credite of *Perkins* cause) with promise of immunitie and fauour if hee would returne into *England* in quiet; others, to find out the truth of *Perkins* quality, being furnished with treasure to draw and require intelligences; and all of them (as occasion should serue) to pretend themselves vehement fauourers of the new Duke. These necessary hypocrites and double faced Ambidexters, called *Spies*, (whose seruices, howsoeuer conduciue to such as lesse then on worke, yet their perfidious quality commonly partakes with that of *Indus*;) doe pierce their charge so roundly that * Sir *Robert Clifford* is secretly drawne off, the new Duke is discouered aswell by them, as by * sundry letters from friends abroad, to bee but *Perkin Warbecke*, and many other mysteries are reuealed. This gaue to the wise King great satisfaction, who to weaken the enemies practise the more, not onely diuulgeth the fraud, but sends ouer sea, Sir *William Poinings* Knight, and Sir *William Warham* his Ambassadors to the Arch-Duke *Philip*, Duke of *Burgundy* (then gouerned by others by reason of his tender age) who promised not to assist the said *Perkin*, but if the Dutcheffe Dowager would doe any such thing to the prejudice of King *Henry*, it was not in him to hinder her; for that the might dispose of her owne. A maine argument vsed by these Ambassadors before the Archdukes Council to conuince, that *Richard* the very Duke of *Torke* was murdered as well as *King Edward* his brother German, as *Polydor* (who seemed to haue had good means to vnderstand these things) rehearseth it, was, That their uncle *Richard* should in vaine haue made away the elder brother, if the younger had bene suffered to suruiue, for that the right of the elder, was immediately upon his death in the younger, and that consequently during his life, King *Richard* could haue no more assurance, then if the elder were still alive: which Argument notwithstanding doth at most prove nothing but this: That their uncle the *Yurper* might intend, that both his Nephewes should be murdered, and that hee knew nothing perhaps to the contrary. Whereas facts are to bee proved by confessions of parties, by witnesses, or vehement presumptions, (though vehement presumptions are said to constitute but an half proof) all which are * otherwhere so supplied, as leaues final cause to doubt of both their deaths. But *Warham* (a learned Priest and Doctor in the lawes) the mouth of that Ambassage sent to the Arch-Duke, in the end of his oration vsed this bitter scoffe, and Sarcasme against the Lady *Margaret*: That shee in her old age brought forth two Monsters within the space of a few yeeres, and both of them not in the eight, or ninth month after their conception, as naturall mothers, but in the one * hundred and eightieth month; and whereas other women brought forth infants utterly unable to helpe themselves, these birthes of hers were tall striplings, and as soone as they were borne, offered battell vnto mighty Kings. And albeit the Arch-Dukes answer seemed reasonable, yet was not King *Henry* so satisfied, but that within a while after, for * that the Arch-Duke had secretly furnished *Perkin* with leaders, hee tooke occasion to banish all Flemings, and Flemish wares out of his Dominions, and inhibited his Subjects to trade in any Countries within the obedience of *Maximilian* King of *Romans*, or of the Archduke *Philip* his sonne, who by way of talio and requital did the

like against the English. (17) Let vs come now from the addressees of things, to their doing. The high prudence and industry of *Henry* hauing thus discovered the foundations of *Perkins* hopes in *England*, and the humors which were most vnsoend, made it his first worke to raze those groundworks, and purge the veins of his Realme from that corruption by needfull Phlebotomie. The * Lord *Fitzwalter*, a principall conspirator, being condemned, and sent to *Calis*, liued there in hope of pardon; but for practising with his Keepers to escape, hee finally payed his head for satisfaction. Sir *Simon Montfort*, *Robert Ratcliffe*, and *William Dawbeney* (Gentlemen of noble houses) as Captaines and Authors of the conspiracy were beheaded, but all the reit awei Clerkes as Lay-men had their pardons. Not long after these executions and pardons, the King vpon sure intelligence, that Sir *Robert Clifford* (in whose bosome the secret of all *Perkins* plot lay) was arriued, entered the Tower of *London*, and there continued; that so, if *Clifford* should accuse any of the great, (and whom hee then would accuse, it is probable King *Henry* knew) they might without suspition, or tumult bee attached; the Court, and publicke prison for crimes of highest nature, being then within the cincture of one, and the same wall. Sir *Robert Clifford* at his coming into the Kings presence, (though hee was secretly before assured of his life) most humbly praying and obtaining pardon, approached (among many others) Sir *William Stanley* Lord Chamberlaine. The King would not at first giue credite (or at leastwise pretended, not to giue credite) to the accusation of a Peere so great, and so neere vnto him: but vpon farther search, finding the same confirmed with circumstances, and particularly, for that he said to *Clifford*, * Hee would neuer beare Armes against the young man, if he knew him for certaine to be the sonne of King *Edward*, hee resolued to vie severity against the delinquent. (18) But *Bernard Andreas* directly faith, That (besides bare words and purposes) Sir *William* had supported *Perkins* cause with treasure, wherein hee is recorded so to haue abounded, as that in his Castle of * *Holt* he had in coine and plate to the value of forty thousand Markes, besides lands of inheritance in sundry places about, to the yeerely value of three thousand pounds (a pretty stocke in treasure at those times, to vphold the first brunt of a warre, and a large extent of land to furnish the wing of a powerfull battell with able souldiers out of *Tenancies*) with all which the same Author in plaine wordes saith, That hee promised to defend the said Pretender, and bring him into the Kingdome. And if we haue any insight into King *Henries* disposition, it seems to vs, that before hee entered into the Tower, hee not onely knew the Lord Chamberlaine vnsoend, but also that for his quiet apprehension hee chiefly repaired thither. *Stanley* being hereupon attached and referred to farther examination, is said * To haue denied nothing of all that whereupon hee was charged, which hee perhaps the more confidently did, in hope that King *Henry* would pardon him in respect of passed seruices, they (in their effects considered) being the greatest whereof mortality is capable, preservation of life, and gaining of a Kingdome. But the poore gentleman found himselfe farre deceiued in his politicke Lord and Master, who (to teach mankind thereby, how dangerous it is to make a King) was not vnwilling to cut him off, as perswading himselfe, that those seruices proceeded of ambition, not of affection, or if of affection, the cause now ceasing, the contrary effects might proue as pernicious, as the other had beene aduantageous and auailable. The King was vnwilling to displease his Father in Law, *Thomas Earle of Derby* (brother german to Sir *William Stanley*) and did therefore for a while suspend his judgement; but rigour finally preuailed, and hee was at *Westminster* openly arraigned, conuicted, and after

* Stow Ann. Polid. calls him but a knight.

K. Henry expects Sir Rob. Clifford in the Tower of London.

Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlaine accused.

* Polid. Vag.

* John Stow Ann.

* Illum. tutat. & in regnum adducere psumit.

* Polid. Vag.

Stanley Lord Chamberline beheaded.

ward at the block on Tower-hill beheaded. In whose office Giles Lord Dapweney a most faithfull and moderate man succeeded. This sharpe iustice exercised vpon so eminent a person, was of great vse in the stay of peoples minds through the Realme of England. But in Ireland they were not so letted, or reduced, but that for the better and fuller purging thereof, Henry Deny (a Monke of Langton Abbey) was sent Lord Chancellour thither, with orders and directions, and Sir Edward Poinings Knight, with souldiers; whose greatest diligence and cares were not wanting, to punish such as heretofore had aided Perkin, or might hereafter. The Earle of Kildare Lord Deputy, falling into suspicion with Poinings, was by him apprehended, and sent prisoner into England; where the King did not onely graciously heare and admit his defences, but also returned him with honour, and continuation of authority. In the meane time (the error, or weaknesse of the Burgundian Dutchesse and her Perkin, suffering their enemy in this sort, to puruey for his own security, and their depulsion) he yet for farther assurance of himselfe makes a progresse into Lancashire, there to recreate with his Father in law the Earle, and the Countesse his mother, where among all other his secret purposes, he thoroughly satisfied the Earle, both for the iustice and necessity of Sir William Stanleyes death.

* Sir Tho. More in Rich. 3.

Perkin vpon the Kenilsh Seas.

Polyd. Verg. Stowes Annals.

* Bernard. Andr. faith about 400.

* Bern. Andr. MS.

The Kings praier and speech to God.

(39) These certainly, were perillous times to live in, and vndoubtedly full of infinite ialousies, and hypocrisies, nor vnlike to those lately passed, wherein there was nothing so plaine, and openly proud, but that yet for the common custome of close and covert dealing, men had it euer inwardly suspect, as many well-counterfeited iewels make the true suspected: these generall distrusts being among the strange gradations, by which the incomprehensible providence doth vse to chastise insolent Nations and to make regular Princes, meere and absolute. But the Dutchesse and her Perkin knowing all things as they passed in England, reloued notwithstanding to proceede; and therefore taking advantage of the Kings absence in the North, he with a force of broken and discontented persons, sets saile for England, and approcheth the coasts of Kent about Sandwich and Deale, there to beginne his enterprize for obtaining the Crowne of England, vnder the borrowed name and title of Richard Duke of Yorke, if he found the Commons forward. But they, though doubtfull at first what to doe, yet at the last considering that his Souldiers were for the most part of desperate fortunes, and felonious qualitie, (though hardy otherwise, and approoued men of warre,) remembering withall the mischiefes of part-takings, would not adhere, but training them within danger vpon promise of succour, assaile, and drue them to their shippes, take five of the Captaines, Mountford, Corbet, Whitebolt, Quintin, and Genin, and * one hundred, sixty and four others, which were all of them afterward executed. Perkin himselfe who would not trust his person on shore, being worthily troubled at the inauspicious fortune of his followers, presently hoied sailes, and returned to his Lady Patroneffe and Creatrix, into Flanders.

(40) These newes being brought to the King, where he was then in the North, he is * said to haue giuen God thanks, and declared his ioy in these words. I am not ignorant (most mercifull Iesu) how great victoriesthou hast giuen mee, vpon the Saturday at the praiers of thy most gracious Mother, all which I ascribe not to my deserts, but to the bounty of thy celestiaall grace. Thou seest, O most benigne Iesu, how many snares, how many deccits, how many weapons, that terrible Iuno hath prepared, notwithstanding that after my marriage (see saining herselfe ioyfull, hath faithfully promised to beare toward us all fauour and good will, but see, more changeable then the winde peruerting all things awell diuine as humane, feares not God, but in her fury seekes the vster ruine of her owne blood. Thou, O God, who

knowest all, deliver us also (if we seeme worthy) from these evils, but if our times haue deserved to suffer, doe thou, O Lord, thy good pleasure. Neuertheless we owe to thy Grace immortal thanks, which though with our tongue we cannot utter worthily enough, yet must they be rendered. We are abates of good courage, and O minded for certain, that no prosperity, no aduersity, no chance, no distance of places, or times, shall once make vs of thee vnmindfull. The most modest King hauing ended his speech, doth forthwith (faith our Author) seriously deliberate with his Councell what was to be done hereafter. It may probably seeme, that he had with-drawne into the North, to inuite Perkin (by occasion of his absence) the rather to take Land, that so hee might draw all his dangers into one place, and decide them in a Battell, if his Subiects should reuolt to Perkin in any numbers, or if they did not, then might he fall into his hands, by landing vnwarily vpon trust of the peoples fauour, and so by a more compendious, and easie way settle his Estate; of which heailed but little, by the faid counterpolicy of the Kentishmen. In regard whereof, in the first Act of Councell, praife and thanks were decreed to them, with which Sir Richard Gylford Knight was presently sent away, and order taken for the erection and watching of Beacons vpon the Coasts.

(14) The Dutchesse on the other side, seeing the South of England proue so drie, and barren to her driftes, conueighes againe her Idoll into Ireland, where she well knew there could not want partakers, and Perkin himselfe daring to entertaine the hope of a Crowne, (for by so long peroration of a Kings sonne, and heire, ambition had throughlie kindled his youthfull blood) was now no little cause of bringing things to an issue by his owne forwardnesse. * Maximilian King of Romans, whither as one willing to keepe the English buified (* Henry hauing forbidden his Subiects all traffike with the Flemmings, and all other of his sonne the Archdukes Subiects,) or as crediting the fiction, and therefore led thereunto in honour and conscience; * Charles also King of France, but specially the Dutchesse of Burgundy, (by whom this bubble was first blowne vp, and put abroad) did concur to the molestation of King Henry; Maximilian, and the French King, more secretly, but the Dutchesse with all her Oares and Sailes plied it in open view. Borne vp by these supporters he the rather easily drew the Irish to assent to his pretext; but his counsell weighing with themselves that the Irish mens friendship, how firme so euer, was insufficient in respect of their nakednesse and poeerty to worke their wishes, hee according to such aduises as were taken before his departure from his Creatrix, coasteth into Scotland, for feare of punishment, faith * Andreas; if perhaps by the Kings true Subiects within Ireland hee should chance to be apprehended; but the euent shewes, that it was not onely for his more security, but principally to strengthen his enterprize with the Scottish aide, whereof in those daies hee had small reason to bee doubtfull; and his case was such, that no third course was left vnto him, but either to fight and conquer, or liue branded with immortal infamy both of Cowardize and impotence. Henry hearing these things were not slacke to prouide for his iust defence, greatly careful vpon what coast this wandring cloud would at length dissolue it selfe, in what effects sooner; and therefore obserued all his waies with as much curiosity as was possible.

(42) James the fourth, a young Prince of great hope was at that time King of Scots, to whom this bold counterfeite (being specially recommended, for the true Richard Duke of Yorke, by the * King of France, and vndoubtedly much more by the Dutchesse of Burgundy,) repaires; and had most courteous entertainment, and audience, the effect whereof Andreas thus coucheth: That the King was finally deccied by errors, as most of other, though most prudent Princes, had become before. But the rare impudency of the

Perkin's praier to R.C. Co. vii. Polyd. Verg. l. 26.

Perkin's letter to Ireland.

* Bern. Andr. * Stowes Ann. His great feare of reaigning.

* Polyd. Verg. l. 26.

Perkin's letter to Scotland. * Bern. Andr.

* Bern. Andr.

Perkin's speech in Scotland.

the effect of the speech of the King of Ireland.

Perkin's praier to R.C. Co. vii. Polyd. Verg. l. 26.

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Perkin's letter to Scotland.

Perkin's letter to Scotland. * Bern. Andr.

* Bern. Andr.

Perkin's speech in Scotland.

the Lad, & that connexion which his darings had with so many great Princes, deferue not to be so slenderly ouerpassed. Hee therefore being in honourable manner accompanied, and brought to the presence of King James, had words to this effect. That Edward the fourth late King of England, leaving two sons Edward and Richard Duke of Yorke, both very young, Edward the eldest succeeded their Father in the Crowne by the name of King Edward the fifth: that their uncle Richard Duke of Gloucester to obtaine the Kingdome, purposed to murder both, but the instrument employed by him to execute the execrable Tragedy, hauing cruelly slaine King Edward the eldest of the two, was mooued to saue Richard his brother, whom neuertheless the world supposed to haue bene alike barbarously made away; though falsely (supposed); for that himselfe there present, was that very Richard Duke of Yorke, brother of that unfortunate Prince, King Edward the fifth, now the most rightfull, and lineall inheritor heire Male to that victorious and most noble Edward of that name the fourth, late King of England. * That hee in his tender age thus escaping by Gods mercy out of the County of London, was secretly conuied ouer the Sea, * whither when hee was brought, the party who had the conuiance of him in charge, suddenly forsooke him, and thereby forced him to wander into diuerse Countries, where he remained certain yeeres as vnknew, * till at length he came to the true vnderstanding of himselfe. * In which season it hapned one Henry, son to Edmund Tydder Earle of Richmond, to come from France, and enter into the Realme, and by subtil and fowle means, to obtaine the Crowne of the same, which to him the said Richard rightfullie apperained. That Henry as his extreame and mortal enemy, so soone as he had knowledge of his being alieue, imagined, and wrought all the subtilties waies, and meanes he could, to deuide his final destruction. That the said mortal enemy hath not only falsly furnished him to be a fained person, giuing him nicknames, so abusing the world, but that also, to deferre, and put him from entrie into England, hee hath offered large summes of money to corrupt the Princes, with whom he had bene retained, and made importune labour to certain seruants about his (the said Richards) person, to murder or poison him, and others, to forsake and leaue his righteous quarrell, and to depart from his seruice, as Sir Robert Clifford, and others. That euerly man of reason may well vnderstand, that the said Henry needed not to haue moued the foresaid Cofts, and importune labour, if he had bene such a fained person. That the truth of his cause so manifest * moued the most Christian King Charles, and the Ladie, Dutchesse Dowager of Burgundie, his most deare Aunt not onely to acknowledge the said truth, but lovingly also to assist him. That now because the Kings of Scotland (Predecessors of the said King James) had oftentimes supported them, who were rest and spoiled of the said Kingdome of England, (as in freest memory King Henrie the sixth,) and for that he (the said King James) had giuen cleare signes, that he was in no noble quality, vnlike to his royall Ancestors, he so distrest a Prince was therefore moued to come, and put himselfe into his hands, desiring his assistance to recover the Realme of England, promising faithfully, to beare himselfe towardes the said Scottish King, no otherwise then as if he had bene his owne naturall brother, and would (vpon recovery of his inheritance) gratefully doe to him all the pleasure which lay in his utmost power.

(43) Perkins speech ended, and his amiable person being fitted with so many countenancing circumstances of state, and seemings, (by the recommendations of great Princes, aide from the Irish, assured hope of aide in England, and his owne well-appointed company,) made so strong an impression in the young Kings conceit, that, albeit there wanted notice, who with many arguments aduised the King to repute all but for a meere dreame and illusion, his person was honorably receiued, as it became the person of Richard Duke of Yorke, and his quarrell entertained, which the more to grace in the Wordles eye, he gaue his consent, that the said Duke of Yorke should take to wife the Lady Katherine Gordon,

daughter to the Earle of Huntley, being neere cosen to the King himselfe, a young maide of excellent beaurtie and vertue. By which marriage, as the gentle King abundantly declared that he took him for the very Duke of Yorke, so Perkin, * (disstrustfull of the Scots, * and desirous to gaine the lone and fauour of the Nobles of the Realme) cunningly serued his owne ends for the present, passing current for a Prince of high blood, and roiall hope. Vpon this ground a warre was presently vnderaken against Henrie, and entered into; the King of Scots in person, and Perkin, followed with great numbers, specially of Borderers, fell vpon sundry parts of Northumberland, which they most grieuously afflicted, burnt and spoiled, publishing neuertheless by Proclamation made in the name of Richard Duke of Yorke much fauour and immunitie to all such as would adhere to his iust quarrell, and a thousand poundes in money, and one hundred markes by yeere, of land of inheritance to the meaneest person, that could either take or distresse his great enemy, who (he said) was flying the land. But King Henry by his diligence, and wildome had so settled the mindes of his people in those parts, that there is no mention made of any one person which offered his seruice. This vnexpected auersion so blank and damp the Scottish enterprize on Perkins behalfe, that the King offended therewith, retired with his armie (laden with booty) into his Realme, and from thenceforth esteemed of his new Cosen the lesse. But King Henry not minding to forgoe so vniust and causelesse outrages, calls a Parliament, opens his griefes, and praies aide for an inuasive warre against Scotland, which was generally assented vnto, there being scarce anie more gratefull propolitions to the English in those swording times, than warre with French or Scots: an humour, vpon which this King did practise to enrich himselfe. For the public monies by these occasions came into his Exchequer, with a final part whereof he flourished out a show of hostile prouisions, and the Remainder thereupon (if peace ensued, which he alwaies knew how to bring about with honour) was cleerly his owne without account. The summe allotted to be gathered was * sixscore thousand poundes, and for collection thereof were granted two dismes, and an halfe, and two fiftenees. But the leuie of this money lo granted in this Parliament, kindled a dangerous blaze in England; in so much, that the Lord Dapweney being lent General of the Forces against the Scots, and vpon his way thither, was recalled by occasion of intestine troubles.

(44) Which troubles had their Original from the leuie of such payments among the Cornish, as were assented for the Scottish warres. When therefore the Collectors came among them, the People (being a stout, bigge, and hardy race of men,) tumultuously assembled a whom one Thomas * Flammarck a lawyer, and Michael Ioseph, a blacke-smith or horsefarrier of Bodmin, like firebrands of rebellion inflamed, and were followed as Captaines, not without secret and silent relation (as it may be suspected) to Perkins pretences, and that hope of redrefe (if he were King,) which, by his Proclamations he had colourably giuen to the people, at the time of the Scottish Inuasion; where, among manie other things, (tending to humour such as were malecontent, by making the person and gouernment of King Henrie odious,) this we find.

(45) Our great enemy (saith the Proclamation) to fortifie his false quarrell, hath caused diuers Nobles of this our Realme, whom he held suspect, and stood in dread of, to be cruelly murdered: as our cosen Sir William Stanley Lord Chamberlaine, Sir Simond Montford, Sir Robert Ratliffe, William Dapweney, Humfrey Stafford, and many other, besides such as haue detested bought their liues, some of which Nobles are now in the Sanctuary. Also he hath long kept, and yet keepeth in prison our right intirely wel-beloued Cosen, Edward, sonne and heire to our Vncle Duke of Clarence, and other, withholding

* Bern. Andr. * Polyd. Verg.

The Scots invade Northumberland in Perkins quarrell and returne.

* Proct. P. 11. 285

King Henry prepares for reuenge.

* Add. to Fab.

The Cornish rebellion.

* Polyd. Verg. In Stowes Annals, Holinshed.

Perkins Proclamation.

The Earle of Warwick emprisoned and committed to the Tower.

holding frō them their rightfull inheritance, to the intent they should neuer be of might & power, to aid and assist us at our need, after the dutie of their leageances. He hath also married by compulsion certaine of our Sisters, and also the Sister of our forefaid Cousen the Earle of Warwicke, and diuers other Ladies of the blood royall, vnto certaine his kinsmen and friends of simple and low degree, and putting apart all well-disposed Nobles, he hath none in fauour, and trust about his person, but Bishop Fox, Smith, Bray, Louel, Oliuer King, Sir Charles Sommerst, Dauid Owen, Ryssel, Sir Iohn Trobante, Tyler, Chamley, James Hobert, Iohn Cut, Garth, Henry Wyot, and such other Caitiues, and willaines of birth: which by subtil inuentions, and pilling of the people, haue been the principall faders, occasioners, and counsaillers of the misrule, and mischiefe now reigning in England, &c. We remembering these premises, with the great, and execrable offences daily committed and done by our forefaid great enemy, and his Adherents, in breaking the liberties, and franchises of our mother, the holy Church: to the high displeasure of Almighty God: besides the manifold treasons, abominable murders, manslaughter, robberies, extortions, the daily pilling of the people by fines, tasks, tallages, beneuolences, and other "unlawfull impositions, and greuous exactions, with many other hainous effects, to the likely destruction and defolation of the whole Realme, &c. shall by Gods grace, and the helpe, and assistance of the great Lords of our blood, with the Counsell of other fad persons, &c. see that the commodities of our Realme bee employed to the most aduantage of the same, the entreuerse of Merchandize betwixt Realme and Realme, to be ministered and handled, as shall move best to the Common weale, and prosperitie of our subiects: and all such fines, tasks, tallages, beneuolences, unlawfull impositions, and greuous exactions, as are above rehearsed, to be foredone, and laid apart, and neuer from henceforth to be called vpon, but in such causes as our Noble Progenitors, Kings of England haue of old time bene accustomed to haue the aide, succour, and helpe of their subiects, and true liegemen.

(46) The tide of people being thus vp: Flammeock and the blacke Smyth (hauing firme promise of the Lord Audleys personall helpe) lead them forth toward Kent, where they doubted not greatly to encrease their numbers; and had in likelihood so done, but that the singular diligence and wisdom of the King, frustrated their hopes by sundry Princely Arts. Yet they flow on and to shew what they durst doe, they flew in their way at Tansford the Prouost of Perin, one of the Commissioners for the Subsidie; and marching forward without offering other violence, James Thichet Lord Audley ioines himselfe at the City of Wells vnto them, according to secret agreement, and becomes their Generall. From Wells they proceeded to Salisbury, thence to Winchester, and so toward Kent, where the Countrey was letted and prouided. But the King farther doubting that the Scots would take fresh occasion, by these feditious vproares, to invade the borders of his Realme, dispatched Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey (*a Peere of excellent vertue) to defend those parts, with the helpe of the Bishopricke of Durham, and the Marches, till these home-comotions were appeased; that then the Lord Dawbeney might with a iust and full Army prosecute the warre against the Scots. But James their King, perceiving the end of the English intestine warres, would be the beginning of his troubles, thought it best by way of anticipation to weaken his enemy before hand as much as hee could, and thereupon fiercely invaded Northumberland againe, and besieged Norham Castell belonging to Richard Fox, whom the King for his noble seruices and desert, had now advanced from Exeter, and Bath and Wells, vnto the Bishopricke of Durham. But the Scotts King, hopelesse to winne the Castell, though hauing done much hurt both to it and to the countrey, withdrew his people before the Earle of Surrey could approach with his Army, wherein was the Earle of Westmorland, the Lords Dacres, Strange, Neuill, Latimer, Lumley, Scrope, Clifford, Comers,

Darcy, the Baron of Hilton, and many Knights, as Percie, Bulmer, Gastoigne, Penington, Bigot, Bowes, Elarker, Parr, wharton, Strangwith, Constable, Ratcliffe, Sawle, Goner, Masgraue, Mallerie, Leger, Eueringham, Stapleton, Worley, Pickering, Heron, Gray, Ridley, Griffith, Fenwicke, Ward, Strycland, Bellingham, Curwen, Putter, Tempest, Metcalfe, and others: who missing the enemy, marched after into Scotland, and tooke such reuenge as the thortnesse of their fodaine prouisions would enable.

(47) The Rebels on the other side, (whom king Henry thought not good to encounter in their first beates) but suffered them to tire their fury, and subrate themselves with a long march, the countries as they past being forelaide from ioyning with them) coming neere to Kent, found few, or no partakers there; but the Countrey strongly defended against them by the Earle thereof, the Lords Aburgenie and Cobham, with other principall men and their followers; which made diuers of the Rebels secretly shrinke and abandon the enterprise. But the Lord Audley, Flammeocke, Michael Ioseph, and the rest, kept on their way, and encamped vpon Blackheath, between Greenwich and Eltham, from the top whereof they might behold the Citie of London, & the whole brauery of that Horizon. Here they resolved to abide the King, or to assaile London. The King on the other side, by the diligence of the Lord Maior, and other the Magistrats, secured the Citie, which was full of feare and businesse; himselfe enuironed with his Nobles, & the choice of the South, hearing where the Rebells was encamped, resolved by dint of sword to deliuer his people from tiring expectations, and for that purpose marcheth out of London, and encamps in S. Georges field, where he lay that night. The next day when he vnderstood that the Enemy had drawne forth his People, and set them in Battell-ray, he sends out Henry Bourchier Earle of Essex, Edmond de la Pole Earle of Suffolk, Sir Rice ap Thomas, and others, with certaine Cornets of horse, and Companies of Archers, to beset the hill, and the descents thereof, while Giles Lord Dawbeney with the strength of his Armie, chargeth the Enemy in Front, whom with some slaughter they draue from the Bridge at Deepford strand; and then mounting the hill, he and the Earles charge the maine squadrons on all sides, and without much labour breake and defeat them. The number of the Rebels slaine is vncertainly reported, the odds being betwene *two thousand and *three hundred. The Kings armie returned fewer by three hundred. Fifteen hundred rebels were taken Prisoners, & the takers had their Prisoners goods granted them. James Lord Audley, Flammeocke, and the Smith were taken and executed. To all the rest mercy was seasonably extended. The Lord Audley led from Newgate to Towerhill in a coat of his owne Armouries painted on a paper, reuerst and torne, there paid his head, for being a Head to that heady Route: Flammeocke and the Smith were quartered. Memorably strange was the comfort, with which this Blacksmith is said to haue cheered vp himselfe at his being drawne to execution, saying, That yet he hoped thereby, that his name and memorie should bee euerslasting. Who could beleue, that the desire of a long-lasting name howsoever should take the affections of so meane a person? Such therefore was the end of this insurrection; but the times being queasy, the King wisely forbore to take any seuer reuenge vpon more then onely vpon the chiefe Leaders, for he was truly informed that this calamitie had not broken the willes of the Cornishmen, who remained ready for any desperate fuddlesse exaltations, in so much as that the quarters of Flammeocke, and the Smith being once appointed to haue bene set vp in Cornwall for terror, were onely fixed about London, the King thinking good to temper his iustice euen in such a circumstance.

43 His

(48) His next care was so to order the warre against Scotland, that the Peace whose foundations he had laid a far off, might bee made to his more honour: & because the iniuries sustained by the youthful error of King James, were too publike to bee altogether forgotten; hee sent the Earle of Surrey, the Lord Neuill, and others, to invade the Scottish borders with an Army, who pursued the reuenge with great vehemency. Meane while there arrieth in Scotland Peter Hyalus an Ambassador from Ferdinando and Elizabeth, King and Queene of Spaine, as from friends equally well affected to both parties, to mediate a peace between the two Kings of England and Scotland, which perhaps in their owne persons would not easily haue bene brought about, the point of honour might thereunto haue giuen such empeachment. But this was the way to a peace which King Henry forelaw, there being not onely a strict bond of loue between him and Ferdinando, but an ouerture, if not a secret conclusion, to match his eldest sonne Prince Arthur with the young Lady Katherine daughter of Spaine, who for her excellent vertues was well worthy to be the happy wife of any Prince then breathing. Hyalus so handled the point of his employment, that an honourable truce followed. This Ambassador was a practicke man of much experience, and knew the better how to deale on the behalfe of King Henry against Perkin Warbecke, (*an imaginary and Stage-play Prince) for that his Soueraigne Queene had also bene exceedingly molested by a Counterfeite. For Henry the fourth, King of Castile, and brother to Elizabeth, being vnable to begette children, Ioan (daughter of Edward king of Portugal) his wife found meanes notwithstanding to beare one, by occasion whereof, after King Henries death, for that it was borne in marriage, a dangerous warre was vnderaken by *Alfonso King of Portugal, on behalfe of Isabella the supposed inheretrix; but Truth, partly by force, and partly by mediation, was in the end victorious; and Elizabeth, or Isabella sister of Henry succeeded to her brother, and brought the inheritance of the Kingdomes of Castile and Leon, with her to Ferdinando King of Arragon. The chiefe point of this truce with Scotland was, that Perkin Warbecke should leaue that Kingdom, seeing King James, standing vpon his honour, would not deliuer him vp to King Henry. Perkin hauing now no remedie, did accordingly, taking with him his wife, the Lady Katherine Gordon; and with such few as remained to him, past into Ireland, where hee had not continued long, but the Cornish-men offer to rise at his arriual, and to aduventure their fortunes, and liues in his quarrell: Which motion Perkin gladly entertained, as perceiving yet some little hope left to maintaine himselfe, by the troubles, and hazards of others: but the policie and fortune of King Henry were growne so venerable with the Princes his Neighbours, that Ambassadors came from France, and from the Arch-Duke of Burgundy, the one to ratifie amity, the other to request the restitution thereof; both which K. Henrie (who reposed his whole trust next vnder God, vpon the amity of his neighbours) granted, and the English Merchants (who had been somewhat long forbidden by their Soueraigne to trade in the Arch-Dukes dominions) *returning to Antwerpe were receiued into the same with Proceffion: so that Perkin could scarce cast his eye vpon any place, not onely where to raise aides, but not where to rest his head, vnlesse perhaps in the Court of the Dutcheffe of Burgundie; neither in all his fortunes did anything seeme miserable or vnworthy, but the great infelicity of his wife, whose beauty, birth, and honourable qualities ought not to haue bene so betrayed by her friends temerity. Perkin hereupon landing at Whitsand Bay in Cornwall in September, found meanes afterward at Bodmin to raise some thousands of people, whom with most lawfull pro-

mises, inuectiue proclamations, and strong impudency, he held together vnder the Title of Richard the fourth King of England, whose fate was none of the happiest, while the maiesty of her name might so be played with by impostors. Perkin thus accompanied, marcheth toward the City of Exeter, purposing if hee could winne it by force, to enrich his Souldiers with the spoiles thereof, and to inuite all other loose or lost people to his seruice by the hope of like booties, and by taking into his possession such places of strength as lay in his way to secure his retreat, if (according to the ordinary fortune of warre) any thing should happen to him vnluckily.

(50) But the King (hearing that the varlet was landed, and againe made head against him in Armes vpon trust of the Cornishmens assistance) is said to haue smiled, vling these words: *Lee, wee are againe prouoked by this Prince of Kakebells, but left my people should through ignorance bee drawne into destruction, let us seeke to take this Perkin by the easiest wayes we can. Reason hee had to smile, for now hee seemed to see the bottom of his perill, and as it were to hold his enemy empounded within the English Ocean, it being a perpetuall and noble wit of his, that he might looke his dangers in the face, and deale with them hand to hand, as the neereft cut out to a full conclusion. Hee therefore prouides accordingly, assembling his forces, and his wits (no lesse to be dreaded then his forces) sending forth his espials into all parts to obserue the tracke, and hopes of this empty cloud, which is now scene before Exeter, a principall strength and ornament of the Western parts of the Kingdom. Parlea, and the allurements of wordes vnder the guilt title of King Edwards sonne, prouing vnauailable with those resolute and faithfull Citizens; Perkin forthwith betakes himselfe to violence, sets fire on the gates, mounts his scaling ladders against the wals, and with his utmost fury labours to force a suddaine entrance, for that as hee suspected, succours could not long bee wanting. The Citizens on the other side, and such of the Countrey, as came in, prepare, and make a very valiant defence against the Rebells, and in stead of quenching the fires kindled by the enemy at the gates, to open a passage (for they had not Canon or any other Ordinance) the Citizens threw on great store of fagots and fuel, and so with flame did shut vp the way, when the gates themselves were now consumed, and in the mean while they cast vp trenches, and man their walles, from whence, with the slaughter of about two hundred Rebels at this assault they valiantly draue them. Such messengers as by cords slip downe the walles, to signifie their perill, sped toward the King; but the loyall diligence of *Edward Courtney Earle of Deuonshire, the Lord William his sonne, with many principall Gentlemen of those parts, as Trenecher, Carew, Fulford, Haleswell, Croker, Edgecomb, Semar, followed with great store of Souldiers, faued him the labour of a personall rescue by timely approach.

(51) Perkin hearing thereof, riseth from before Exeter, and marcheth to Taunton (a goodly town not far off) there to take the musters of his Armie, and to prouide for encounter, where he found very many blanks in the list of his numbers, for that they had secretly thrunk away, as mid-doubting the sequel, the Earle of Deuonshire being so neere at hand with the power of the Countrey, and the King vpon his way against them, with the maiesty and terror of a roiall name and Armie, none of the Nobilitie (which was chiefly hoped) comming to their aide. Perkin neuertheless makes shew of standing, with such as were left vnto him. The Earle of Deuonshire marching towards Taunton, in the way there came vnto him Edward Duke of Buckingham, a young Lord full of great honour and courage, followed by a goodly troupe of Knights, & others excellent well appointed, both for their owne perill, and their

Popular insinuations by Perkin.

* Polyd. Verg. Principem priuilegium vixisse pradiuim.

The Scots invade and retire. * Polyd. Verg. Polyd. Verg.

* Bern. Andr. M.S.

The City of Exeter assaulted by Perkin.

The Exeterians policy in defeating fire by fire.

* Polyd. Verg.

Perkin at Taunton.

* Polyd. Verg.

V v v v v

*Perkin yeelds
himselfe to the
King.*

(52) In the meane while the King makes a reioicefull entrance into *Exceſſer*, to teſtifie his princely loue to the Citizens, whom he highly commended and graced, both for their courage and loyalty; commanding ſome of the Corniſh Rebels to be executed there, which did the better ſet-off the others contrary condition. There alſo hee gaue directions, to offer life, and obliuion of all crimes to *Perkin*, if he would voluntarily quit the Sanctuary, and ſubmit himſelfe. *Perkin* being now *without hope, without abode, without eſtate*, moſt gladly came forth, and did put himſelfe into the Kings hands. Reaſons leading that wife Prince to extend this fauour, were drawne out of the depth of true iudgement, cleared from vulgar perturbations: firſt, it was not altogether impoſſible, but that *Perkin* might eſcape him, (though by offering ſelfe-violence) and ſo the world ſhould leeſe the light of ſatiſfaction in ſo profound and perhaps a matchleſſe impoſture; then againe his youth might merite ſome compaſſion; but the infinite deſire which *Henry* had, from the mouth of the party himſelfe, to learne all the ſecrets of the plot, and who they were that lay vndiſcouered, and yet had linger in the myſtical praſtice, moued him to affect the poſſeſſion of this perſon aliu; which now

(32) *Perkin* being thus guarded, doth notwithstanding attempt to escape. And, if it were lawful to insert particular conjectures, drawn out of the considerations of circumstances, we should perhaps not spare to say, *that his attempt for escape*, was not without the Kings priuie; vñing such instruments to perswade, or furnish his flight, as might withall betray him, that so by degrees (occasion taken to cutte him off) the Realme might be ridde from such perpetual matter of trouble. For the deprauid witt and will of man might find or faine reasons to abuse the world still, *if Perkin* were at liberty; as *that the confessions were extorted by feare, or forged by Henry to serue his turne*, and the like. Therefore *Perkins* inrenction and escape (for hee was escaped) being discouered to the King, all the wayes were belet, and hee so close pursued, that in the end betaking himselfe to a religious house of Carthusian Monkes, hee declared *how hee was, and besought their Prior* in the humblest manner he could, *for Gods sake to begge his life*, which at the Priors suite was granted; but the Kings wrath being kindled, or the passage of his suppressed wrath opened thereby, he banisht all former respects, commanding him to be fettered, and set (for an whole day) in a paire of Stockes, mounted on a Scaffold before

* *B. crassa* 1984

100

(57) But forsomuch as I denied it, there was brought vnto mee the holy Euangelists, and the Crosse, by the Maior of the towne, which was called *John Lewelin*, and therein in the presence of him and others, Iooke mine oath (as the truth was) that I was not the foresaide Dukes sonne, nor none of his blood. And after this came vnto me an Englishman, whose name was *Stephen Poitron*; and one *John Water*, and laid to me in swearing great oathes, that they knew well that I was King *Richards* bastard sonne; to whom I answered with like oathes, that I was not. Then they aduised me not to be afraid, but that I should take it vpon me boldly; and if I would doe, they would aide and assist me with all their power against the King of *England*; and not onely they, but they were well assured, that the

(60) This new deuifit to vncrowne King Henry, fo wakened his owne feares, and the cies of the *Catholians*, (who had fecrety agreed to marry their Princeffe *Katherine* to our Prince *Arthur*) that there fecmed no fure ground of fuccellion, *if that the Earle of Warwicke were not made away*. A fearefull call, where the false reafon of State fhall faine to it felfe an impoffibility of well doing, without fhedding innocent blood, and fhall therefore refolute to found vpon fo crying a finne, the hope of perpetuity in fuccellion; fith nothing is truer, *then that finne was euer an unfure bafis to fettle lafting workes vpon*. But ð the narrow capacities of the moft feeing men; and the confidence whereof did vndoubtedly lead this King (herein not iuftifiable, howfoe excufable in refpect of humane frailty, which might propound to it felfe many feares, and refpects both publike and priuate) to conuicte at the plotted death, or rather formall murder of this harmeleffe Gentleman, whole wrong may yet moue the hardefte to compaffion, as it afterward stirred God in iuftice to reuenge, prospering no part of that great worke which was thereupon thus corruptly fought to be perpetuated. That noble Lady *Katherine* herfelfe was hereof fo fenfible, that when the diuorce was afterward profecuted againft her by King *Henry* the eighth, her fecond husband, fhe is reported to haue faid, That it was the hand of God.

The true Earl
of Warwick de-
signed to die.

for that to cleere the way to her marriage that innocent Earle of *Warwicke* was put to vnworthy death. Neither let licentious Practises vouch the singular Act of *Salomon* in taking away the life of his elder brother *Adonias* to colour this homicide: for he that will argue from particular facts in Scripture, shall not only leaue no *Adonias* liuing, but perhaps no *Salomon*. To worke this young *Warwicke* ruine, the mischeuous and dismall wretch *Perkin* becomes an occasion, if not an instrument, for he by his supple insinuations and flowing promises had corrupted his keepers, the seruants of Sir *John Digbie* Knight Lieutenant of the Tower; who (as * was affirmed) meant to haue murdered their malter, and then to haue set *Perkin*, and the Earle at large, to which practise of escape the poore Earle is said to haue consented. *Perkin* for this conspircie had his trial at *Westminster*, and hee together with one *John Waters*, who had bene sometime Maior of *Corke* in *Ireland*, were condemned, and being drawne to *Ti-borne*, had the sentence of death executed vpon them. *Perkin* at the Gallows did reade his former confession, taking on his death that the same was true, and vnderwent his punishment with patience. *Walter Blewet*, and *Thomas Astwood* (being two of the conspirators, for the other two, *Strangewises* and *Long Roger*, being the Lieutenants men also, were not executed, nor for so much as wee haue read, arraigned) not long after receiued the reward of their offence at the same place.

A.D. 1499.
An. Reg. 15.

The Earle of
Warwicke ruined
by Perkins con-
spircie.

* Jo. Setow Annal.

The Earle con-
fesseth the en-
ditement.

* Sir F. B. MS.

Edward Earle of
Warwicke last
Mala Plantage-
net beheaded.

* 1st. Stow Annal.
* Sir F. B. MS.

strangenes of which dangers made him thinke nothing safe. This Earle was the last heire male of the blood, and surname of *Plantagenet*; whose race as it was a long time glorious for giuing Kings to *England*, (euen from King *Henry* the second) so in the end (chiefly for the house of *Torke*) it became hateful (as it seemes) to God and man, for the most horrible and inextinguible deadly fewdes, murder, perjuries, and other horrors committed within it selfe, which (as then not fully expiated) lay heauily vpon the head of this Earle, and finally threw open all those fences, which the possession of Malestie and numerositie of issue had for sundry ages cast about it, letting in thereby the surname of *Tydder* being but two descents *English*, and which now after three descents and five Princes is also vanished. Now, among those few great works of peace which ensued their firebrands of warre, we must remember the marriage of Prince *Arthur*, with the Princess of *Spain* Lady *Katherine*. The interim from *Warwicke* death till then, brought forth a verie great plague, whereof in *London* there are said to haue died about thirtie thousand. The King and Queene remoue to *Calais* in *May* and returned in *June*. The maine * busines was to reuiue and ratifie the state of amity, and negotiations, betweene the *English* and the Duke of *Burgundies* subiects. Shine also was burnt, and being new builded, called *Richmond*, for which and the like, it will be fittest to haue recourse to vulgar Annals.

(62) The Coast of *State* now seeming cleare from al thickning weather, *Ferdinando* and *Isabella* King & Queen of *Spain*, according to the points of agreemēt betweene them and King *Henry*, concerning their fourth daughter the Lady *Katherine* (borne at *Alcala de Finari* or *Complutum*) sent her royally appointed in a goodly Flete to *England*, there to fulfill in person, what hitherto had bene onely treated of, who after many difficulties tooke land at * *Plimouth* in *October*. *Ferdinando* her father was the sonne of *John King of Arragon* and *Sicilia*, and although he was vnlearned, as being brought vp among armes and soldiery, yet by using the familiarity of wifemen he also became very wise, and proued that great Prince which first in these latter times recalled the old glorie of *Spain*, and reared it to such an enuious magnitude, as that the ialousie thereof hath bred no small quarrels in *Christendome*. For by his marriage with *Isabella*, (sole sister and heire to *Henry* the fourth King of *Castile* and *Leon*,) he reigned in right of his wife, and jointly with her, ouer those two Kingdomes and their appurtenances, who together (saith * *Marineus of Sicilia*) did admirable things and workes most holy. They * recovered the huge City and Kingdom of *Granada*, and part of *Andaluzia* from the *Moors*, after they had bene in violent possession thereof seuen hundred and fourescore yeeres, and hauing purged those places from the filth of *Mahomets* superstitions, built Churches to the honour of *Iesus Christ*, by occasion whereof *Ferdinando* was surname the *Catholike King*. The walles of the Citie of *Granada* at the time of the surrender, which (after about tenne yeeres warres) was by *Foabdelis* King thereof made to *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, had * twelue miles in compass, and in the same twelue Gates, and a thousand towres enclosing seuen Hilles couered with building, innumerable people, and inestimable riches, & the Spanish forces at this conquest were about 12000. Horse, & one hundred thousand foot. The said King and Queene, besides many other their mighty actions, did also first discover *America*, by *Christopher Columbus*, & thereby brought a whole new world to the notice of *Christendome*. *Isabella* her selfe, defended of the blood roial of *England*, being daughter of *John* the second King of *Castile* & *Leon*, son of *Henrie* the third King of *Castile* and *Leon*, and of *Katherine* his wife (daughter of * *John Duke of Lancaster*, third sonne of our *Edward* the third of *triumphall* and neuer-dying memorie) was a Lad-

* Polyd. Virg.
Annal.
A.D. 1499.
An. Reg.

The Lady Katherine
borne at Alcala
de Finari or
Complutum
sent her royally
appointed in a
goodly Flete
to England

* Res. alon.
* 1501.
* Reg. 17.
* Franc. de Reg. H.

The brief
Ferdinando
Isabella
actions

* Luc. 24.
* Sic. Lib. 10.

* 1st. Stow Annal.
* Sir F. B. MS.

die,

die, whose * like the *Christian* world had seldom any of that wisdom, grauity, chastity, and of so laborious a deuotion, that * she did not only day by day performe the Canonically and homely taske of prayers vnto Priests, but many other, and brought vp her children accordingly.

(63) The Lady *Katherine* being about eightene yeeres old, and borne of to great, so noble, so victorious and vertuous parents, is with iust maiesty and solemnity openly * married in *Pauls* Church to *Arthur* Prince of *Wales*, aged about fiftene yeeres, and eldest sonne to *Henry* the fourth, King of *England*, and of *Elizabeth* his wife. The Archbishop of *Canterbury* assisted with nineteene Bishops and Abbots, mixed, ioynd their hands, and performed all the other Church rites vpon that great day. The vulgar Annals can tell you the splendor and glorie thereof, in apparrell, jewels, Pageants, banquets, guests, and other princely complements, the onely weighty businesse of many weaker braines. A graue Lady (as som haue written) was laid in bed between the Bride and Bridegrome, to hinder actual consummation, in regard of the Princes greene estate of body; but others alleadge many arguments to proue that matrimoniall performance was betweene the, howsoeuer her selfe, (when that afterward came in question) * appealed to the conscience of *K. Henry* the eighth (her second husband) if hee found her not a maide. But Prince *Arthur* enjoyed his marriage a very short while, for in *Aprill* following hee died at *Ludlow*, being vnder sixteen yeeres of age: being a Prince, in whose youth the lights of all noble vertues did cleerly beginne to shine. His apertesse to learn was almost incredible, for (by the report of his * Malter) hee had eith learned without booke, or otherwise studiously turned and reuolued with his own hands & eies these authors following. In *Grammar*, *Garin*, *Perot*, *Sulpicius*, *Gellius* and *Valla*: In *Poetrie*, *Horace*, *Virgil*, *Lucan*, *Ouid*, *Silius*, *Plantus*, and *Terence*: In *Oratorie*: *Tullius* Offices, *Epistles*, *Paradoxe*, and *Quintilian*. In *Historie*, *Thucydides*, *Linie*, *Celsus* Commentaries, *Suetonius*, *Tacitus*, *Plinius*, *Valerius Maximus*, *Salustius*, *Eusebius*. Wherein wee haue bene particular, to signifie what Authors were then thought fitt to bee elementary and rudimentall vnto Princes; and by their example, to all of Noble or gentle birth, whose superficial boldnesse in booke in these frothy dayes, is become most scandalous and iniurious to the honour, and vfe of learning.

(64) But before the vtinely expiration of this great hope of *England*, King *Henry* weary of warres and tumults, and desirous to lay the beginnings of a long peace by most inward friendship with all his great neighbours, had concluded a match betweene *Margaret* his eldest daughter, and *James* the fourth King of *Scotland*, the * assurance whereof was published in the February next before Prince *Arthurs* death at *Pauls* Crosse; in reioycement whereof, *Te Deum* was sung, and other signes of publike ioy declared. The * Bishoppe of *Rose* saith, that the Earle of *Bothwell* did openly handfast, or espouse the said faire Lady, in the name of King *James* at *Pauls* Crosse, being *Saint Pauls* day. This contract was brought about in manner following. After that the storme of warre had (by mediation as before said) bene thoroughly laid betweene the two sister Nations, it chanced certaine of the Scots by their suspicious behauiour, and rough Phraese to prouoke the Garrison of *Norham* Castle to issue, who in the bickering slew and hurt some of them, and droue the rest away. King * *James* expostulates this violence very sharply by letters with King *Henry*, who returned most satisfactorie answers. *Richard Fox* Bishop of *Durham* (whose the men and *Castell* were) wrote also many deprecatory letters, humbly praying the Scottish King to accept amends, wherunto hee in the end inclined, and hauing some matters of farre greater moment to impart, desired the Bishops presence

in *Scotland* (knowing his deepe wisdom and great grace with his Soueraigne) which King *Henry* gladly assented vnto. The meeting was at *Melrose*, an Abbey of Cistercian Monkes, where the King abode, who hauing roundly vttered to the Bishoppe his offence conceided for the breach of good termes at *Norham* Castle, and yet being finally pleased to receiue satisfaction, hee then secretly discoursed his whole mind, the summe whereof was, That the king of *England* would be pleased to giue to him in marriage the Lady *Margaret* his eldest daughter, as a pledge of indissoluble amitie. The Bishoppe promised his best diligence, and accordingly after his returne, laboured therein with King *Henry*, who most gladly hearkened thereunto. Whereupon the Scottish King sent the Archbishoppe of *Glasgow*, the Earle of *Bothwell*, and others to demand the Lady in marriage. Their entertainment was hearty and princely. But when the proposition came to fanning at the Councell table, it had not currant passage at first: for there were who objected as an inconuenience, That by this marriage the Crowne of *England* might come to the Scottish line, by the issue of Lady *Margaret*. Whereunto it is said, King *Henry* made this answer: * What if it should? for if any such thing should happen, (which *Omen* God forbid) I see it will come to passe, that our Kingdome shall leese nothing thereby, because there will not bee an accession of *England* to *Scotland*, but contrariwise of *Scotland* vnto *England*, as to that which is farre away the most noble head of the whole *Island*, seeing that which is lesse vnto, feth to accrue to the ornament and honour of that which is much the greater, as *Normandy* heretofore came to be vnder the dominion and power of the *English* our forefathers. When this was said, the whole boord of councell receiued it as an Oracle, & it went cleare about, That *Margaret* should be married to the King of *Scotland*. With this answer and other instructions the Scottish Ambassadors were sent home, who afterward returned into *England* with full authority & satisfaction to all *Henries* propositions, whereupon ensued the before said publication of assurances at *Pauls* Crosse. It was a principall Article in this agreement: That no *Englishman* should enter *Scotland*, nor *Scot* into *England* without commendatory letters from their Soueraigne. Which Article was reputed aspeciall meane to preferre the peace inuolable.

(65) But ere the young Lady her selfe was conuaued into *Scotland*, her brother Prince *Arthur* died, and in * February next ensuing, their mother also Queene *Elizabeth*, as shee lay in Child-bed within the Tower of *London*. The King to repaire his mind with fresh consolations, in aduancing his onely remaining sonne, *Henry* Duke of *Torke*, created him suddenly Prince of *Wales*, Earle of *Chester* & *Flint*, within few dayes after his mothers deceasse. Thus was *Arthurs* losse supplied, howsoeuer *Henry* made Prince, espoused soone after (* though with much reluctation) the Lady *Katherine* his elder brothers widow, * vpon the five and twentieth of *June*, at the Bishoppe of *Salisbury* house in *Fleets* street. And in this wise, by providing so worthy a wife for him, (though to say truth, her great Dower was the chiefe motiue) the king thought, that the estate of *England* was sufficiently settled; wherefore conuening his cares to the accomplishment of affinity with *Scotland*, hee most sumptuously furnished his dearest eldest daughter for her journey, & himselfe in person travelled fro *Richmond* as farre with her as *Colewelle* beside *Norhampton*, where his mother the Countesse lay: after certaine dayes spent in solace, the King gaue her his blessing, with fatherly counsell and exhortation, and committed the guard and conduct of her person principally to the Earles of *Surrey* and *Northumberland*, and to such Ladies and Gentlewomen as were appointed to that seruice; a great company of Lords Knights, Esquiers, & men of Marke attending them as farre as *Berwicke*. At *S. Lamberts* Church in *Lamer Moore* within *Scotland*, the King attended by the

Bishop Fox his
presence desired
by the Scottish
King.

King Henries an-
swer to an ob-
jection against
the match with
Scotland.

* Epist. 1. c. 1.
Polyd. Virg.

A.D. 1502
An. Reg. 18.
King Henry a
Widower, and
Henry his sonne
created Prince
of Wales.

* See in the life
of Henry the 8

* J. Stow Annal.

K. Henry brings
his daughter to
Lady Margaret
on the way to
Scotland.

* Epist. 1. c. 1.

The Earle of
Northumberland
deliuereth her to
King James with-
in Scotland.

* In Jac. A.

The immediate happy effect of this marriage.

* A.D. 1506 A.R. 21.

* Addit. to Fab. call him Duke.

A Prince of the blood royal, slain for murder of a private person.

principall of his Nobles, received her from the hands of the Earle of Northumberland, and the next yeere after, married her at *Edenborough*, in the presence of all his Nobility. The King gave great entertainment to the English, and shewed them iuling and other pastimes after the Scottish fashion. The Scottishmen (saith *the Bishoppe of Ross) were not behind, but farre aboute the Englishmen, both in apparrell, rich Jewells, and masie chaines, many Ladies hauing their habiliments set with Goldsmith worke, garnish with Pearle and Stone of price, with gallant and wel trapped horses. Diuerse Ladies also and young Gentelwomen of *Denmarke*, attending *Queene Margaret*, remained there, and were well married to certaine Noblemen of *Scotland*, whose progenie liues honourably there euen at these dayes. The effect of this marriage is grauely described by the same Bishop in these words. *There was perfect peace and sincere amity betweene the two Realmes of England and Scotland a long time after. And verily, during the life of King Henry the seventh, no cause of breach was ministred by either of the Princes, but they continued in great love and friendship, and mutual societie, contracting of marriages, continuall entercchange of Merchandize betwixt the Subjects of both the Realmes, as they had bene AL under the obedience of ONE PRINCE; where through, Justice, Policy and Riches did flourish, and abound throughout the whole Isle of Albion.* And of this marriage is *James* the sixth descended, being that ONE PRINCE vnder whose obedience AL are now gouerned, as vnder the sole and lawfull lineall Monarch of great Britaine: for this *James* the fourth had issue *James* the fifth, hee had issue *Queene Mary*, hee had issue our present Soueraigne, the great grandchild of the said *Queene Margaret* eldest daughter of *K. Henrie* the seventh.

(66) Which effects of peace and riches, as they could not but bee comfortable to so wife a King as *Henry*, they being the fruit as it were of his owne iust labours; so let vs now obferue the last worldly cares of his raigne, and vpon what objects hee fixed his mind, freed from the awe of open challenges of the Crowne, and from throwes at his maine, which with what art, valour and felicity, hee at first achieved, and with how great hazards, troubles, and bloudie busineses, he brought it to such passe, that neighbour Kingdomes reputed it safe to entermarry with his family, wee haue already heard: Two principall points tooke vpon the last Scenes of his life, for the rest of his time hee wholly employed, either in the seruice of Almighty God (wherein hee was so diligent, that euery day he was present, after the deuotions of those times, at two or three Masses, oftentimes hearing godly Sermons,) or in building, wherewith hee kept his senses busied. The one of the two chiefe points, was to watch ouer the waies of his wiues kindred (the remaining branches of the turbulent and vnfortunate house of *York*) whose growth and greatnesse hee supposed might at some time or other ouertoppe his owne; the other was, vnder opinion of iustice, to encrease his treasure out of the common purses, whereby he seemed onerous to many, & somewhat obscured the brightness of his former glory, at leastwise diminished his opinion with the generality. Concerning his courtes holden with his wiues kindred, (the laterall issues and staddles of the *Plantagenets*) it fell out thus; which (by * occasion of the accidental landing of *Philip* King of *Spain* at this time, whereby the * Earle of *Suffolke* taking was procured) we thought it best to handle here together. *Edmund de la Pole* * Earle of *Suffolke* (Sonner to *John* Duke of *Suffolke*, and of *Elizabeth* sister to *King Edward* the fourth) in the sixteenth yeere of *King Henrie* raigne, wilfully slew a common person in his furie. *Henry* not sorry to haue occasion of encreasing his popularity, by presenting fo great a person to exemplary iustice, and in the same act to blemish the honour of a man,

whose quality was to him suspected, caused him for the same to be arraigned. The fact hee was perfwaded to confesse, and therupon had pardon. The Earle neuertheless, as a Prince of the blood, holding himselfe disgraced, by hauing been seene a Prisoner at the *Kings Bench Barre*, fled the land discontented, and went to his Aunt the Dutchesse Dowager of *Burgundie*; but within a while after, being fairly reconciled, hee returned. After which, notwithstanding, whether it were by reason of debt (the certaine attendant of vaine-spirited, and base-braued Courriers) wherinto hee had deeply thrown himself for his furniture, at the celebration of his cousin Prince *Arthurs* marriage, or for that the restlesse spirit of enuie in the Dutchesse had preuailed, hee taking his brother with him, fledde againe the next yeere after. The King who had pardoned his life, seemed now to repent his clemency, * though it is plaine, hee spared him of purpose, till hee might discover more of a conspiracy which hee knew was in hammering; but his flight troubled him not a litle, knowing the violent humor of that Lord, and remembering to what a dangerous & bloudy issue his brother the Earle of *Lincolne* had once already brought things at the battell of *Stoke* in the beginning of his raigne.

(67) For remedy, hee betakes himselfe to his wonted arts, and therefore to learne the secrets of the enemy, *Sir Robert Curson* Knight (Captaine of the Castell of *Hammer* by *Calce*) faimes himselfe a friend to the Earle, and flies from his charge vnto him. An office vnworthy of Knighthood; neither can any good spirit in the world stoop to leise to such double faced employment, which belides the treacherous dissimulations thereof, cannot but bee accompanied with wilfull impieties. For who is admitted to trust vpon a contrary side, without inuocations of Gods holy name, protestations, adiurations, oathes, the vrmost assurances which man can giue to man, to beget a conuenient affiance in his sincerity? but by this stratagem the king ranckes the bolomes and cabinets of his aduersaries, discovering their designs and hopes. Whereupon, *William Courtney* Earle of *Deuonshire* (being most nobly defended, and hauing to his wife the Lady *Katherine*, one of the daughters of *K. Edward* the fourth, and sister to *Queene Elizabeth* wife of *King Henry*) *William de la Pole* brother to the said *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke*, *Sir James Tyrrel*, *Sir John Windham* Knights, with other, were attached, and committed to custodie, and afterward also * *George Nevill* Lord *Abergone*, and *Sir Thomas Greene* Knight, were likewise apprehended, but were soone deliuered. The Earle of *Deuonshire*, though innocent (for it is the misery of such great men, that their owne innocency cannot alwayes procure their owne safety; but their birth-right many times, and often other mens designations without their least priuity, is enough to hazard them, yea it is in the power of any conspirator by bare nomination, to doe as much, so that it concerns them to haue an eye not to their owne onely, but to the behaviour also of their whole Alliances and dependencies) this Earle (I say) though innocent, remained Prisoner during this Kings life, and some yeeres of his sonnes raigne, who set him at liberty. The other, *William* the Earle of *Suffolkes* brother, had not so strict an hand holden ouer him. But *Sir James Tyrrell*, Lieutenant of *Guines* Castell, and *Sir John Wyndham*, *Welbourn*, servant to *Sir James Tyrrell*, *Curson* a Pursuuant, *Mathew* *Iones* yeoman, and a Shipman were condemned of treason for aiding the Earle of *Suffolke*. The * two Knights were beheaded at *Tower* hill. The Shipman quartered at *Tiburne*: * *Curson* and *Iones* suffered death at *Guines*.

(68) This round and quicke dealing with the Earles complices and fauourers, startled his shallow and raw inuentions, and made their whole bulke to swarue and splinter; but the King rested not so; for vpon the Sunday before the feast of *SS. Simon* and

The Earle of Suffolke troubles.

Polyd. Verg. Edm. Hel. Ho. Bish. 10. Stew.

* Polyd. Verg.

Britan.

Apprehended of persons the Earle of Suffolke.

* Polyd. Verg.

D. 1506. Reg. 21.

The misery great (sub) a lesson is.

Execution of the Earle of Suffolke.

* Stow. Ann. Add. 10.

Iude

Iude, in the same yeete, of the said executions, there was published at *Pauls Crosse*, by the Kings procurement from *Pope Alexander* the sixth, a Bull of * Excommunication and curse against the said Earle of *Suffolke*, *Sir Robert Curson*, and five other persons by speciall name, and generally all other which aided the Earle against the King to the disturbance of the Kingdom. Thus did the most prudent *Henrie* pursue his enemies, not onely with secret countermines and open weapons of Law, before they could assemble to make any shew, but also with spirituall lightning; which doubtlesse, had they bene vpon iust cause, and by lawful authority fulminated, ought infinitely to bee dreaded of good Christians, because (as *Saint Paul* saith) they deliuer ouer to *Satan*. *Sir Robert Curson* was named, of purpose, to make the Earle secure of him; which may well be called a perillous, if not a prophane deuile, though his Holiness were made the instrument thereof. Neither did the King leaue here, for by his letters and messengers he so preuailed with *Pope Alexander*, as hee decreed by his Bull, That no person should afterward haue priuiledge of Sanctuary, who had once taken the same, and come forth againe: and that, * if any Sanctuary-man should afterward commit any murder, robbery, sacrilege, treasons, &c. he should by law force bee drawne thence to suffer due punishment. This was of great vte to the King, and preferred many subjects from precipitation, for the abuse of Sanctuaries had bene an efficient of many troubles. But the same *Pope* (hauing sent *John Gighis* his Receiver, to gather mony in *England*) shewed himselfe much more fauourable to such as perpetrated those laid hainous offences, as also, *Vjury*, *Simony*, *rapines*, *adulteries*, or whatsoever offences (excepting certaine offences against the Pope and Clergy, &c.) when he sent a * Bull of pardons (for mony) to all such offenders in *England*; dispensing also thereby, with such, as kept away, or by any fraud had gotten the goods of other men, which they should now retaine still without scruple of conscience, so as they paid a ratable portion thereof, vnto his Holiness Receivers. *Sir Robert Curson* (though before accused by the Pope) returns, when he saw fit time, into *England*, and with all into wonted fauour with his Soueraigne. The Earle, seeing himselfe thus stript of all hope to doe much harme, wandered about *Germany* and *France* to finde repose, but in the end quite tyred, he put himselfe into the grace and protection of *Philip* then in *Flanders* who by the death of *Isabella* was King of *Spain*, in right of *Joan* his wife, eldest daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*; where hee remained in banishment, till *King Philip* was driven by tempest in the month of *January* into *England*, as hee meant to haue passed through the *steele*, or *English* Ocean, into *Spain*, there to take possession of that Kingdom and other the appertinances.

(70) The chiefe Ship of the *Marie Roiall*, wherein the King was, and two other (all the rest being scattered by the fury of the weather into seuerall places and other Ports of *England*) thrust into Harbour at * *Falmouth*. Himselfe weary and sicke with the violent tossings of the Sea (whereunto hee had neuer as yet seemed, beneued,) would needs come on shore, and refresh his spirits, though the principall men about him dissuaded that course, as foreseeing it would procure a longer stay, then the nature of the occasions would perhaps well beare. And so indeed it fell out, for being now in another Princes (though his friends) dominions, where he had no power ouer himself, nor others, & the rumor of arrual stirring the men in authority thereabout, *Sir Thomas Trenchard* Knight with the suddre forces of the Countrey, not knowing what the matter might bee, came thither, and vnderstanding the royall quality of the person, inuited him with all humble humanity to his house, and forthwith dispatched postes to Court; not long after *Sir John Caro* Knight (with a great troupe of armed men) repaired also, pursuing the

like humble entreaties; which the King, fearing constraint, because they were but subjects and durst not let him passe without their Lord and Masters leaue necessarilie yeelded vnto. Vpon notice of this mightie Princes casual arrual, *King Henry* presently commanded the Earle of *Arundel* to entertaine him till himselfe could come, who very magnificently did so, with * three hundred Hories by Torch-light; and in the meane while *King Henry* himselfe prepares. *Philip* perceiving, that whatsoeuer speed his affaires required, yet now there was no remedy but to stay, thought not good to expect his approach, but to prevent it, and came vpon the spur to *Windsore*, that he might be gone againe the sooner, after whom *Queene Ioan* his wife came leasurably. The rest of this entertainment, because it hath matter of weight, and is well set downe by *Polidore Vergil*, it shall suffice vs to follow his footsteps. At *Windsore*, the two Kings, after long and seuerall discourtes, beganne to conferre about renewing their league. *Henry* required that *Edmund* Earle of *Suffolke* might be deliuered vp into his power, which *Philip* denied to be a thing that hee could doe, as holding it most vnreasonable to be the author of his death, whom he had taken into Protection: but when at the last he found, that no excuse nor reason, could suffice, for that, *Henrie* voluntarily offered to saue the Earles life, hee promised to doe therein what hee desired, and presently tooke order for his sending ouer. According whereunto, *King Henry* (to draw out the time, till he had the wished prey) conuenced *King Philip* to *London*, to shew him the head City of his kingdom, out of which after a litle stay hee reconducted him. The Earle in the meane time, who conceived horror at the first newes of *King Philip* landing in *England*, as fatal to him, and resolved that no hope was longer to be reposed in the faith of forraigne Princes, came ouer not vnwillingly, presuming that after pardon of life, hee might alio in time regaine his liberty; or if that hope failed, yet should hee at leastwise obtaine to die, and bee buried in his Countrey. But *King Philip* and his *Queene*, hauing feasted with her sister the *Princessse* of *Wales*, departed *England*. The Earle was brought through *Flanders* to *Calce* vpon the sixteenth of *March*, and landed at *Douer* vpon the foure and twentieth of the same, conueighed thither by *Sir Henrie Wiat*, and *Sir John Wilsheire*, with threescore men in armour of the Garrison of *Calce*; and at *Douer* *Sir John Louel* and others receiving him, guarded him safe to the Tower of *London*. *King Philip*, not long after his landing in *Spain* deceased, being not thirtie yeeres old. That tempest which draue him into *England* was holden by the people as prodigious; for it blew down the golden Eagle from the famous Spire of *Pauls* Steeple (being of Copper richly ouergilt, of fourty pounds weight, in length foure foote, and in breadth three,) which also in the fall thereof, brake and battered the signe of the *Blacke Eagle*, in *Pauls* Church-yard, in the place where now the *Schoolhouse* stands. This accident euen then made some coniecture, that the Emperour *Maximilian* (whose Imperiall Ensigne the Eagle is) should suffer some losse accordingly (saith *Polydore*) as indeed hee did by the death of *King Philippe* his sonne. Which (if any superstitious delight in Calculations of that blind nature) we may well parallell with that * lightning which stroke the letter C. out of *Cesar* in the inscription of *Cesar Augustus* his statue; wherupon it was gathered, that *Augustus* should liue but one hundred daies after, and then bee called a God, (*Cesar* the remaining syllables so signifying in the old *Hetruscan* tongue,) which accordingly hapned.

(69) Thus was the Earle of *Suffolke* brought backe, and the King anchored his quiet at the safe custody of his person within the Tower. The other wordly point wherein he chiefly bestowed his ages care, was to gather money, though by courses seeming very grieuous and full of bitterness; the too gripping

* Jo. Sarw. Annal.

The Kings of England and Spain at Windsore.

Polyd. Verg.

The Earle of Suffolke deliuered up and sent to the Tower.

The ominous fall of the weather-cocke of Pauls.

* Burr. in Ang. cap. 97.

King Henrie gathering of treasure.

gripping greedinesse, and too profuse lavishnesse of money in Princes, being both alike offensive to a well settled estate. Some excuse his doings herein (amongst whom Polydor is chiefe) as not proceeding from any depravation or vncorrected affection of his nature; but from an opinion and forecast of generall profite: because a Princes humor of gathering, tendeth, though with distast of particular men, to the good publique, whereas his profusenes, though with some particular mens profite, endeth in the impoverishment of the whole. And Henry himselfe protested (saith Polydor) hee did it not for love of money, but with a purpose to bridle the fierce minds of a nation bred up among factions: though they (saith the same author) who felt the smart, and were wounded by his Instruments, cried out they were not so much the darts of severity, which did hit them, as of avarice. Yet Polydors Apologie may be current: for it is not to be doubted, but that such vice the King might propound himselfe; and yet withall, we can hardly find any commendable root thereof, the wayes being so importune and harsh, by which hee raised money. Let vs heare in this point the obseruatione

* Knight. Of nature (saith hee) Henry coveted to accumulate treasure, which the people (into whom there is infused, for the preservation of Monarchies, a natural desire to discharge their Princes, though it bee with the unist charge of their Counsellors and Ministers) did impute unto Cardinal Morton, and Sir Reinald Bray, who (as it afterward appeared) as Counsellors of ancient authority with him, did so found his humor, as neuertheless they tempered it. Where it is truly said, it afterward appeared: for till they were gone to account to God, and his feare for the maine quite banished, the king did not looke the reines to his immoderate desire of having, which yet was not more sinfull, then the meanes vnder him practised, were odious. For

* Empton and Dudley that followed, being persons that had no reputation with him, otherwise then the servile following of his owne humors, gaue him way, and shaped him meanes to those extremities, whereby himselfe was touched with remorse at his death, and which his successor disanowed. And this we take to be a true iudgement. To be particular in the recital of things worthy to die in forgetfulnesse, is not onely to recite, but in a sort to teach them also, as some, who by broad inuectives, haue as it were read a lecture of those vices, against which they haue pretended to inuigh. But publike and shamefull Arts may more safely be deliuered. The instruments whome the King let on worke (or who perhaps for the King on worke) were * two Lawyers, Richard Empton (afterward knighted) and Edmund Dudley Elquier; their employment was to cal the richer subject into question for breach of old penall lawes, long before discontinued and forgotten, whereby they brake in vpon the people, as it were at vnaware, like a kind of authorized robbers, masked vnder the pretext of service for the King, and the names of Delators or Promoters, a familiar sicknesse in the times of ancient Tyrannies. But the courtes to execute their employment, were void of all conscience and colour. For one of them was to *outlaw persons secretly, and then to seise their estates, druing them to chargefull compositions with the King, and heauy bribes to the Authors of their trouble. More detestable was another practise of theirs. For there were false

turors and ringleaders of false turors, who would neuer give any verdict against the will of their patrons, the said Empton and Dudley; so that if any durst stand out vpon triall, the destiny of their causes was squared forth by the leaden rule of those fellows consciences; which to bee a truth, the expiatory punishment which K. Henry the eight tooke of them in the first year of his raigne, doth clearly conuince. By these meanes many honest and worthy subjects were rigorously fined, imprisoned, or otherwise afflicted, which filled the land with sorrow and repinings. Among very many others thus abused, Sir

William Capell Alderman of London was eminent, as from whom, in the tenth year of the kings raigne, had beene scrized, vnder the colour of mothe-eaten and vnreuiued Lawes, about sixtene hundred pounds sterling, and was now againe plaide at a fresh, and another hand drawne vpon him for two thousand pounds, which because he would not pay, hee was by Dudley commaunded prisoner to the Tower; but by the death of the King which ensued, all such prisoners were released. If any perhaps will slight the hard vtiage extended to Citizens, and to the like, they are vnwise therein, neither thinke as Patriots ought. For though it may fall out that the personall vexation of some few, merits no great pitty; yet the example is pestilent; and it is a part of the cunning, to choise out at first such for patternes, as vpon whose persons least compassion may fall, which examples may afterward be extended to whomsoever. These reuels and rages against the wealthier sort continued, till it pleased God to sting the Kings heart with iust compunction, toward the horror of his death; who had the fauour from heaven, as to lie sicke of a consuming discaie, which wasted him by such insensible degrees, as gaue him the vice of his whole selfe (as it were) till the last gaspe, whereby hee had meane to recollect himselfe, after those many foule-wounding assaults which attend regall greatness, and to submit his thoughts to such ghostly admonishments (touching another life) whereunto in dayes of health, the hearts or cares of great Princes are feldome attentive.

(71) About the yeere of his death, hauing vnderstood that Lewis King of France, despairing of issue male, had annulled the Contracts made betweene Charles King of Spaine (sonne of the late King Philip, and afterward elected Emperour by the name of Charles the fifth) and the Lady Claudia his eldest daughter, whom he newly betrothed to Francis of Valois Dolphin of France, and Duke of Angoulesme, King Henry (whose care for preferation of the common quiet, and good of his Country, by forraign alliances, was euer holy in him and awake) thought it a faire occasion for him to match his younger daughter the Lady Marie. The French King to haue the aduise of James the fourth King of Scots, in the beflowing the said Madam Claudia his eldest daughter, had before sent Bernard Steward Lord Dobignie, and the President of Tholoux, Ambassadors for that purpose, who finally in effect receiued this answer: * That the said King James thought it best that his eldest daughter should be married within his owne Realme of France, for if she were married vpon any forraigne Prince, it might giue colour to claime title to the said Realme afterward. And if he did marrie her at home, rather to him the said Francis, whom he had appointed to succeede then any other. Which resolution was very acceptable to K. Lewis, because it iumped with his owne purpose, and it was followed accordingly. King Henry therefore hearing that King Charles might be obtained, so pursued the point * by the prudent managing of Richard Fox (now Bishoppe of Winchester) his Ambassadour, that King Charles his Ambassadors coming out of Flanders, where hee was educated, and meeting him at Calais, the affaire was opened, disputed, concluded, and the Lady Mary then about ten yeeres of age (as King Charles himselfe) was by solemne contract assured to him for wife.

(72) Now therefore his sonne Henrie Prince of Wales, being heire of the Crowne, and married; his eldest daughter, the Lady Margaret, Queene of Scotland; the Lady Mary his youngest, prouided for so highly (though in the end it came to nothing) all likelihood of perill by competitors, or busie Factionists, buried in the Tower, by the emprisonment of Edmund Earle of Suffolke; his people tractable and calme; his coffers full, and the state of things ripe for a successe: death (the executioner of the Almighties sentence,) was ready to discharge him

A.D. 1509.
A.R. 23.

Small part granted by King

Fr. B. MS. 1509. Annal. yeere of his raigne.

The King sicke.

Int lost for not pay. within, in 1509. more Supra leuad 4. 1580. ditto Feb. Henry salu. Defender of the Church three Popes.

Fr. B. MS.

King Henry to assure his daughter to the Church of Calais.

The French sends for to the King Scots.

* Epist. 1509.

* Polyd. Verg.

The Lady promised Charles.

A.D. 1509.
A.R. 23.

K. Henry dies.

of the prison of his flesh. Before he departed, * well disposed persons tendering the health of his soule, did both in forme, and otherwise, informe him of the exclamation against informers; Wherefore he of his blessed disposition, granted to all men generall pardons, certayne onely excepted. In his life time hee founded the goodly Hospital of the Sauey, built sixe religious Houses for Franciscan Friars, three of them for Observants; and the other three for Conuents. Of his building also was Richmond Pallace, and that most beautiful peece, the Chappell at Westminster, the one the place of his death, and the other of his buriall: which formes of more curious and exquisite building, he and Bishoppe Foxe, first (as is reported) learned in France, and thence brought with them into England. He died about the age of fiftie two yeeres, vpon the two and twentieth of * April hauing reigned twenty three yeeres and eight moneths. A right noble, wise, victorious and renowned King, and one whose piety would haue bene farre more eminent, then all his other vertues, if from the beginning the malignant quality of the times, would haue permitted him to liue in quiet. He specially honoured the remembrance of that Saint-like Man, Henry the sixth, the founder of his Family, and Prophetically fore-teller of that fortune which now hee died seized of, whom also he laboured to haue * Canonized for a Saint; but that Pope Iulius held that honour at two high a rate. It is reckoned by some writers * of that age among his principall glories, that three Popes, Alexander the sixth, Pius the third, and Iulius the second, did in their severall times, with authority and consent of the Cardinals, elect and chose him for chiefe defender of Christs Church, before all other Christian Princes. In his last will and Testament, after the disposition of his soule and body, hee deuised and willed Restitution should be made of all such monies, as had vniuistly bene leuied by his officers. A most pious and truly Christian care, whereby also appeareth, that hee hoped the wrongs done vnder him were not so enormous nor innumerable, but that they might fall within the possibility of redresse. The description of his whole man, is had in the beginning of his life, and the course thereof described in his Actions. There remaine of his wisdom many effects, and those as his fame likely to continue for euer.

His Wife.

(71) Elizabeth the first Child Legitimate, and eldest daughter of King Edward the fourth, was at the age of nineteene vpon the eighteenth of Ianuarie and yeere of Christ Iesus, 1485. married vnto King Henry the fourth, whereby was vntied the long contending Families of Lancaster and Yorke, and the Roses red and White ioined into one, to the greatiory of the English Subjects. Shee was crowned at Westminster vpon the five and twentieth of Nouember, the third of her husbands Raigne, and of Grace 1487. Shee was his wife eightene yeeres and twenty foure daies, and died in childbed in the Tower of London, the eleuenth of February, euen the day of her owne Natiuitie, the eighteenth of her husbands Raigne, and yeere of our Saluation, 1503. and is buried at Westminster in the most magnificent Chappell and rich Monument of Copper and gilt where shee with her husband lie entombed.

His Issue.

(72) Arthur the eldest sonne of King Henrie the seauenth and of Queene Elizabeth his wife was

borne at Winchester the twentieth day of September, the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred eighty fixe, and the second of his Fathers raigne. In whole fifth yeere he was created Prince of Wales; Duke of Cornwall and Earle of Chester; and at the age of fiftene yeeres, one month and twenty five daies, vpon the fourteenth of Nouember, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and one, espoused the Lady Katherine daughter to Ferdinand King of Spaine, shee being then about eightene yeeres of age, in the Cathedral Church of Saint Paul, London; and presently sent into Wales the better to gouerne that principality by his owne Prefence, enjoyed his marriage bed onely foure moneths and nineteene daies, departing this life at Ludlow the second of April, the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and two, of his Fathers raigne fiftene; and of his owne age fiftene yeeres, sixe moneths and thirteene daies. His body with all due funeral solemnitie, was buried in the Cathedral Church of Saint Maries in Worcester, where, in the South side of the Quire he remaineth entombed in Touch, or Lette, without any remembrance of him by picture.

(73) Henrie the second sonne of King Henrie the seuenth and of Queene Elizabeth was borne at Greenwich in the Countie of Kent, the two and twentieth of Iune, in the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred ninety and one, being the seuenth of his Fathers raigne. In his Infancy hee was created Duke of Yorke and Marshall of England, and so trained vp in his youth to literature as hee was rightly accounted the best learned Prince in Europe, and by the death of his brother succeeded his Father in all his Dominions; whose Raigne and Acts are presently to be related.

(74) Edmund the third sonne of King Henry and of Queene Elizabeth, was borne in the yeere of Christ, one thousand foure hundred ninetie five, and in his young yeeres was created Duke of Sommerfet, which Title hee no long time enjoyed, being taken away by death at Bishopps Hatfield before hee attained fully to five yeeres of age, the yeere of Grace, one thousand foure hundred ninetie and five, and fiftenth of his Fathers Raigne; and his body lieth interred at Saint Peters in Westminster.

(75) Margaret the eldest daughter of King Henrie and of Lady Elizabeth his Queene, was born the nine and twentieth day of Nouember the yeere of Christ 1489. and fifth of her fathers raigne; shee at the age of foureteeene was married vnto James the fourth King of Scotland, the yeere of our Lord one thousand five hundred and three, vnto whom shee bare James the fifth, Arthur and Alexander and a Daughter: which last three, died all of them young; and after the death of King James (being slaine at Flodden Field in fight against the English), shee was remarried vnto Archibald Douglas Earle of Anguiffe, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and foureteeene, vnto whom shee bare Margaret, afterward espoused vnto Matthew Earle of Lennox, Father by her of the Lord Henrie, who died at the age of nine moneths, and lyeth interred in the vpper end of the Chancell in the Parish Church of Stepyne nere London, vpon whose Graue is engrauen in brasie, as followeth:

Heere lieth Henry Steward Lord Darle of the age of three quarters of a yeere, late Sonne and Heire of Mathew Steward Earle of Lennox; and Lady Margaret his wife, which Henrie deceased the XXV III. day of Nouember in the yeere of our Lord God. 1545: whose Soule Iesus pardon.

Her second sonne was Henrie Lord Dornley a Noble Prince; and reputed for person one of the goodliest Gentles.

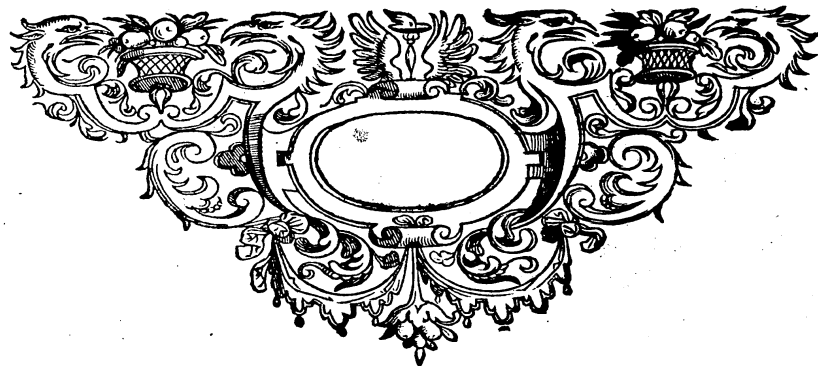
Gentlemen of Europe, who married Marie Queene of Scotland, the royall Parents of the most roiall Monarch James the first King of great Britaine, and of the Britaine World. And her third sonne was Charles Earle of Lennox father vnto Lady Arbella.

(76) Elizabeth the second daughter of King Henry and Lady Elizabeth his Queene was borne the second day of Iuly, one thousand foure hundred ninety two, and died the foureteenth of September and yeere of Christ, one thousand foure hundred ninetie five, and is interred at Westminster.

(77) Mary the third blossome of the Imperiall

Rose-tree of England, was first wife to Lewis King of France, who liued not long after, and died without issue by her. Her second husband was that Martiall and pompous Gentleman, Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke.

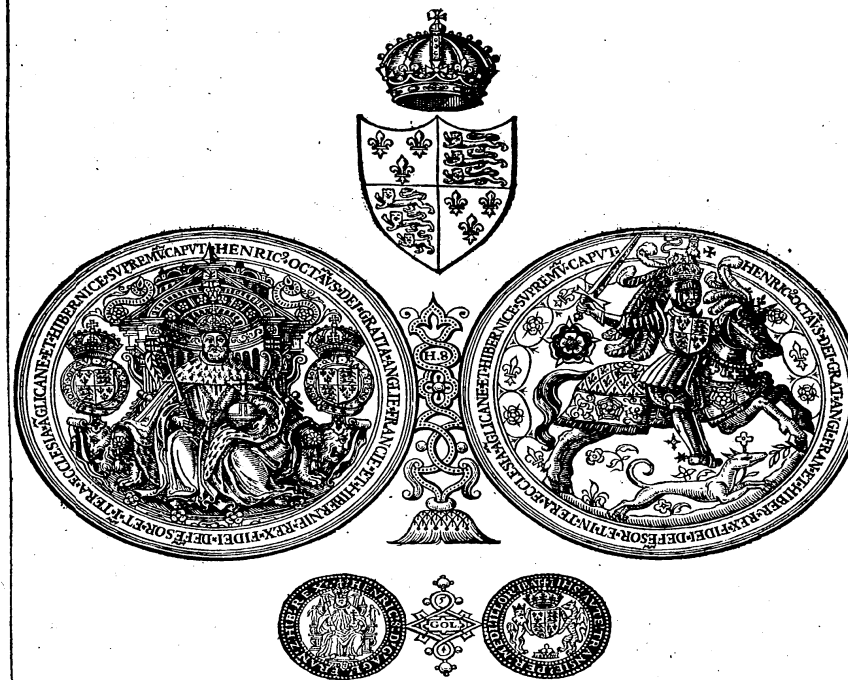
(78) Katherine fourth daughter of this seventh Henry and of Elizabeth his Queene, was borne vpon Candlemas day, in the yeere of our Lord, one thousand five hundred and three, and in the eighteenth yeere of her fathers raigne, who was called to her part in a far better Kingdome within a short while after.



HENRY



HENRIE THE EIGHT OF THAT NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE FIFTIE EIGHT MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HIS RAIGNE, ACTS, WIVES, AND ISSUE.



CHAPTER XXI.



He rich and wise King Henry the seventh) gone (as is said) the way of all flesh, his sonne bearing the same name, a most magnanimous & heroicall Prince, succeeded in his Throne ouer all his dominions, as the only true heir vnto the Crowne, by both the houses of Lancaster and Yorke. His birth was at Greenwich in the yeere of Grace, 1491. the twentieth two of Iune: and his youth so trained vp in literature, that he was accounted the most learned Prince of all Christendome, indued with parts most befitting a King, both in lineaments of body, and libera-

lity of minde, besides his ripe knowledge in politicke affaires, and was made the more agreeable to the affections of men, by the consideration of his flourishing age, as hauing not attained vnto nineteen at his fathers death. In his infancy hee was created Duke of Yorke; at twelue yeeres (his brother deceased) Prince of Wales, and at eightene became sole Monarch of the land, when at Westminster vpon Sunday the twenty fifth of Iune, euen the festiual of Saint Iohn Baptist, and yeere of Christ Iesus, 1509. hee with his beauteous Queene Katherine receiued their Crowns at the hands of William Warham Archbishoppe of Canterbury, no Prince giuing better hopes vnto iustice, or seeking the wealth of his subjects more then himselfe.

(1) His Counsellors he chose of the grauest diuines

Monarch 58

The most learned King of Christendome,

King Henry and Queene Katherine crowned, Edw. Hall.

King Henry fled to flee often in Councils him felie in person.

Dudley, Empson, Ish. Stow.

Hollins. pag. 79.

E. dw. Hall.

In Yester Northamptonshire

Edmund Dudley condemned.

Jo. Setw. Annal.

X. Henricus iustice and charity commended.

Hollins.

Henry a goodly man of shape and stature.

uince, and the wisest Nobility, with whom hee not only often sat, to the great increase of his politike experience; but would also yield his authority to their graue and faire seeing wilddomes: Of whom the plaints of Petitioners were so mouingly regarded, that Proclamations went forth, with promise of restitution, to them that had bene wronged by *Dudley* or *Empson*, two persons that had abused the authority of *K. Henrie* his Father, by enriching their owne coffers, with the vtter vndoing of many better Subjects. These men, King *Henry* the seventh had made his Instruments for the finding out of offenders in his penall Statutes, themselves being learned in the lawes, and apt enough to execute their Commissions to the full: for, by their daily informations and recouering of fines, they digged and brought a siluer Mine into the Kings Exchequer, some veins whereof by the way, ranne also into their owne coffers, to the great vexation of all, and vtter vndoing of many; whereat the Noblemen grudged, the Gentility repined, the Commons lamented, and all of them felt the teeth of these rauening Wolues: But the father King departed, and his sonne set on his throne; the complaines of the oppressed loe oppressed the King and his Council, that *Dudley* and *Empson* were sent prisoners to the Tower, and both of them by Parliament attainted of Treason.

(1) *Edmund Dudley* by descent was a Gentleman, and by profession a Lawyer, hauing both wit and wordesat will, had hee not abused both to his own destruction. *Richard Empson* his inferior by birth, was the sonne of a poore Siewe-maker, but yet had hee stepped before him to the degree of a Knight: These night-sprung Mulgrumps that sucked the earthes fannesse, from far better plants than themselves, saw not the many hands ready to plucke vp them by the rootes, when the season should serue to cleare the land of such weeds: for albeit they had their discharge vnder the Kings owne hand to doe what they did, and their seruice knowne Crowne seruice, a matter impugnable, yet no sooner were they left to stand vpon their owne basis, but that they felt the weight of their done wrongs too importunate for them any longer to beare; for so importune were all degrees against them, that *Dudley* forthwith in *Guild-hall* London was arraigned and condemned to die: and *King Henry* in progresse, (through the cry of the people) could take no pleasure, till he had sent for *Empson* into *Northamptonshire*, where among them hee was arraigned, and receiued sentence of death, which was so desired and followed, as to satisfie his Subjects, the King sent a speciall writ for their executions, which with great joy of all was performed vpon Tower hill, by taking from them their heades; when they left their riches to be spent by others, and their names to remaine vpon Record for the Caterpillers of those times: whose like if any such live, shall leaue their hateful remembrance to the like stains of reprochfull infamy, how pleasing soeuer the promotion so gotten in their owne eyes shall seeme, or the employments in their selfe conceites accounted profitable to the State.

(4) This iustice of King *Henry* wanne him great praise of his people, and his charity extended towards London, when that City was sore distressed with famine, by sending sixe hundred quarters of corne, great loue; so that neuer any King entred his raigne with better hopes than himselfe. That his person was tall, is not to bee doubted, though not like vnto *Saul*, as some haue alleaged, whose report is, that at the siege of *Baillogne*, he was higher by the head than any in his Campe, and euery ioint proportionable to so royall a stature: but that hee was strong, his many Iuts and Tilts, and fights at *Turnay* (most dangerously performed) was manifested vpon them that vnderwent his heauy hand: for at *Tilt* hee bare downe a man at Armes both horie

and all, and threw Sir *William Kingston* a Knight of great strength to the ground at *Barryers*; with battell-axe hee combated against one *Gior* a Germane very strong and tall, and lent him better blowes then he could againe repay.

(5) His glorie thus mounted the Trophee of fame, and young *Henry* the onely morning starre in this Western Orb, Pope *Iulius* the second, fearing the further incroch of the French, who then had entred into some part of *Italy*, thought this Prince the strongest pillar whereunto to trust, and the fittest Carde to trumpe the French King, well knowing the Title that the English Kings had vnto *France*, and the readinesse of his Subjects to forward that way: whereupon writing his letters vnto King *Henry*, complained against *Lewis* the French King, and twelfth of that name, who neither (as hee alleaged) effecting of God, good fame, nor conscience, detained the reuenues of the Clergy, supported the Cardinal *William* to aspire the Papacy, aided in the siege of *Bonon*, *Alonso* of *Ferrara*, and the *Bentenuly*, both traitors to the *Papal* Sea, where hee intended to lay the foundation of his Empire, to vsurpe all *Italy*, besought him for the pity of our Saviour, and by the vertue of his famous ancestors, (for I vlt the words of the Popes briefe) that neuer forsooke the Church of God in distresse, and by the fillall obedience, the strongest bond, to enter into the holy league, they hauing elected him against *Lewis*, Caput fœderis Italiani.

(6) And indeed to speake as it was, *Lewis* much emulated King *Henric* greatness, fearing that fortune would giue him occasions to make his claime by sword vnto the Kingdome of *France*; which the sooner hee did by this holy fathers intigations, and by his Herald *Clarencius* roughly demanded, the Dutchie of *Normandy*, *Guyen*, *Arnon* and *Alsaine*, and with them also the Crowne that King *Lewis* ware. The Scottish king likewise, in case of *Andrew Barton* slaine in his Piracies (as the English alleaged) by the Admirall of *England*, accounted the truce broken, and fought the reuenge vpon the Borders adjoining. Against these two nations young *Henry* at once prepared, and happily obtained faire victories against both: but the successe of the one, (though not following precisely the time) we meane to relate before we enter discoure of the other.

(7) The enterprise great which *K. Henry* meant to vndergoe, hee thought it good wilddome to ioyne amity with *Maximilian* the Emperour, *Ferdinando* King of *Spain*, and many other Princes, holding also correspondency with Pope *Iulius* the second, that busie Pontificall Prelate of *Rome*: then propounding his purposes in Parliament, sent ouer certaine Nobles before him into *France*, and afterward followed them himselfe, pitching downe his Tents before the Towne of *Teruine*, where he raised his royall Standard of the Red-dragon, and begirt the Citie with a strait siege.

(8) To this place *Maximilian* the Emperour repaired, and to the great honour of *Henry* entred into his pay, wearing the Croffe of Saint George, with a rose (the Kings badge) as his faithfull Souldier, and receiued wages by day for euery of his, according to their degree: The French seeing the Towne in distresse, fought the reliefe with victuals, and men, but were so encountered by the king and his company, as that many of their chieftest Captaines were taken, and sixe of their Standards wonne, the rest for safeguard of life so posted away, that this conflict was called the battell of *Spoires*.

(9) Then was the battery brought so neer their wals, that many breaches were therein made, and the Towne by composition yielded vnto the King; whereupon the Earle of *Shrewsbury* was sent to see all things safe, who sturke vpon the highest Turret the Banner of Saint George, and took the oath of allegiance of all the French Citizens, to acknowledge King *Henry* their supreme Lord: This done, the King as a Conquerour entred *Teruine*, sent thence their

K. Henric great strength.

The strength of Henry.

The strength of Henry.

The Popes letters vnto King Henry.

A.D. 1513. Feb. 2. King Henry in camp entred.

K. Henry dead France.

John Lefly Bishop of Ross.

A.D. 1510.

Letter of Scots written by French.

K. Henry league with Prince Guiccard.

King Henry entred France.

An. Reg. Edw. Hal.

Seiden Em. The Emperour sent to King Henry.

Anglaren p.

Paulus Twi.

Battell of.

A.D. 1513. August.

Teruine was the Captiue of King Henry.

their Ordinance, dismounted the Turrets, cast downe the walles, filled vp the ditches, and fired the Towne, excepting onely the Cathedral Church and Bishops Pallace.

(10) Then was the siege remoued vnto *Turnay*: about which City King *Henry* commanded diuers Trenches to bee cast, and placed his Ordinance to such advantage, that none might enter in, or come out of the same. Into this Towne a great number of the French from the Countie adjoining had lately fled, relying much vpon the strength and safety of the place, which indeed had euer bene accounted so inuincible, that this sentence was engraued ouer one of the gates. *Iannes* to some a perdition pucelage, thou hast neuer lost thy maiden-head: Notwithstanding, it was yielded vp vnto *Henry* with ten thousand pounds sterling for the Citizens redemption, who to the number of fourescore thousand, then tooke their oathes to become his true Subjects, and foure of their principall bare vp the Canopie vnder which the King in triumph-wile entred, hauing born before him his sword, axe, spear, and other habiliments of warre, euery Citizen holding a staffe-Torch for his light. The safe keeping of this City, the King committed to Sir *Edward Poynings* Knight of the Order of the Garter, whom hee theremade his Lieutenant, and ordained *Thomas Wolsey* his Almoner the Bishoppe of *Turnay*. The yeere now spent, and season vnto the feilde, a successe from warre was determined vntill the next spring; whereupon all were shipped for *England* with full payment, and praise, but *Teruine* and *Turnay* sturke heauily vpon the French mens hearts.

(11) King *Lewis* thus endamaged in his owne Dominions, thought it best policy to pay like for like, to which end at the first attempts against *Teruine* hee solicited *James* the fourth of that name, King of *Scotland* (though brother by marriage vnto King *Henry* of *England*) to disturbe the peace of his Subjects, that so hee might bee drawne out of *France*; which *James* for his part put presently in practise: for writing his letters to *Henry* in the French Kings behalfe, charged him with breach of Truce; both in the case of his Scots slaine at the sea, as also against his Confederates the Duke of *Gelder*, and King of *France*, against which last he desired him to desist, otherwife hee should bee forced to reuenge the *Frenches* wrongs vpon his English: and to giue letters of Mart to recouer the losses of his Subjects.

(12) King *Henry* a Prince of a Maiesticall spirit, most highly offended at these his brothers requests, and threats, was so farre ouergone with fury and rage, that *Lions* King at Armes the bringer, was thereby somewhat daunted at his present answer, which he desired might be sent in writing, refusing to carry in words his reply to his Soueraigne. This *Heralds* wife and weighty request, was forthwith granted, and letters framed to King *James* demands, answering those imputations with rough and round words, which notwithstanding hee neuer read or saw, being slaine in the battell of *Flodden*, before that *Lions* could come to deliuer the same.

(13) For *James* King of *Scots* preparing for war, had in the meane while entred the borders, and with his Ordinance battered and wonne the Castell of *Norham*; making still forward vpon the English. Against whom *Thomas Howard* Earle of *Surrey* made the Kings Lieutenant of the North, at his going into *France*, assembled an Army of twenty fixe thousand strong, vnto whom came his sonne the Lord Admirall of *England*, with a great supply of good souldiers well appointed for warre. The Earle from *Newcastell* came vnto the water of *Till*, and pitched his battell besides a little Towne called *Brankston*, vnder *Flodden* hill, a mountaine lying in the North of *Northumberland*, betwixt the riuers of *Till* and *Tweed*, where vpon a rising banke, the Scottish

hoast had taken the aduantage of the ground: vnto King *James*, *Thomas* Earle of *Surrey* sent *Rouge Croffe* a Purleuant at Armes, with proffer of battell to bee done vpon Friday the ninth of *September*; if so it pleased his Highnesse, who withall caried this message from the L. Admirall, that he was come in person to iustifie his A& against *Andrew Barton*, and would abide the last drop of his blood in the Vant-gard of the field.

(14) King *James* most readily accepted the offer; and by his Herald *Hay* sent the Earle word, that if he were as then in *Edenborough*, yet would hee most gladly come to fulfill his desire; and withall sent his letters for the iust occasions giuen him to invade *England* as hee did. The day approached, and the Scots keeping the higher ground, the Earle marched vpward along the riuier, and by two Bridges passed ouer with his hoast; making still forward, as though he ment either to haue taken into *Scotland*, or else to circumcut *K. James* his returne, which hee perceiving, halted downe the hill, putting from him his horse, raised his roiall Standard, and as a most valiant Chieftaine encouraged his Souldiers to the fight.

(15) The Scottish Ordinance discharged from above, ouershot the English with very small damage, and the ground of no difficult ascent, gaue them the easier access, so that Sir *Edmund Howard*, who lead a wing to the Vant-gard (whereof his brother the Admirall was Captain) got almost to the height; against whom the Earles of *Lennox* and *Argile*, with their Battels of Spares on foot so violently encountered, that they beat down, and brake the wing of the English, wherein many were slaine, and the horsemen disbanded, and put to flight; but presently recalled, ioynd themselves againe to the great battell, which by this time had attained to the toppe of the hill. King *James* that saw this first brunt performed, made full account that the day was his owne, supposing verily the English had fled, and therefore most valiantly hee aduanced forward, not staying for the reregard to second his battell, and encountering the Earles Battalion, a bloody fight was performed, with the losse and life of many a man: but strength neere spent, and the Scottish somewhat disioyned, through force of a great shoure of arrowes falling among them; Sir *Edward Stanley* hauing three bands refrused for the like purpose, with a fresh onset invaded the open sides of the enemy, whose force was so violent, that the Scots no longer were able to stand, but tooke downe the hill vnto flight, which the Earles of *Lennox* and *Argile* perceiving, did their best to stay them, and fighting most valiantly, themselves were slaine in the same place.

(16) King *James* then perceiving the wings of his Battell distressed and gone, and that the enemy began to enclose him about; with a stout resolution encouraged his men, willing the to regard the person of their King, their own honor, their valiant Ancestors, and now their present impleiments; that their blood might bee bought deare to the English, and the Scottish valours recorded for euer in the volumes of fame for this their one daies work; & thereupon rushing among the thickest began a most eager & bloody battell, and piercing through with a strong hand went so far, that hee had almost ouerthrowne the Earles Standard: thus buffed in doubtfull chance, the Lord *Howard* and Sir *Edward Stanley* hauing discomfited the enemy in either wing, returned in the face of the maine battell, and the Lord *Darres* with his Horse-men came vpon their backs, so that the Scottish were forced to fight in a round compass, but being ouer-laid, the Kings Standard was stricken downe, and himselfe most valiantly fighting slaine in the middelt of his enemies: with whom died three Bishops, whereof one was *Alexander* Archbishop of Saint *Andrews* the Kings bafe sonne, two Abbots, twelue Earles, and seuentene Lords, X x x x x Knights

Lord Howard proffereth battell vnto K. James.

King James accepted of battell.

John Bell.

The fight begun.

Paulus Jouliu.

The Scots at the first encounter beat the English backe.

The battels ioynd.

The Scots put to flight.

The valiant courage of K. James.

James King of Scots slaine with 15. Earles, and 17. Lords.

Knights and Gentlemen a great number in all about eight thousand, and almost as many taken prisoners laith *Paulus Louius*.

(17) The next day when the Scouts had found the field cleared of enemies, and the English bled to burie their dead: the body of King *James* was found flaine among the rest, hauing received many bloody wounds, and most of them deadly: for his sides were flucke thicke with sharpe arrowes, his necke cut into the middest, and his left hand in two places almost cut quite off. These wounds notwithstanding he was delivered, and knowne by the Lord *Daeres* and others to bee the King: and thereupon his body bowelled, embalmed, and wrapped in lead, was solemnly brought vnto the Monastery of *Shine* in *Surrey*, where no doubt it was honourably entered: but at the dissolution of that House, in the daies of King *Edward* the sixth, it was (as almost all other Monuments were) disturbed of rest, and throwne into a waste roome among old timber, stone and lead, which *John Stowe* the Relater saith, himselfe so saw: and further declareth (let him bee the Author) that the seruants of *Launcelot Young* Glazier to the late Queene, being at *Shine* in new glazing the windowes, either vpon a foolish pleasure, or desire of the Lead, cut the head from the rest: but smelling the sweet perfumes of the balmes, gaue it to their Master, who opening the lead found there in the Head of a man retaining fauour, though the moisture were cleane dried vp, whose haire both of Head and Beard was redde, which after he had well viewed, and a while kept, he caused to bee buried in Saint *Michaels* at Woodstreet London, the Church of the Parish wherein himselfe dwelled.

(18) Notwithstanding this faire tale of *John Stowe*, *John Lesby* Bishop of *Rosse* affirmeth, that it was held for certaine, the body thus found, was the body of the Laird *Bonchard* then slain in the battell: and that *K. James* was scene alive the same night at *Kelfo*, whence he passed vnto *Ierusalem* and there spent the rest of his daies in holie contemplation: but howsoever it is (laith he) he neuer was scene any more in Scotland, no more then *Charles Duke of Burgundy* was in his Country after the Battell of *Nanze*: howbeit his people held a vaine opinion that hee escaped, and would againe shortly returne. This battell was fought vpon the ninth of September, the yeere 1513, and is commonly called the battell of *Flodden* or *Flodden Field*: whence with victory, the Earle *Generall* departed, with the embalmed Body of King *James*, whom hee presented vnto Queene *Katherine*, who with the Gauntler of the flaine King sent the newes of the victorie vnto her Lord King *Henrie*, then lying in his siege before the Towne *Ternue*.

(19) But as these his proceedings went prosperously forward, and his fame daily spread in further parts, so the *Flemmings* (who hitherto had held side with his failes) began to fall off suddenly, & vpon the occasion as followeth. It had beene concluded betwixt King *Henrie* the seventh, and *Philip* King of *Spaine*, that *Charles* his eldest sonne should marry *Marie* the younger daughter of the English King, with a Princely Dowry agreed vpon, but shee being young, and not tenn yeeres of age, and the *Castilian* vnabie to giue assurance of her pension assigned, that match went not forward during the life of her father, howbeit King *Henrie* her brother regarding greatly her honour, provided for the marriage, and signified so much to the Counsell of *Flanders*: who dallied him off with many excuses, & lastly sent him word they could not receiue her that yeare.

(20) This therefore gaue *Lewis* King of *France* occasion to hammer at a peace, and making Pope *Leo* his, they both together put in practise, the reader was *Henry* to listen thereunto, both for the loue he bore to his sister, and for the great regard he held of the Apostolike See, whence *Iulius* the second, and this Popes Predecessor had lately sent him a Cappe of maintenance and sword, and by decree

of Councel giuen him the Title *Christianissimo*; which were received with great thanks, and solemnities. The French Kings desire was to marry the said Lady *Mary*, whose dowrie hee assigned to bee thirty two thousand Crownes by yeere, during her natural life, covenantring further to pay vnto King *Henrie* her brother, the summe of one hundred thousand Crownes annually for five yeeres continuance.

(21) Peace thus concluded, the Lady *Mary* with an honourable Company was shipped at *Douer*, the Duke of *Sorfolk*, the Marquesse *Dorset*, and the Earle of *Salisbury*, being her chief conductors: whose fleet had not passed two leagues at Seas, but that a sudden tempest arose, and so violently raised the waues, as their Ships were seuered each from others, some into *Flanders*, some into *Callis*, and hers with great difficulty stricken in at *Bullen*, where by Boates her traine was landed, and her selfe borne to the shore in the armes of a Knight. Thence with thirty six Ladies all their Palfrises trapped in crimson Velvet, embroidered with gold, her selfe all in Cloth of silver, her horses and Chariots in Tissue-cloth of Gold, and Crimson velvet set with Goldsmiths worke, morelike an Angell then a humane Creature, mette with King *Lewis* at *Abuile*, and there the ninth of October the marriage was solemnized; where the French so gazed at the new Queenes beauty, as they could not cast their eyes from her attractive raies, nor the iusurme King bee satisfied with any other obiect whilst shee was in presence; for (so saith *Guichardine*) hee gaue him selfe ouer to much to behold her most excellent beauty, not considering her young yeeres, being not yet eigheteene, with the inequality of his owne expired; nor the constitution of his weake decayed body. For hauing bene sicke before this his marriage, and not well recovered of his lingering disease, (though he set the fairest shew outward) liued with this his faire Queene only eighty two daies, and then by his death left her to choose another husband to her beliking, which shee shortly did in her second match.

(22) For thus left a stranger in the French Court, and desirous to returne againe into England; King *Henrie* her brother, sent *Charles Brandon* the new made Duke of *Sorfolk*, to conduct the young Queene out of *France*. This Duke a gallant, and of a goodly presence, so courted his Charge, and carried himselfe in the eie of her melting affections, as his loue entred deeply into her tender heart: which thing indeed King *Henrie* perceived before, for which cause, as was thought, hee raised him to the grace of a Duke; howsoever the Gemme thus got, and too precious to bee lost, hee made her his owne, by celebration of marriage, before hee past *Callis*, and thence sent to intreate his Soueraignes consent, who seeing it was bootlesse to vndoe what was done, with a light touch of reproofe allowed their nuptials. But her dowrie kept backe by the French, and other grieuances complained of, caused no little troubles betwixt the two Realmes as shall be related in place conuenient. In the meane while let it not seeme our tedious if we briefly runne ouer the rising and height of *Thomas Wolsey*, that pontifical Priest, seeing that many dependances of *Storie* had their euent in the Acts of this man, who with the King reigned together as King, if not before him in managing the State.

(23) His birth was at *Ipswich* in the County of *Suffolke*, his parents poore, but of an honest report, and himselfe a good Philosopher, very eloquent and full of wit: his education in youth was at *Oxford* in *Maudlin Colledge*, and his first preferment from the Lord *Marquesse Dorset*, who bestowed vpon him a benefice in his gift, in regard that hee was tutor vnto his sonnes, which Sir *Amias Paulet* so crost him in, that hee tied *Wolsey* by the feete in the Stockes though afterward hee put this his Act among other his deedes, whereof hee had iust cause to repent: for

for the Schoolemaster no sooner was mounted into the Chancellorshippe of England, but that hee laid his command vpon *Paulet*, and retained him as Prisoner in the Middle Temple the space of 6. yeeres: but in the meane time Marquesse *Dorset* dying, left *Wolsey* pillar of hope altogether vnpolished, and the base thereof it selfe vnstered vpon any firme ground: so that *Wolsey* now sought his fortune in *France*; who comming to *Calles*, became seruant to Sir *John Naphant* the Treasurer of that Towne, where hee carried himselfe with so great discretion, as shortly his master preferred him to the King.

(24) This Scholler hauing thus cast Anchor at Court, the haue of hope, was more then double diligent in the Kings eye, and very seruicable also both to Doct^r *Fox* Bishoppe of *Winchester*, Secretary, and Lord *Pruiue Seale*, as also to Sir *Thomas Louell* Master of the Warder, and Constable of the Tower: but most of all vnto Fortune, that now fitted occasion to make her selfe famous in this poore Butchersonne. For King *Henrie* hauing vrgent business with *Maximilian* the Emperour, sent this his Chaplen vnto him in Post, who posted againe before hee was thought to bee gone, and withal concluded some points forgor in his directions, to the high content of his Soueraigne Lord the King: for the which hee bestowed vpon him the Dearie of *Lincolne*, the worthiest promotion vnder the degree of a Bishoppe: then was hee made the Kings Almoner, and presently following one of the Priuy Counsell: wherein his aduise was so wise, and his perfwalions so weighty, that hee was continually employed to be their expostitor to the King, alwayes carrying a most speciall regard, to preferre his Maieities will howsoever it went; so that his mouth was the only Organ that euer sounded his pleasure, and freedome from troubles of all State affaires.

(25) But warres hauing bene commenced betwixt England and France, and *Turnay* lost from the obedience of *Lewes*, King *Henrie* gaue his Almoner the Bishopricke thereof, and changed his Deane of *Lincolns* into the Bishopricke of the same Diocesse, and not long after set also the Miter of *Torke* vpon *Wolsey* Wife-head: whereby hee became (as it were) three Bishoppes at once, and now being *Primas Anglia*, carried himselfe accordingly, by erecting his Crosse in the Kings Court, albeit it were within the Iurisdiction of *Canterbury*, which seemed vnseuerable; the dignity of the Church held then much by Precedency of place, and the giuing way to inferiours, accounted the infringing of all religious liberties: Wherefore *William* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* found himselfe fore agreed to haue the Crosse of *Torke* (which owed him obedience) aduanced with his, and that in his presence, for which hee greatly checked the presumption of this proud Prelate.

(26) But *Wolsey* not wanting wherewithall to mate him by the intigations of the Kings, both of England and France; obtained to bee made Priest, Cardinal, and Legatus de Latere, vnto whom Pope *Leo* sent a Cardinals hatte, with bulles of authority in that behalfe, yet were these high Presents brought in no better a case, then in a mean budget, which seemeth somewhat disgracefull in the new Cardinals eye; wherefore hee commanded a stay to bee made of the bringers approach, and for the greater honour to this honourable present, arrayed him in most costly silkes, beseeeming so great an Ambassador, who aduancing forward, hee caused to be encountered by a number of gallant Gentlewomen, and a great assembly of Prelates vpon Blacke-heath, by whom hee was conducted with much honour through the City of London, and his Present deliuered at *Westminster*, attended by many mitred Bishoppes and Abbots, with a rich shew of Copes, as if it had beene a Kings Coronation.

(27) Thus got before *Canterbury* by his power Legatus, to weare now his hatte without controll

of an equal, hee obtained the purse with the broad Seale of England, which Archbishoppe *Warham* had enjoyed long before the death of King *Henrie* the seventh, and was made Lord Chancellour in his roomes: so that besides the purse and mace of that honourable Office, hee had two Crosse and two Pillars, borne euer before him by the tallest Priests that were to bee found in the Realme. To the better maintenance of his chargeable estate, the King bestowed on him the Bishopricke of *Winchester*, and in Commendam the Abbey of *Saint Albanes*, and with them hee held in Farme, the Bishopricks of *Bath*, *Worcester*, and *Hereford*, enioyed by strangers incumbents, not residing in the Realm, so that now seeming a monster with seuen heads, and each of them crowned with the Miter of a Bishoppe, let vs thus leaue him dandled in Dame Fortunes lap, till surfered with dalliance hee cast him from thence.

(28) But the state of *Londons* Tradesmen prospered vnder his greatness nothing so well, for such was the concourse of strangers, and so much were they borne with, by the superiors, that they abused the English, openly in the markets, kept from a Citizen his owne wife with his plate, yea, and past with a small pennance for killing an Englishman. These first were complained of in a Sermon at Saint *Maries* Spittle, and afterwards assaulted, and much hurt done to their substance and houses, for which riotous offence *John Lincolne* the only initiator was hanged; and four hundred men, boyes, and e-leuen women led in ropes along the City in their shirts, and halters about their neckes to the Kings Hall at *Westminster*, where his Maiesty sitting vnder a cloath of estate, pardoned the offences to the great reioicing of the Londoners.

(29) But the losse of *Turney* sticking fore vpon the stomacke of the French King, hee sought to redreeme it againe with money, and to that end sent his Ambassadors into England, where it was concluded, that the City should bee deliuered vnto *Frances Valois* then King of France, paying for the same vnto *Henry* sixe hundred thousand Crownes in twelue yeeres continuance, that is to say, fifty thousand Crownes a yeere, that the Duke of *Albanie* should be recalled out of Scotland, and that the *Daulphin* should marry the Lady *Mary* King *Henries* young daughter, which marriage if so it happened not to take effect at the yeeres of content, then *Turnay* should be redeliuered to the English; neither was this forgotten, that the Cardinal should receiue a thousand markes yearly for the renewences of the said Bishopricke, and vpon these Covenants were hostages for further assurance deliuered.

(30) But peace much affected among Christian Princes, and daily increased of most potent Estates, was very much feared would worke alteration in the authority, abuse, and great riches of the Clergy, if Kings might haue leasure to looke into their own charges at home. To busie their heads therefore from all suspicion or ialousies, Pope *Leo* the tenth deuised the means, by a preparation intended for the holy lands warres; a subiect in few very religious, howsoever the former successes had proued it not pleasing to God, when to recover the City once holy, and to build vp that which Christ by prophesie had cast downe, as much Christian blood was spilt to raise those ruinous walls, as there was mortar laid to sauen the stones of their first building.

(31) To this end therefore three Legates were sent from the holy See of Rome, one into France, another into Germany, and Cardinal *Campus* into England, with whom was ioyned *Wolsey* in Commission, who hearing of the ragged retinue of his fellow Cardinal, sent store of red cloth vnto *Calles*, to make them meet followers of so great a Lord; and *Campus* landed at *Douer*, *Wolsey* caused the Townes thorough which he should passe, to receive him with procession: and so being brought by the Gentility of

Wolsey made his Chancellour of England.

John Stowe,
1. *Turnay*,
2. *Lincolne*,
3. *York*,
4. *Winchester*,
5. *Bath*,
6. *Worcester*,
7. *Hereford*.

A.D. 1517.
111 May day.

The English abused by strangers.

Rich. Grafsh.

A.D. 1519.

Turnay deliuered vpon composition.

Articles of agreement betwixt *K. Henry* and *K. Lewis*.

The Pope an enemy to Christian peace.

The warres for *Ierusalem* vncleane fingo to God. *Luce* 24.

Cardinal *Campus* came Legate into England.

The Honourable
reciting of Car-
dinal Campius.

Math. 21.

The Cardinals
rich treasures
showed in Cheap
side.

Charles the Em-
perour cometh
into England.

John Stow.

Rich. Turpin.

King Henrie gos-
eth into France.

Rich. Grafton.

Edw. Hall.

A.D. 1521.
An. Reg. 13.

Vailliance be-
twix England
and France.

John Stow.

R. Grafton.

Kent vnto Black-heath neere vnto Greenwich, was there mette and receiued by the Duke of Norfolk, many Knights, but many more Prelates, where in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, he shifted himselfe into his Cardinall Robes, which was edged about with most rich Ermine, and thence rode to London, in more pompe and estate then Christ did to Ierusalem when Hofanna was sung.

(32) Eight Mules hee had laden with necessaries belonging, but those made no shew in proud Wolfeies eyes, therefore twelue more hee sent him to furnish his Pageants through the streets of London, these either wanton, or alhamed to bee wondered at, plaied the skittish lades indeed: For in Cheape-side, as this Triumph fourth passed, these beautes by breaking their Collers and elcaping their Leaders, cast their Carriages and Coffers vpon the cold ground; whose lids flying open laid most of their riches to the sight of the people. For, from some of them fell olde Breaches, Bootes and broken shoes, from others torne stockings tortered ragges, olde Iron and horse shoes, and for fainting by the way therein was belowed, and now cast abroad, broken meate, many bones, roasted egges, and cruets of bread, ywisle worth the keeping: this Shipwrack made vpon the Shelves of Cheape-side, no need it was to bid the mulcters to bestirre them, who like good thrifty mariners faued from spoile as much as they could, and trussing vp their trinkets, laded againe these wantons, with the wealth of the Cardinall, who (good man) was logging on afore with his Crosses, pillars, Gilt-axe and Mace, vnto Pauls Church, where hee was mette with many mitred Bishops, and attended vpon to Bath place, where we will leaue him, and returne to the place where wee left.

(33) The vnity agreed vpon betwixt England and France, a meeting was motioned for the two Kings, and to that ende great preparation made as well of the one as of the other. But in the heate of this businesse, King Henry had word that Charles, his Queenes Nephew, and new made Emperour, would visit him in England, which accordingly hee did, accompanied with the Queene of Arragon, and a most Royall Train, and was as Roiallie entertained by King Henry: the cause of his coming was to hinder the peace concluded with France, for although, this Emperour were young, and but newly established, yet was hee wife and well forefawe the hurt that this amity with France, would bring him, and therefore came in person of purpose to disswade the Kings mind and to stay his entrance with the French if he could, but finding Henry so forward in those proceeds, hee baited his hooks with golden gifts to the Cardinall, and wanne him wholly to his deuotion.

(34) King Henry passing the Seas vnto Callis, met with King Frances at a place appointed, and for that purpose newly built betwixt the Townes of Guisnes, and Arde: where to describe the lusts, Banquets, and Maskes were to fill vp (with Hall, Grafton and Holinshed) whole sides of excessive great Cost. At Callis also the same time the Emperour, with his Aunt the Lady Margaret Dutchesse of Sawoy landed, whither King Henry and his Queene repaired, to the no little grudge of the French King, though he kept it to himselfe, and contented vnto the ancient league tripartite betwixt these three Monarches, which done the Kings returned into their owne Realmes.

(35) Displeasures shortly arising betwixt the Emperour and the French King, King Henry assaied to bring the to peace, but that failing, fell himselfe from the French, imputing the fault vnto Frances for suborning the Scots against him, and King Frances againe laid all the blame in the Cardinall, accusing him of dissimulation, abhorred practises and what not: but wherefoeuer lay the defect, the Duke of Albany was sent into Scotland, the French followed a Spanish ship fraught with the goods of English Mer-

chants vnto Margate, and tooke her euen in the Kings streams, in both which King Frances excusing himselfe with ignorance, alleaged no breach of truce broken by him.

(36) Then was it thought best by the Cardinals aduice to repay like with like, and therefore counselled his King, to reare Charles Duke of Burbon against France and to perswade him to inuade the very heart thereof, encouraging him with sufficient pay, and making him his Champion general of the Field; whilest the Emperour likewise held him play against Milan. And to that end was sent in way of loane to the Emperour a great summe of money, and forreine Princes solicited to take armes against France, for effecting which King Henry sent his Ambassadors to the States of Venice and Swislers with these instructions as followeth.

(37) That whereas in a treatie of peace it was concluded betwixt the Emperour, King Henry, and Frances the French King, that if any Controversies should arise betwixt any two, the Prince not inuading should giue aide and assistance against the invader: but now the Emperour being inuaded by the French Kings Captaines in the Realme of Navarre, and in his owne Countrey by Robert de la Marche, and others by his procurement, and our King (said they) being often called vpon by the Emperour, hath often entreated the French King to successe, but hath nothing obtained besides faire words and detraction of promises. Complaining likewise that in the intercourse of these busineses, the French King contrary to his Oath had sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland (in contempt of King Henry) and to the great danger of the young Kings death or deposition, he being the next in blood to succeed, and to the dishonour of the Queene mother, had caused a separation betwixt her and her lawfull husband the Earle of Angus. That the French King had detained the payment compounded for the deliury of Turnay, and kept backe the dowry of his sister Queene Dowager of France, that hee had entertained the rebellious Subjects of King Henry, and spoiled his Merchants both by Land and Sea. Neither was vnremembered the danger that the Venetians stood in, if the Realmes of Naples, and Sicilie, the Seignories of Teans, and Milan were lost from the Empire. These therefore seemed faire proiects vnto King Henry for him to warre against France, and to that end, a generall Muster by Commission was taken of all able men from fixteene yeeres and upward, of euery Hamlet, Village, Burrough, Citie, Hundred, and Shire, throughout England, which seemed to many another Domesday Booke: and yet was there neither peace nor warre against France.

(38) In this great and hasty preparation, Charles the Emperour, as he passed toward Spaine, landed at Douer, where King Henrie mette him, and in great estate brought him to London, which was so prepared with Ornaments and Pageants, as if it had been the Kings Coronation, and in the Blacke-friers the Emperour was lodged in a most Princely Palace new built by the King; then was hee feasted at Windsor, where hee ate in his state, in his Mantle and Garter, and by receiving the Sacrament these two Potent Monarches took their Corporal Oathes to obserue the Couenants concluded betwixt them: whereof one was, that the Emperour Charles agreed to stay for, and take to wife the young Princeesse Lady Marie, King Henrie then onely daughter, and in such golden bands of loue, Charles and Henrie, seemed to be linked, as in London this sentence was set vp in the Guild-hall ouer the doore of the Counsell Chamber, where it still remaineth.

Carolus, Henricus, vinant, defensor uterque
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie.

(39) Why he Titles defender of Church and Faith, were attributed vnto these two Princes

Taken out of the
Cardinals owne
letters dated the
ninth 16. Anno
1524.

Duke Borbon
made King Hen-
rie Captaine
General.
Instructions of
King Henry du-
ing Anno 1524.
Rich. Pateson
tatie.

The English
bailage into
forraigne States.

The wrongs
done by the
French vnto
English.

John Lef.

The Queene
Dowry vnto
France.

A.D. 1521.
A generall
muster.

Jo. Stow.

Charles the
emperour cometh
into Eng-
land.

Holinshed, l. 18.
Henrie.

The Emperour
assuages the
distray.

is no maruell; for Charles chosen Emperour, was scarcely confirmed, but to purchase the Popes fauor, he directed forth a solemne Writ of Out-lawry against Martin Luther, who then had giuen a great blow to the Papall Crowne. And King Henry likewise was renowned in Rome, for writing a booke against the said Luther: vnderdropping the tottering or downe-cast countenance of the Popes pardons; which Luther shrewdly had shaken; the Pope therefore to shew himselfe a kind father vnto those his sonnes, gaue them these Titles; which in truth were none other, then the same which they sware vnto, when the Crownes of their Empire were first set vpon their heads. But with what acceptance his Holinesse receiued King Henries booke, his owne Oration tolemlie made at the deliury thereof vnto M. John Clarke the prefenter and Kings Ambassador, in his Consistory, and in presence of his Cardinals sufficiently doth shew, the translation whereof we haue inserted as we finde it in the Originall itselfe.

"Wee doe receiue this booke with all alacritie; it is indeede such as there could not bee any thing sent vs, and our venerable brethren, more acceptable then it is. For the King himselfe, a most mighty, most prudent, and most truly Christian Prince, we know not whether wee may more prayse or admire, being the first that by warre with happy successe hath subdued the enemies of the Church of Christ, that seeke to rend Christs coat, and at last overcoming the enemies, hath restored peace to the Church of God, and to this holy See. But now against to soule a Monster, both to vnderstand, to be able, and willing to write this booke, he hath shewed himselfe no more admirable to the whole world for his elegant style, then for his wit. We humbly giue thanks to our Creator for giuing such a Prince to defend his Church, and this holy See, desiring the same God to grant to this his King a happy life, and all his desires, and after this life in his heavenly Kingdome, to keepe for him an euerglasting Crowne. And we so farre as we are able to entreat of God, will neuer bee wanting to the said most wise King in the faculties granted to vs of God.

(40) To manifest which his readinesse, himselfe among his Cardinals decreed an augmentation vnto King Henries royall Stile to bee annexed vnto his others; confirming the same by his Bull, which that it perih not by the deuouring teeth of Time, wee haue here published from the originall Parchment, and leadeen scale it selfe, as followeth.

(41) Leo Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, &c. Leo Bishop seruant of the seruants of God; to our most dearely beloued Sonne in Christ, Henry King of England defender of the Faith, health and Apostolical Benediction. Wee by diuine permission, the chiefe ouersee for the government of the vniuersall Church, though vn sufficient for so great a worke, doe poure forth the cogitations of our heart, that the Catholike faith without which no man can attaine to saluation, may receiue continuall increase, and that those good lawes and constitutions decreed by the wisdom and learning of such as are in authority, especially the faithfull in Christ, for restraining the attempts of all that labour to oppress the same, or by wicked lyes & fictions seeke to pervert and obscure it, may prosper with perpetuall increase, doe bestow our paines and utmost endeuour in our office and Ministry. And like as the Romane Bishops our Predecessors, were wont to shew especiall fauour to Catholike Princes (according as the quality of matters and times required) especially to them that in troublesome times, when the madnesse and perfidious dealing of Schismatikes and heretikes most of all abound, did abide constant and vnmoueable, not onely in soundnesse of faith and pure deuotion to the holy Romane Church, but also as the most legitimate Towner and valiant Champions of the same, opposed themselves both with mind and body against the furious madnes of Schismatikes and heretikes: so likewise also doe wee desire

to extoll your Maiesty with worthy and immortal praies, for your high and immortal deuits and labours towards vs, and this holy See, wherein by Gods permission wee sit, to grant vnto it those things for which it ought to watch, and drine away the vices from the Lords flocke, and to cut off with the material sword rotten members, which infect the mysticall body of Christ; and to confirme the hearts of the faithfull in soundnesse of belief. Now where of late our beloued Sonne John Clarke your Maiesties Orator with vs, being in our Consistory before our venerable brethren of the holy Romane Church, the Cardinals and many other Prelates of the same, exhibited a booke vnto vs to bee examined and allowed of vs, which booke your Maiesties selfe (who doth all things with diligence and nothing amisse) enflamed with charity and zeale to the Catholike faith, and with ardent deuotion towards vs and this holy See, hath composed, as a most worthy and soueraine Antidote against the errors of diuers heretikes, often condemned by this holy See, and of late stirred up and brought in by Martin Luther: And your said Orator hath also largely declared vnto vs, that your Maiesty is ready, and purposeth, like as you haue confuted the notorious errors of the said Martin, by true reason and inuincible authorities of sacred Scripture, and ancient fathers, so you will punish to the uttermost of your power, all those of your whole Kingdome, that shall presume to follow, or defend them: and we haue diligently and exactly perused and viewed the admirable doctrine of your said booke, watered with the dew of heavenly Grace, and doe heartily thanke Almighty God, from whom euery good and perfect gift doth come, who hath vouchsafed to inspire your Noble mind, inclined to euery good thing, and to endue you with so great Grace from heauen, as to write those things, whereby you are able to defend his holy faith, against such a new Innouator of damned errors, and also incite by your example all other Christian Kings and Princes, to be willing to fauour and further with all their best aides the Orthodoxall faith, and Evangelicall truth, whensoever it bee brought into danger or doubt. And wee thinke it also meete, that they who haue undertaken such godly labours for the defence of the faith of Christ, should haue all prayse and honour of vs; and wee are desirous, that not onely the things themselves which your Maiesty hath written, being both of most sound doctrine, and no lesse eloquence, should bee extolled and magnified with condigne commendations, and allowed and confirmed by our authority; but also that your Maiesty should bee graced with such an honour, and such a Title, as that both for our time and euery hereafter all men might perceiue how gratefull and acceptable this gift of your Maiesties hath bene vnto vs, especially offered vnto vs now at this time. Wee, who be the true successors of Peter, whom Christ at his ascension into heauen left his Vicar on earth, and to whom hee committed the care of his flocke: Wee say, who sit in this holy seate, from which all dignities and titles do flow, vpon mature deliberation had with our said brethren about these things, haue by the generall agreement, and consent of them decreed, to bestow vpon your Maiesty this title, namely, THE DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. And accordingly by these Presents doe insitle you with such a title, commanding all faithfull Christians, that they name your Maiesty with this Title, and when they write to you, that after the Word KING, they adioine DEFENDER OF THE FAITH. And truly wee diligently considering and weighing your singular merits, were not able to bethinke vs of a name more worthy and conuenient for your Maiesty, then the excellency and dignity of this Title, which so often as you shall heare and reade. So often you may call to mind this your singular vertue and great desert, nor may you by this Title puffe up your self in pride, but according to your wonted prudence become more humble, and bee more valiant and constant in the faith of Christ, and in deuotion to this holy See, by which you haue bene exalted, reioicing in the Lord the giuer of all good things, leauing this as a perpetuall and immortal monument of your glory to your children, shewing them the way vnto the like, that if they shall desire to be graced

Yyyy alfa

The Honourable
reciting of Car-
dinal Campius.

Math. 21 p.

The Cardinals
rich treasures
shewed in Cheap
side.

Charles the Em-
perour com-
eth into England.

John Stow.

Rich. Turpin.

King Henric go-
eth into France.

Rich. Grafton.

Edw. Hall.

A.D. 1521.
An. Reg. 13.

Variance be-
twixt England
and France.

John Stow.

R. Grafton.

Kent vnto Black-heath neere vnto Greenwich, was there mette and receiued by the Duke of Norfolk, many Knights, but many more Prelates, where in a Tent of Cloth of Gold, he shifted himselfe into his Cardinall Robes, which was edged about with most rich Ermine, and thence rode to London, in more pompe and estate then Christ did to Ierusalem when Hofanna was sung.

(32) Eight Mules hee had laden with necessaries belonging, but those made no shew in proud Wolfeis eyes, therefore twelue more hee sent him to furnish his Pageants through the streets of London, these either wanton, or ashamed to bee wondrous at, plaid the skittish lades indeed: For in Cheape-side, as this Triumph fourth passed, these beasts by breaking their Collers and eia-ping their Leaders, cast their Carriages and Coffers vpon the cold ground; whose lids flying open laid most of their riches to the sight of the people. For, from some of them fell olde Breaches, Bootes and broken shooes, from others torne stockings tottered ragges, olde Iron and horse shooes, and for fainting by the way therein was bestowed, and now cast abroad, broken meate, many bones, roasted egges, and crufts of bread, ywisfe worth the keeping: this Shipwrack made vpon the Shelves of Cheape-side, no need it was to bid the muliters to bestirre them, who like good thrifty mariners saued from spoile as much as they could, and trussing vp their trinkets, laded againe these wantons, with the wealth of the Cardinal, who (good man) was iogging on afore with his Crofles, Pillars, Gilt-axe and Mace, vnto Pauls Church, where hee was mette with many mitred Bishops, and attended vpon to Bath place, where we will leaue him, and returne to the place where wee left.

(33) The vnity agreed vpon betwixt England and France, a meeting was motioned for the two Kings, and to that ende great preparation made as well of the one as of the other. But in the heate of this businesse, King Henry had word that Charles, his Queenes Nephew, and new made Emperour, would visit him in England, which accordingly hee did, accompanied with the Queene of Arragon, and a most Royall Train, and was as Roiallie entertained by King Henry: the cause of his comming was to hinder the peace concluded with France, for although, this Emperour were young, and but newly established; yet was hee wife and well forefawe the hurt that this amity with France, would bring him, and therefore came in perfon of purpose to disswade the Kings mind and to stay his entrance with the French if he could, but finding Henry fo forward in those proceeds, hee baited his hooks with golden gifts to the Cardinall, and wanne him wholly to his deuotion.

(34) King Henry passing the Seas vnto Callis, met with King Frances at a place appointed, and for that purpose newly built betwixt the Townes of Guisnes, and Arde: whereto describe the Iusts, Banquets, and Maskes were to fill vp (with Hall, Grafton and Holinshed) whole sides of excefliue great Cost. At Callis also the same time the Emperour, with his Aunt the Lady Margaret Dutchesse of Sawoy landed, whither King Henry and his Queene repaired, to the no little grudge of the French King, though he kept it to himselfe, and consented vnto the ancient league triperite betwixt these three Monarches, which done the Kings returned into their owne Realmes.

(35) Displeasures shortly arising betwixt the Emperour and the French King, King Henry assaied to bring the to peace, but that failing, fell himselfe from the French, imputing the fault vnto Frances for suborning the Scots against him, and King Frances againe laid all the blame in the Cardinall, accusing him of dissimulation, abhorred practices and what not: but wherefoer lay the defect, the Duke of Albany was sent into Scotland; the French followed a Spanish ship fraught with the goods of English Mer-

chants vnto Margate, and tooke her cuen in the Kings streams, in both which King Frances excusing himselfe with ignorance, alleged no breach of truce broken by him.

(36) Then was it thought best by the Cardinals aduice to repay like with like, and therefore counselled his King, to reare Charles Duke of Burbon against France, and to perswade him to invade the very heart thereof, incouraging him with sufficient pay, and making him his Champion general of the Field; whilst the Emperour likewise held him play against Milan. And to that end was sent in way of loane to the Emperour a great summe of money, and forreine Princes solicited to take armes against France, for effecting which, King Henry sent his Ambassadors to the States of Venice and Switzers with these instructions as followeth.

(37) That whereas in a treatie of peace it was concluded betwixt the Emperour, King Henry, and Frances the French King, that if any Controuersies should arise betwixt any two, the Prince not invading should giue aide and assistance against the invader: but now the Emperour being invaded by the French Kings Captaines in the Realme of Navarre, and in his owne Countrey by Robert de la Mare, and others by his procurement, and our king (said they) being often called vpon by the Emperour, hath often entreated the French King to succaile, but hath nothing obtained besides faire words and detraction of promises. Complaining likewise that in the intercoure of these busineses, the French King contrary to his Oath had sent the Duke of Albany into Scotland (in contempt of King Henry) and to the great danger of the young Kings death or depofition, he being the next in blood to succeed, and to the dishonour of the Queene mother, had caused a separation betwixt her and her lawfull husband the Earle of Angus. That the French King had detained the payment compounded for the deliuey of Turnay, and kept backe the dowry of his sister, Queene Dowager of France, that hee had entertained rebellious Subjects of King Henry, and spoiled his Merchants both by Land and Sea. Neither was vnremembered the danger that the Venetians stood in, if the Realmes of Naples, and Sicilie, the Seigniories of Ieans, and Millane were lost from the Empire. These therefore seemed faire proiects vnto King Henry for him to warre against France, and to that end, a generall Muster by Commission was taken of able men from sixteen yeers and vpward, of euery Hamlet, Village, Burrough, Citie, Hundred, and Shire, throughout England, which seemed to many another Domefday Booke: and yet was there neither peace nor warre against France.

(38) In this great and hasty preparation, Charles the Emperour, as hee passed toward Spaine, landed at Dover, where King Henric mette him, and in great estate brought him to London; which was so prepared with Ornaments and Pageants, as if it had been the Kings Coronation, and in the Blacke-frices the Emperour was lodged in a most Princely Palace new built by the King; then was hee seated at Windsor, where hee sat in his state, in his Mantle and Garter, and by receiving the Sacrament these two Potent Monarches tooketheir Corporal Oathes to obferue the Couenants concluded betwixt them: whereof one was, that the Emperour Charles agreed to stay for, and take to wife the young Princesse Lady Marie, King Henric then onely daughter; and in such golden bands of loue, Charles and Henric, seemed to be linked, as in London this sentence was set vp in the Guild-hall ouer the doore of the Counsell Chamber, where it still remaineth.

Carolus, Henricus, viuunt, defensores uterque
Henricus fidei, Carolus Ecclesie.

(39) Why the Titles defender of Church and Faith, were attributed vnto these two Princes

Taken out of the
Cardinals oration
letters dated 15
uary 1524.

Duke Barbon
made King Hen-
ric Capaine Gen-
eral. Instrucons
King Henry did
in Anno 1524.
Rich. Patesons
tatie.

The English Em-
bassages into
forreine States.

The wrongs
done by the
French vnto
England.

John Lef.

The Queene
Dowry suppli.

A.D. 1521.
A generall
muster.

John Stow.

Charles the
Emperour com-
eth into En-
land.

Holinshed, in
18. Henric.
8.

The Emperour
assisted by
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is no maruell; for Charles chosen Emperour, was scarcely confirmed, but to purchase the Popes fauor, he directed forth a solemne Writ of Out-lawry against Martin Luther, who then had giuen a great blow to the Papall Crowne. And King Henry likewise was renowned in Rome, for writing a booke against the said Luther: vnderpropping the tottering or downe-fall countenance of the Popes pardons; which Luther shrewdly had shaken, the Pope therefore to shew himselfe a kind father vnto those his sonnes, gaue them these Titles; which in truth were none other, then the same which they sware vnto, when the Crownes of their Empires were first set vpon their heads. But with what acceptance his Holinesse receiued King Henrices booke, his owne Oration solemly made at the deliuey thereof vnto M. John Clarke the presenter and Kings Ambassador, in his Confiatory, and in presence of his Cardinals sufficiently doth shew, the translation whereof we haue inserted as we finde it in the Originall itselfe.

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Yyyyy also

also with such a Title, they must labour to do such works, and to follow the excellent steps of your Maestie, whom, accordingly as you have well deserved of us, and this said See, together with your wife, and all your Children that shall be borne of you, or of them, we beseech with our Benediction, with a large and liberal hand in the name of H. I. M., from whom the power of granting this blessing is given unto us, praying and beseeching that Almighty One, who saith, By mee Kings raigne, and Princes rule, and in whose hands are the hearts of Kinges, that hee will confirme your Maestie in your holy purpose, and encrease your deuotion, and by your worthy endeouours for the sacred faith, to illustrate your renowne, and make you glorious through all the world, that this our Testimony which wee haue given of you, adorning you with so excellent a Title, may neuer be iudged by any to be false or vaine. Lastly, wee desire God, that after this life ended, hee would make you partakers of his eternall glorie. Given at Rome at Saint Peters, in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord God, 1521. the fift Ides October, the ninth yeere of our Papacy.

Thus subscribed,

Ego Leo X. Catholica Ecclesie Episcopus Sanctiss. With twenty five other Cardinals and Bishops, underwriting their severall names with their owne hands.

(42) But from these Priestly and Papall gratulations, let vs returne to leade our Story vnto temporall Princes affaires. How the Emperour Charles had bene entertained in King Henries Court, wee haue said, and now ready to depart with many rich gifts, hee repaired to Southampton, where hee tooke his shippes for Spaine, whose conductor through the narrow Seas was Thomas Earle of Surrey, Lord high Admirall of England, who hauing waited him vnto Biscay with a gallant crew of Gentlemen, made thence saile into France, and in Britaine besieged & wonne the strong Towne Morleis, and with the Garrison Souldiers of the Marches dayly bickered with the heart-burning French, and dayly went away with the better, but new stirres areared by the Scots, the Lord Admirall was recalled, and came to the Court, where hee declared to his Highnesse what hee had done in Britaine.

(43) King Henries businesse thus on foot in France, hee thought to pursue it with all the advantage hee could, and first to find the Scots play, who were euer fast friends to the French, hee sent the Lords Rosse and Dacres to secure the North-borders, appointing for his Lieutenant in those partes the Earle of Shrewsbury, and sent the Lord Admirall of England againe into France, who diuided his Army into three Battalions, the first wherof, was led by Robert Ratcliffe, Lord Fitzwater; the Middle, the Earle conducted himselfe, with the assistance of his brother Lord Edmund Howard, and the Rereward was gouerned by Sir William Sands, and Sir Richard Wingfield both of them Knights of the Order, the Colonell of the horse was Sir Eynard Guilford.

(44) Thefein September entred into the French Pale, and made toward the Castell of Heding, vnto whom joined the Burgundians, sent from the Lady Margaret then Regent of Flanders, vnder whose colours serued many Spaniards; Surrey thus set forward, burned all things where he came, demolishing the Castles and Townes of Sellis, Brumbridge, Senckerk, Botingham, Mansier, Nerbins, Dauerne, Cumberge and Fringes the Townes and Churches fortified of Boards, Vaus, and Saint Mary de Bois: but laying his siege against Heding was forced for want of battering peeces, to breake vp againe and depart: In whose returne hee burnt the Townes and Castles of Dorlens and Darrier, and comming to Calles, set saile for England with a wonderfull great Booty.

(45) In this while the Duke of Albanie being

made Gouverneur of Scotland with an Armie of fourescore thousand drew vnto the Borders, whence hee sent into France for six thousand Almaines, which were promised, and daily expected though in vain, for none came at all. The Earle of Shrewsbury with eight and twenty thousand strong, drew likewise towards the Borders, but the Scots lying still, without further inuasion, an abstinenace from warre was betwixt them concluded, which how the English kept, the sequell well shewed for the King ordaining Henry Percy Earle of Northumberland, Lord Warden of the whole Marches, hee either refrained to impeach his honor by breach of truce, or else loth to be disquieted of his host rest, made meane to the King, to bee discharged of the office, which was forthwith bestowed (and thankfully accepted) vpon Thomas Earle of Surrey lately returned out of France, who deliuered the charge of the East & Middle Marches vnto the Lord Marquess Dorset, and the West vnto the Lord Dacres, who presently made a road into Scotland, and returned with booty.

(46) France and Scotland thus assailed at once, a Parliament was assembled at Blakes-Fryers in London, wherein Cardinall Wolsey moued, and with much adoe obtained, the halfe of the ycerely reuenues of all spirituall liuings, to bee paid for five yeeres continuance, and the tenth part of all temporall substance to maintain this great charge of the King, for the exact collection wherof the Cardinall was so forward, as he moued, and would haue had every man sworn for his wealth, had not the Citizens of London vterly refused it, which when the King heard of, hee was highly displeased with Wolsey, and said, that ere long hee would looke to chinges himselfe without any Substitute.

(47) Among other great esteeme of this magnanimous Monarch, it was not the least that the Emperour in person had twice come into England to visite him, and euen at this time Christian King of Denmarke with his Queene, vnto whom Queene Katherine was Aunt, landed at Dover, and was honourably brought vnto London, where they were royally feasted, and after two and twenty dayes intertainment, receiuing great gifts of the King and Queene, they returned to Flanders, where hee remained as a banished man out of his owne Country.

(48) King Henry purposing his further pursuits, sent a great Army into France, vnder the leading of the Duke of Suffolke Charles Brandon, attended vpon by the Lords Montacute, Herbert, Ferrers, Marneis, Sands, Barkley and Powis, nineteen Knights, six hundred demi-lances, two hundred Archers horsed, three thousand more of them on foot, five thousand Bill-men, and seauenteene hundred Garrison Souldiers, with onethousand five hundred labourers and Pioners. These departing Calles, first besieged, and won Bell-Castell, and then entering Picardy, there ioyned vnto him three thousand foot, and five hundred horse of Almans and Spaniards; with these hee assailed, and tooke the Castell of Bounegard, wherein hee put Cardinal, wanne Braye, Roie, Libome, Montedier and Boghan: but the winter come on, & the weather extrem in wets and frosts, besides other wants euer following the Winters Warriors, the Duke was enforced to breake vppe Campe; and from Calles came safely to the Court, where, vnto King Henry hee was very welcome, but much more vnto the French Queen his wife.

(49) The Scottish (as we haue said) keeping the Borders, and the English making inroades, where the places were weakest, the stirres betwixt them began daily to increase. In so much as the Duke of Albanie sent a Herald vnto the Earle of Surrey the Kings Lieutenant of the North, to offer him Battell, promising on his honour if hee tooke him Prisoner, his ranfome should be easie, and his person courteously dealt with; who returned as rough an answer,

Polyd.

The Duke of Albany comes to the Borders.

A futurele of warre.

Thomas Lord Admirall made Lord Lieutenant of the North.

A great field granted.

The Kingdome of the Duke of Suffolke sent into France.

Places won the Duke of Suffolke.

The Duke of Suffolke returned into England.

The Duke of Suffolke returned into England.

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as the offer was kinde, saying hee would abide Battell if hee durst giue it, and if the Duke were taken either by him or his, hee would strike off his head and send it for a present to his Maister the King of England. So nettled was the Earle against the French, that had raised Albany thus against England, and King Henry (as Bishop Lely reporteth) tooke from the Scots inhabiting England all their goods, sending them into their Country on foote, with white Crosses sewed vpon their vppermost Garments by which they were knowne and suffered to passe. The Scots vpon the Earles answer were wonderfully enraged, and seeking the reuenge, some of them passed ouer the water, and horly besieged the Castell of Warke, which the Englishmen as valiantly defended, and in their resistance slew almost three hundred of their French Souldiers, the Scots retrying againe to their Campe.

(50) The Regent not able to digest the Earles pill, commanded his Armie to march forward into the English Marches, wherewith the common Souldiers much reioiced, but the wiser of the Nobility vrged this in their Counsell, that hauing displaced in warlike manner, their Banners vpon the Verge of the Borders, and defended their Country from the spoile, they law no great reason further to proceed, no necessity or cause mouing, besides the Quarrell of the French: and therupon repaying to the Regent, they demanded why they should proceed further, alleging that at his commandement (yea and that willingly) they had so farre passed, for the defence of their Country, which was sufficient without further inuasion of the others, the time so conuenient in the nonage of their young King, and the action so dangerous, wherein all the Peeres of Scotland were assembled, to attend and suffer the doubtfull issue of warre, which euer is vncertaine, and more losse in one battell many times suffered, then gaine can be gotten in manie: whereof too too lamentable experience (said they) we haue had by King James, that by peace and life, brought Scotland to her best, but by his warre and death almost to the worst, therefore would we know (said the Nobilitie) whether this your intent stands with the weale of the King and vs, or else is prosecuted in the cause of your selfe and the French.

(51) The Duke making some pause, lastly replied and said, "This question would haue bene demanded ere now: for well you know, that from Scotland I beare my name, honour and lineage, haue passed the Seas from the noble Realme of France, for the loue of my Country, to set you in amity which were at dissention, by whose diuision your Realm lay prostrate to destruction and Conquest, for whose aid you see I haue procured the French to ioine with you against the English. And gaine, when these warres were determined by Parliament, you made me your Capitaine, authorizing me to inuade England with Banner displayed, then was no question or demand of the cause; neither haue I entered the quarrell without your agreement; and therefore may I iustifie my present doings, and yet to me it seemeth there is cause sufficient, with fire, sword and blood, to enter England, if we be not too forgetfull, and will submit our selues to dishonour and reproach: for we all know that the Realme of Scotland is ours by inheritance, and that portion of the world allowed to our Nation to enioy; how can we warre better, then to maintaine our naturall inheritance, against which the English giue daily attempts, with manslaughter, murders, thefts and spoiles: haue we not then (thinke you) iust cause to make warre? The defence of a kingdom, is the office of a King, the honour of the Noble, the seruice of the Souldier, and the duty of a naturall Subject. But be it as you will, yet hauing so puissant an armie to aide our owne reproach, and encouragement of the Enemy, let vs campe here still on the Borders till we

"see what the English men intend.

(52) But Margaret Queene of Scots soliciting her brother for a peace, these stirres brake vp for a time, as those in France did shortly after, by the working wit of Cardinall Wolsey, who in the State affaires was euer one, which made him the more emulated, and the grievances of the commons euer cast vpon him; in so much that it was commonly spoken hee was the causer of the heauy imposition granted to maintaine the kings warres, which was so importable to the poorer sort of Subjects, as the payment thereof was vterly denied to the appointed Collectors, with weepings, Curfings, and great acclamations, yea and almost grew to an open rebellion: for Kent denied it to the Lord Cobham; Essex refused to commune with the commissioners; Huntingtonshire resisted, and would not heare them; London would be taxed by none but their Aldermen; and Suffolke rose vp in Armes, making pouerty their Capitaine. Of these stirres when King Henry heard, hee had great indignation, blaming the Counsellors, and wrote his letters vnto every Contry, that no such demands should be paid: and the Cardinall to curry fauours with the Commons gaue it forth sooth, that at his intercession the Offenders were pardoned, and the money remitted.

(53) And now more to shew his owne power, then any great cause, hee beganne to alienate the heart of King Henry against his Nephew the Emperour, and caused him to withhold pay from the Duke of Burbon his late made General: which was the cause of the French Kings Captiuitie. For Burbon incamped within the Towne of Paula, and besieged by the French in most warlike manner, was for want of his said pay so desperate of life, that hee attempted a most dangerous escape. In the dead of the night he set a part of his Company to assaile the enemy on that side of the Towne which was left strong, himselfe issuing secretly out of a Posterne on the contrary side: The watch but slender and the Souldiers asleepe, a great terror arose, in which the besieger turned their Ordinance to the place of the crie, when as suddenly Burbon was at their backs, and winning their Ordinance discharged them against their owners, slew their souldiers, cut downe their Tents, and by the Vice-roy of Naples was the French King taken prisoner in the Field.

(54) This fortunate successe made these Almaines more bolde, who presently with the Imperiall Ensignes marched towards Florence, and thence to Rome, vnto whose walles in one day they gaue three assaults, in the last wherof Charles Duke of Burbon their General was slaine; notwithstanding the City was taken and sacked; Pope Clement in the meane while, to make all sure as he thought, thundered out his Curfes, and with Bell, Booke and Candle, committed those Lutherans to Hell, who neuertheless broke down that windy Bulwarke, and with great laughter forced him with twelue three Cardinals, into the Castell of Saint Angelo, where they kept them besieged from the six of May, vnto the tenth of December: in which time, in mocking of the Pope the Souldiers to make solace, would apparell one in Pontificall attire, who sometime should beseech them, and sometime accurse them, and riding on Horse-backe with a Whore set behind him should so passe the streets, that the Pope and Cardinals might see him. These contumelies and Papall Captiuities were grievously taken by many Christian Princes, inso much that Caesar in Spaine forbade all Enterludes to be plaid, and Pagantes prepared for ioy of the birth of his sonne, Prince Phillip, to be pulled downe. In France by the Court of Parliament the Duke of Burbon was condemned of Treason, his name and memoriall accursed, his Armes pulled downe, and his Lands and goods confiscated; neither would King Henrie of England answer the Emperours letters, wherein hee excused himselfe from hauing any hand in the action.

(55) Whilest

The Emperour departeth England.

The L. Admirall winneth Morleis.

The Earle of Shrewsbury Lieutenant of the North.

L. Admirall sent againe into France.

The English make great spoile in France.

Margaret Queene of Scots land worketh a peace.

Cardinall Wolsey hardeneth the commons.

The Subsidy denied to be paid.

A.D. 1525. K. Henry falleth from the Emperour.

Guichard,

Burbon desperat attempt.

The King of France taken prisoner.

Burbon marcheth toward Rome.

Burbon slaine.

Pope Clement and his Cardinals imprisoned.

Sliden. Comli. 6.

Charles the Emperour fore grieued at the Popes captiuitie.

Troubles in Ire-

Holinsb p. 82.

Discention be-
twixt the Lord
Deputies of
Ireland.Kildare accused
to the Cardinal.The Cardinals
speech at the
Counsell Table
against Kildare.

(55) Whilest these things were in working at Rome, arose great troubles in Ireland, the Kernes calling off all obedience, and killing the Kings subjects where they found them: against whom Thomas Howard, Earle of Surry, Lord Lieutenant of that kingdom, made forth his power, and followed them himselfe with such danger of life, that the valor of his Helmet was shot off, as hee pursued the enemy through the desert woods: but these Rebels cut off by his high valour, and warres proclaimed at one time against Scotland and France, the Lord Lieutenant was recalled into England; and Piers Butler Earle of Ossory made Deputie of Ireland in his stead; betwixt whom, and Gerald Fitz-Gerald, Earle of Kildare, whose sister hee had married, arose no little strife and debate, which grew to that height as King Henry sent Commissioners to trie and examine the differences, which was so cleared on Kildares behalfe, that Ossory was discharged of his Office, and the Lord Fitz-Gerald (whose deputy in his place, whereat Cardinal Wolsey (whose hand chiefly steered all states affaires, a deadly enemy to the Earle of Kildare) was highly offended, and to undermine the foundations of this his new Government, gave care unto Ossory, who accused the new deputie of many mild manners, among which these were the principall; that he winked at Desmonds escape whom he should have attached by order from the King: that he grew over familiar with the native Irish; and that he put to death the Kings best subjects: for these the Lord Deputie was commanded into England, in whose absence Ossory his enemy was againe chosen Lord Deputie by the Kings Counsell, but himselfe none of the wisest for politike Government, was altogether therein ruled by his wife, and shee made it no courtlesse to abuse her husbands honour against her natural brothers folly: who now in England must answer his demeanour before the Lords of the Counsell, and to their Table was hee brought, where the Cardinal Lord Chaucellor made his faults nothing lesse, and thus addressed himselfe against the Earle of Kildare.

(56) "I wor well (my Lord) that I am not the meekest at this boord to charge you with these treasons, because it hath pleased some of your Pew-fellows to report, that I am a professed enemy to all Nobilitie, and namely to the Giraldines: but seeing every shrewd boy can say as much when he is controuled, and these points so weighty, that they should not be diflembed of vs; and so apparent, that they cannot be denied of you: I must have leave (notwithstanding your stale slander) to be the mouth of these honourable Lords at this present, and to trump your treasons in your way, howsoever you take me. First you remember, how the lewde Earle of Desmond your kinsman (who passeth not whom he serveth might he change his Master) sent his Confederates with letters of credence unto Francis the French King: and hauing but cold comfort there, went to Charles the Emperour proffering the helpe of Munster, and Connaught, towards the Conquest of Ireland, if either of them would helpe to win it from our King. How many letters, what precepts, what messages, what threats, haue bene sent you to apprehend him and yet not done? Why so? Forsooth I could not catch him! Nay, say Earle, forsooth you would not watch him: If hee bee iustly suspected, why are you partiall in so great a charge? If not, why are you fearefull to haue him tried? Yea, for it will bee sworne and deposed to your face, that for feare of meeting him, you haue winked wilfully, thunned his sight, altered your course, warned your friends, stopped both eares and eyes, against his detectors, and whensoever you took vpon you to hunt him out, then was he sure afore hand to be out of your walke. Surely, this iugling and false play, little became either an honest man called to such honour, or a Noble man put in so great trust:

"had you lost but a Cow or a Horfe of your own, two hundred of your retainers would haue come at your Whistle to rescue the prey from the uttermost edge of ysser: all the Irish in Ireland must haue giuen you the way. But in pursuing to needfull a matter as this was; mercifull God, how nice, how dangerous, how wayward haue you bene? One while hee is from home, and another while hee keepeth home, sometimes fled, sometimes in the Borders, where you dare not venture. Ywis, my Lord, there bee shrewd bugges in the borders, for the Earle of Kildare to feare; the Earle, nay the King of Kildare: for when you are disposed, you raigne more like then rule in the land: where you are pleased the Irish for standeth for a iust Subject: hearts and hands, liues and lands are all at your courtlesse: who fawneeth not thereon, cannot rest within your smel, and your smell so rancke, that you tracke them out at pleasure. Whilest the Cardinall was speaking, the Earle chafed and changed colour & at last brake out, and interrupted him thus.

(57) "My Lord Chaucellor I beseech you pardon me, I am frownted, and you I percieue intend a long tale: if you proceed in this order, half my purgation will be lost for lack of carriage: I haue no Schoole trickes, nor art of memory: except you heare me while I remember your words, your second proceffe will hammer out the former. The Lords assaile, who for the most part tenderly loved Kildare, and knew the Cardinall his manner of taunts so ready being inured therewith many yeeres together, humble besought his grace to charge him directlie with particulars, and to dwell in some one matter vntill it were examined thoroughly.

(58) That granted: It is good reason (quoth the Earle) that your Grace beare the mouth of this boord: but my Lord, those mouthes that put these things into your mouth, are very wide mouthes: such indeed as haue gaped long for my wracke: and now at length for want of better lustre, are faine to fill their mouths with smoake: what my Cousen Desmond hath compassed, as I know not, I beslew his naked heart for holding out so long. If he can be taken by mine agents that presently wait for him, then haue mine aduersaries bewraied their malice: and this heape of heinous wordes shall resemble a scarre-Crow, or a man of straw that seemeth at a bluth to carry some proportion, but when it is felt and prized, discovereth a vanity: ifeering onely to feare Crows: and I verily trust your honours shall see the prooffe by the thing itselfe, within these few daies. But goe to: suppose he neuer be had? What is Kildare to blame for it more then my good brother of Ossory, who, notwithstanding his high promises, hauing also the Kings power, is yet content to bring him in at least? Cannot the Earle of Desmond shift but I must be of Counsell? Cannot hee hide him except I wink? If he be close am I his mate? If he be fringed am I a traitor? This is a doubtie kind of accusation which they vrge against me, wherein they are stabelled and mired at my first deniall. You would not see him (say they): who made them so familiar with mine eie-sight? Or when was the Earle within my view? Or who stood by when I let him slip? Or where are the tokens of my willfull hudwinke? But you sent him word to beware of you: who was the messenger? Where are the letters? Conuince my negatues, see how loose this idle gear hangeth together. Desmond is not taken: well, you are in fault: why? Because you are who proueth it? No body: What Coniectures? So it seemeth: To whom? To your enemies. Who told it them? They will swear it. What other ground? None: Will they swear it my Lord? why then of like they know it, either they haue mine hand to shew, or can bring forth the messenger, or were present at a Conference, or pri-

Kildare inter-
rupts the Car-
dinals tale.The Lords
des Kildare.He answered
the Cardinals
obiection.for case
the Noble-
and Ireland
nobles.

"uic to Desmond, or some body bewraied it to them, or they themselves were my Carriers or vicege-
rents therein: which of these parts will they choofe,
for I know them too well: To reckon my selfe
conuict by their bare wordes, or headlesse sayings,
or franckie oathes, were but meere mockerie. My
letters were soone read, were any such writing ex-
tant, my seruants, and friends are ready to be si-
ted: of my Cousen of Desmond they may lie
loudly, since no man here can well contrary
them. Touching my selfe I neuer noted in
them much wit, or so fast faith, that I would haue
gaged on their silence the life of a good hound,
much lesse mine owne: I doubt not, may it please
your honours to appose them, how they came to
the knowledge of those matters which they are so
ready to depose: but you shall find their tongues
chained to another mans trencher, and as it were
Knights of the Post, suborned to say, I swore and
swore the vttermost they can, as those that passe not
what they say, nor with what face they say it, so
they say no truth: but on the other side, it grieueth
mee, that your good Grace, whom I take to bee
wise and sharpe, and who of your blessed disposi-
tion wilth me well, should bee so farr gone in
crediting these corrupt Informers that abuse the
ignorance of your state and Country to my peril.
Little know you (my Lord) how necessary it is,
not onely for the Governour, but also for euery
Nobleman in Ireland, to hamper the vnciuill
neighbourhood at discretion, wherein if they waited
for proceffe of law, & had not those liues and lands
you speak of within their reach, they might hap-
loose their own liues & lands without law. You
hear of a case, as it were in a dream, & feele not the
smart that vexeth vs. In England there is not a mean
Subject that dare extend his hand to filip a Peere
of a realm: In Ireland except the Lord haue cunning
to his strength, and strength to faue his Crowne,
and sufficient authority to take theues and varlets
when they stir, hee shall find them swarme so fast
that it will bee too late to call for iustice. If you
will haue our seruice take effect, you must not
reueis alwayes to these iudiciall proceedings wher-
ewith your Realme (thanked be God) is inured.
Touching my kingdom, I know not what your
Lordshippe should mean thereby: If your Grace
imagine that a Kingdom consisteth in seruing
God, in obeying the Prince, in gouerning with
loue the common wealth, in supporting subjects,
in suppressing rebels, in executing iustice, in bride-
ling blind affections, I would bee willing to bee
inued with so vertuous and roial a name: but if
therefore you term me a King, in that you are per-
suaded that I repine at the gouernment of my loue-
raign, or wink at malefactors, or oppress ciuill li-
uers: I verily disclaime that odious term, marcelling
greatly that one of your Graces profound wisdom
would seeme to appropriate so sacred a name to so
wicked a thing: but howsoever it bee (my Lord)
I would you and I had changed Kingdomes, but
for one month. I would trust to gather vppe
more crummes in that space, then twice the reue-
nues of my poore Earldome: but you are well
and warme, and so hold you, and vpbraide not
mee with such an odious terme. I flumber in a
hard Cabine, when you sleepe in a soft bedde of
Downe: I serue vnder the Kings Cope of hea-
uen, when you are serued vnder a Canopie: I
drinke water out of my skull when you drinke
wine out of golden cups: my Courser is trained
to the field, when your Gennet is taught to am-
ble: when you are graced & belorded, & crouched
and kneeled vnto, then find I small grace with our
Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees.
At these girds the Lord Chaucellor much fretted,
and finding Kildare to bee no babe, deferred the hea-
ring of his cause, till more proofes were produced
from Ireland; then in a great fume hee arose from

the Counsell board, and committed the Earle vn-
to prison, against the minds of most at the Table,
who knew well; that this his accusation was more
of hatred borne by the Cardinall; then any occasi-
on giuen by the accused late Deputy. Whereupon
Thomas Duke of Norfolk slept to the King, and cra-
ued that Kildare might bee his prisoner, offering to
bee bound in goods and body for his forth com-
ing, whom hee obtained, though with a great
liking of the L. Chaucellor, who daily entertaine new
plaints against him, till at last hee pressed him fore
with letters sent to Oncale and Oconor, to encourage
their rebellions against Ossory the Lord Deputy;
which letters were brought them by his own daugh-
ter and their sisters, the Lady Elice Fitzgiralde wife to
the Baron of Slane.

(59) This presumption being vehement, the
King suspitious, the Cardinall eager, and his friends
faint, Kildare was kept to the Tower, where hee com-
mitted himselfe to God, and expected dayly his
death, but with such courageous resolution, as hee
being in play with the Lieutenant at slide-groat;
when the mandate was brought for his execution
on the next morning, and seeing the Lieutenant
strucke into a suddaine fadnesse; by Saint Bride,
Lieutenant (quoth the Earle) there is some madde
game in that scrowl; but fall how it will, this throw
is for a huddle: and when the worst was told him,
now I pray thee (quoth hee) doe no more but learne
assuredly from the Kings owne mouth, whether his
Highnesse be witting thereto or no; the Lieute-
nant louing his prisoner well, repaired to the King,
and shewed him the Cardinals warrant, who then
controuled the sawcines of the Priest (for those were
his termes) and gaue the Lieutenant his Signet for
a countermand, whereat the Cardinall stormed, but
Kildare deliuered from his eminent death, and not
long after from his imprisonment also, was sent into
Ireland, where at his entrance into Dublin, hee was
met with a solemne procession, and so brought into
the City; so welbeloued was this Earle abroad, and
at home.

(60) But the French Kings fortunes were nothing
so good, who was straitly imprisoned at Madrid in
Spain, and great suite made for his deliuerance,
which notwithstanding would not be heard. The
Queene mother then Regent of France, wife of her
selfe, and forwarded by others, saw no better means
to free her sonne the King, then to enter amity with
England, which to accomplish, she solicited King
Henry; working vpon the occasions then ministred,
which was some vnkindnesse growne betwixt the
English King, and the Emperour, the one of them
more strange by the greatnesse of his fortunes, and
the other in ialousie of lessening renowne. The
sparkes of which Cinders were steared to flame, by
Wolsey that cuer was in the care of the King: allad-
ding his potency, so much esteemed of all Christian
Princes (a sound very runable in Henries wide care)
would bee less regarded by the Emperours late vic-
tory; who now beganne to carry himselfe with
another respect, and neuer after that victory got-
ten subscribed his letters to King Henry, according
to his accustomed manner, your Sonne and Cousen;
but to the draught of his Secretaries, infixed his hand
with the word Charles and no more.

(61) These dislikes and other intercourses of
State, drew Henry shortly to a peace with France.
In the exemplification of which league the Veneti-
ans, and other Princes were left to their choise,
whereof himselfe notwithstanding would bee stiled
the Protector. And to his leaguer Ambassadors
sent these instructions to moue the States to con-
sider the Emperours aspired greatnesse, who now
commanded the Kingdomes of Naples, and Sicilie;
the Duchie of Milan, the Signiorie of Iean, the
Countie of Ast, and other possessions in Italie, the
whole Country of Germany, being the greatest
part of Christendome, already either totally in pos-
session

Kildare commit-
ted to prison.Kildare accepted
for suborning of
traitors.Kildare commit-
ted to the
Tower.Kildares noble
courage.
Holinsb. Hist.
of Ireland.Kildare received
into Dublin with
procession.The French
king imprisoned
at Madrid.
Guibard.Queene mother
solicited King
Henry.Dislikes betwixt
the Emperour
and K. Henry.Peace betwixt
England and
France.Signed with his
owne hand, in
Ann. 1540.The great Do-
minions of the
Emperour.

possession, or facilly might bee at his command, hauing likewise the lower parts thereof, as the Countreies of *Artois, Flanders, Zeland, Holland, Brabant, Henault* and others; from the which also a direct passage lay vnto the Dutchie of *Burgonie, Auern* and *Barbon*, besides the Realmes of *Castile, Arragon, Granate, Galice, Asturia, Perpygnon, Rusinian*, and other parts of *Spaine*; whereupon hee with some other Princes complained, and fought the French Kings deliuerance, which when it was gotten, King *Frances* acknowledged *Henry* next vnder God to bee the onely meane: * but was so slacke in performance of Couenants, that when the Emperour sent to haue them accomplished, hee with vnprincely termes returned the answer, with challenge of combat, which when the Emperour had accepted, hee shrunke backe, and made meane of a league.

(62) But howeouer the vnconformity of our king *Henry* hath bene blanchd forth for not holding himselfe in his leagues or couenants of amity with other Princes, yet the cause being so as some haue obserued, there were occasions giuen aswell as opportunity taken: for *Charles* the Emperour contrary to couenant receiued *Grancetor* a traitorous rebell condemned by Parliament, whom hee refused to deliuer, though the King made earnest suit for the man. Moreouer by his Ambassadors in a Treaty of perpetual peace, holden at *Windfor* Castell, the nineteenth of *Iune*, and foureteenth of King *Henries* raigne; it was concluded that *Charles* the Emperour should contract the young Princeesse the Lady *Mary*, and take her to his wife, when shee came to able yeeres, which (as *Holinshed* saith) himselfe fought, at this being in *England*, promising to remaine vnmarrid, till that Princeesse had past her Minority, and againe before the battell of *Pavia* (the now growne vnto fixe yeeres of age) sent his Ambassadors to haue her stiled Emperesse, and to bee made Gouverneesse of the low Countreies; all this notwithstanding after that victory against the French King, hee beganne to recall, and to make small account of that match, pretending the desire of his subjects to haue an heire of his body, which for long time hee could not by Lady *Mary*; but rather as the *English* iudged, the cause was the money receiued in loane from King *Henry*, whereby (as hee thought) the greatest part of her portion was already paid; and the Emperours wants being great, * *J. fabel* the siller of *Perlingall* was much affected: with whom plenty of gold was expected, and great liberality offered by the Emperials in desire to haue an Emperesse of their owne Nation.

(63) Besides, against this marriage with *Mary*, his Countsell of *Spaine* also excepted, alleading her to bee begot of his brothers wife, whereby her legitimation might bee called in question, as also the issue of her body, which they in their widom thought meet to prevent; these no doubt were the causes that the negotiation of these two Potentates grew daily more desperate. And for his falling off from the French King, these occasions may well be alleaged.

(64) That whereas it had bene couenanted at the marriage of Lady *Mary* vnto King *Lewis* departed this life, one hundred thousand Crowns should bee paid to King *Henry*, and thirty two thousand Crownes yearly for her Dowry, during terme of life; both which notwithstanding were retained and kept backe vnpaid. 2. That the said French King had likt vnto Cardinal *Poole*, who was sent to him from the Pope to stirre warres against *England*. 3. That contrary to his Couenant hee had entred alliance with the house of *Medicis*, and had married his daughter *Magdalen* vnto *James* the fifth King of *Scotland*, then an hostile enemy vnto King *Henry*. 4. That hee had made suit to match his second sonne *Henry* Duke of *Orleanes*, with Lady *Mary*, the onely then Heire apparent of *England*, which when it came to conclusion, was put in suf-

pence by *Antonie* *Vesie* one of his French Commissioners, who then made doubt whether the marriage of her mother being wife to the Kings owne brother, could bee dispensed with, or the Children begot in this second bed legitimate, or by law allowed to succeed in the throne.

(65) These considerations no doubt drew the King to bee vnconstant to them that were vnconstant in themselves, and the question of Lady *Maries* legitimation serued such doubts in his melting conscience, as neuer after could be made solid: whereof Doctor *Longland* his Confessor, is said to bee the first man which told the King that his marriage was vnlawfull, vnto whose opinion other great Clerkes did likewise content; whereupon a rumor ran that the King would be diuorced from the Queene, and the occasion thereof altogether cast vpon the Cardinal of *Torke*, in displeasure taken against the Emperour, vnto whom hee had bene suiter for the Archbishopricke of *Toledo*, whereof failing, hee reuenged his spleene vpon his innocent Aunt Queene *Katherine*, in mouing the King to cast her off, and to become Suiter vnto the Dutcheffe of *Alencon*, sister vnto the French King; these rumors King *Henry* himselfe forbad; but with no better successe then was the report of Queene *Annes* death, the wife of the *Vsurper*; both euents following before the mouthes of those relaters could be stopped; vnto which lamentable accident my penne must now enter.

(66) King *Henry* ouercome by the aduise of his Countsell (left to great a Dowry assigned should indamage *England*, if Lady *Katherine* of *Spain* married elsewhere) presently vpon the death of his father, and not fully forty dayes after he had begunne his raigne (by the dispensation of Pope *Iuly* the second) tooke her to wife, these hauing bene wedded and bedded with Prince *Arthur* his elder brother, as wee haue said.

(67) This match made by king *Henry* the seuenth, and *Ferdinando* of *Spain* their parents, Prince *Henry* hauing then attained but to tenne yeeres of age, when he came to foureteene, proscribed against it, as by a deed vnder his owne hand, I haue here inserted, the tenor thereof faithfully translated out of Latine, is thus as followeth.

In the name of God, Amen In the presence of you reuerend Father and Lord in Christ, Lord *Richard* by the grace of God, and See Apostolike, Bishopp of *Winchester*. I *Henry* Prince of *Wales*, Duke of *Cornwall*, and Earle of *Chester* doe say, affirme, and by these Writings declare; That although in the time of my Minority, and when I was vnder yeeres of marriage, I absolutely contracted matrimony with the most vertuous Lady *Katherine*, daughter of the King of *Spain*, and although also the saide Contract by reason of my being vnder age, doth now appeare of it selfe insufficient, weak, and of no force, vigour, or efficacie: yet forasmuch as that now I am come to perfect yeeres, and that thereby the said Contract may peraduenture bee thought & seeme, by silent consent, mutual abode in one house, by giuing and receiuing gifts and tokens, or by any other way whatsoever, to bee apparently sufficient, and confirmed: Therefore I *Henry* Prince of *Wales* doe here protest, and make knowne to all men that I intend not to approue, ratifie, or confirme in any sort this pretended contract by any thing that I haue said or shall say, haue done, or shall doe: but do at this present renounce the same, freely, and of mine owne accord, vnconstrained either by force, fraude, entreaty, or any way else: and I deny it, and wholly purpose and intend, quite to relinquish this pretended contract of Matrimony by the best wayes and meanes that by law more fully, effectually, and sufficiently I may or shall bee able to doe: and expressly doe disauow the same, according as by these presents I doe disclaime it, and disauow it; and I protest that I nei-

Objection of French for illegitimacy.

King Henry in doubt of marriage.

John Stow.

Cardinal of Winchester.

Payd. vnto. John Stow.

The. Men.

King Henry marriage in question.

Prince Henry disclaimes contract.

King refused the Queene.

unripe.

Neither will nor intend to consent vnto the said Contract, or vnto the said Lady *Katherine* as my espousall and wife, by any word, deede, act, or gesture to be spoken, done, performed, or acted by me, or in my name, by any whomsoever, whensoever, or howsoever for the time to come. In witness whereof I desire, require, entreate, and adiuere you all to giue testimonie hereunto.

By me Henry Prince of Wales.

The above written Protestation was read and made by the aforesaid Noble Prince Lord *Henry*, in the presence of the reuerend Father and Lord in Christ, the Lord *Richard* by diuine permission Bishopp of *Winchester* sitting iudicially in his Court; and I the Notary vnderwritten, at that time present, the writer of his Acts in this behalfe appointed, and in the presence of the vnder-named witnesses in the year of our Lord God, 1505 the eight Indiction of the most holy See, of our father and Lord in Christ, by diuine providence Pope *Iulius* the second, in his second yeere, and 27. of the month of Iune, in which day the saide worthy Prince was of perfect yeeres of marriage, as then he did there affirme: in a certaine outward Court within the roiall Palace of *Richmond*, situate in the West-part of the saide Palace: Concerning all and singular which things, the aforesaid most noble Prince instantly required and entreated me the aforesaid Notarie to frame an instrument, and likewise the witnesses vnderwritten to giue testimonie. In iustificacion of all and singular the premises, the aforesaid Noble Prince hath subscribed his name, and the witnesses as aforesaid entreated and required haue subscribed their names, with their owne hands.

So it is as about said which I *John* Read doe witnesse by my hand and Seale.

Miles Danbney.

C. Sommerset.

Thomas Routhale.

Nicolas West.

Harry Mauny.

The second protestation when he came to yeeres of marriage.

Notwithstanding this prescription foure yeeres after, and the first of his raigne, hee tooke the said Lady *Katherine* to wife; and without all exception enioied her nuptial society the space almost of twenty yeeres; in which time shee had borne him two sonnes, both of them in their infancy taken away by death, and one daughter Lady *Mary* growne now vnto tenne yeeres of age. But the scruple of Conscience increasing more tender in the Kings breast, he first refused the Queene's bed; and then mouing the doubt vnto his owne Diuines, sent for the opinions of the most Vniuersities in Europe, as to *Paris*, *Orleanes*, *Bononie*, *Burges*, *Aniou*, *Padua*, *Toloux*, *Vincencia*, *Vania*, *Foro*, *Iuly*, and others, which howsoever they then stood for the Pope, and hee allowing (by his Predecessors dispensation whose doing could not erre) the Matrimonie lawfull, yet these Academics concluded against it, and signified the contrary vnder most of their common Seales as the relation of the Kings Agent imploied vpon the same purpose for that of *Padua* doth import, which writing vnder his owne hand I haue seene, and heere will insert his words, as followeth.

Pleaseth it your Highnesse to bee aduertised, that as this day I obtained the Common Seale of the vniuersity of *Padua* in substantiall and good forme, for all the Doctors were assembled vpon Sunday, and the safe was amongst them, solemnly and earnestly disputed all Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, and this present Friday in the morning. And thereupon they concluded with your Highnesse, and desired a Notary to set his signe and hand vnto an instrument by *Leonius* and *Simoneus* deuised in Corroboration of your cause, and thereby to testify that this instrument was their deed, deuise, act and

conclusion. And more credite to be giuen to the said instrument they caused the Chancellor of the Potesse here to set his hand and seale for the approbation of the Authority of the Notary: A Coppy of all the which things I send vnto your Highnesse by this Bearer, in most humble wise beseeching the same to be aduertised that the Generall of the Blacke Friers hath giuen commandement that no Blackefrier dispute the Popes Power: Notwithstanding Prior *Thomas* *Omnibonus* procureth daily new superscriptions, and will doe till the briefe of contrary commandement shall come vnto his hands. My fidelity bindeth me to aduertise your Highnesse that all Lutherans bee vnterly against your Highnesse in this cause, and hath letted as much with their wretched poore malice without reason or authority; as they could and might, as well here as in *Padua* and *Ferrara*, where bee no small company of them: I doubt not but all Christian Vniuersities if they bee well handled, will earnestly conclude with your Highnesse. And to obtaine their assent as well through *Italie*, *France*, *Almaine*, *Austrich*, *Hungary* and *Scotland*, I think it marvellous expedient for the preferment of this your most honourable and high cause.

At Venice the first of Iuly at night, Anno 30.

And in another letter dated from Venice the xiii. of Iuly the said Agent thus writeth. I haue procured vnto your Highnesse as appeareth by the Originals being in my hand alone, the Subscriptions of an hundred Diuines, beside the conclusion Collegij Theologorum Pacamont. vnder their common Seale, whereof I haue sent your Highnesse a Coppy, &c.

Now as touching their determinations, these are the abstracts taken out of larger discourses, whereof you may read, if you please more in *Hollinshed*:

The decree of the Lawiers in the Vniuersity of *Paris*.

We the Deane and Colledge of the Vniuersity of *Paris*, after many disputations and reasons, made vpon both sides, turning and searching of Bookes, both by the Law of God, the Popes Law and the Ciuill Law, we say, that the Pope hath no Power to dispense in this case of Matrimony. Teuen vnder the Seale of their faculty at *Saint Iohn Lateranensis* in *Paris*, May 2. 1530.

The Iudgement of the Diuines in the Vniuersity of *Paris*.

The Deane and faculty of holy Diuinity in the Vniuersity of *Paris* to all them to whom this present writing shall come, wiseth safety in Christ; For the Question proposed we came together in the Church of *Saint Martin*, and there for the same cause had a solempne Masse of the Holy Ghost, and vpon our oathes determine, that the foresaid Marriage with the Brothers wife departing without children is so forbid by the Lawes of God and Nature, that the Pope hath no power to dispence with such Marriages, whether they be contracted or to be contracted; to which this our assertion we haue caused the Seale of our faculty, with our Notaries signe to be put to this present writing. Dated in our Generall Congregation Iuly 2. Anno 1530.

The determination of the Ciuilians of the Vniuersity of *Aniou*.

After wee the Doctors and Rector had discussed and examined many places aswell of the Law of God as of mans Law, vpon sufficient deliberation taken, we define and determine, that neither by the Law of God nor of Nature, it is permitted for any Christian man, no not with the authority of the See Apostolike, or with any dispensation granted by the Pope to marry the wife that his brother hath left. In witness whereof we haue commanded the Scribe of our Vniuersity to signe this present publike instrument with the great Seale of our said Vniuersity Enacted

The Luthrans against K. Henries diuorce.

Enacted in the Church of Saint Peter in Anien. May 7th Anno 1530.

The Determination of the Vniuersity of Burges.

We the Deane and facultie of Diuinity in the Vniuersity of Burges, after the example of Saint Paul the Doctor of the Gentiles, begin with prayer to the quieting of the conscience, to whom this our writing shall come; the Question moued is whether the brother taking the wife of his dead brother, the marriage consummated, and perfect, be a thing lawfull or no. We by much labour and turning of Bookes, euerie one of us a part by himselfe, free from corruption, the better to obey the truth, finde it forbidden by the Leviticall law which is Gods, and that such marriage is an abominable discovering of his brothers shame, which cannot be allowed by the authority of any man: which our determination we haue caused to be signed with the seale of our faculty, the tenth day of Iune, and yeere of our Lord. 1530.

The opinions of the Diuines in the Vniuersity of Bonony.

All wee Doctors of Diuinity in this Vniuersity, vnto whom this Question was propounded, whether it was forbidden only by the Ordinance of the Church, or else by the Law of God, that a man might not marry the left wife of his brother departed without children, and having examined the matter euerie one of us alone, lastly came altogether, and as it were line by line, and rule by rule, brought forth the reasons for the contrary part, with those of the most Reuerend Father Cardinall Caietaine, yea and of the dispensation for raising up seed to his brother, spoken of in Deuteronomie; thus we determine, give iudgement, and say, and confidently doe hold and winnes that such marriage is horrible, accursed, and to be cried out vpon, and utterly abominable, not only for a Christian man, but for an Infidel, vnfaithfull or heathen: and that it is prohibited vnder greuous paines and punishments by the Law of God, of Nature, and of man, and that the Pope, though he may doe much, vnto whom Christ gaue the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen, hath no power to a dispensation to anie man to contract such marriage: In witness whereof we confirme this our iudgement, both vnder the Seale of our Vniuersity, as also with the Seale of our Colledge of Doctors of Diuinity, and haue subscribed it in the Cathedrall Church of Bonony this tenth of Iune, the yeere of our Lord. 1530.

The determination of the Vniuersity of Padua.

Seeing that certaine great Orators and Ambassadors did humbly require of vs, that wee would vouchsafe to search out with all diligence this question following, whether to marry the wife of our brother departed without children is forbidden only by the Law of the Church, or by the Law of God also: and if forbid by both the Lawes, whether the Pope may dispense with any man for such Matrimony or no? which Question we haue discussed and as farre as we can, haue made it cleere, both priuate euery man by himselfe and after al together openly, we say, iudge, decree, witnesse, and for truth affirme, that such marriage is no marriage: yea and that it is abhorred and accursed of euery Christian man, and to be abominate as a greuous sinne, and that it is cleerely forbidden vnder euell penalty by the Lawes of nature, of God, and of man, and that the Pope vnto whom the keyes of the Kingdome of Heauen are committed by Christ the Sonne of God, hath no power to dispense by the right of Law for any cause, suggestion, or excuse, that any such Matrimony should be contracted. In witness whereof wee haue made this writing, and haue authorized it, with the accustomed Seale of our Vniuersity, dated at Padua in the Church of the Heremites of Saint Augustine the first of Iuly, and yeere of our Lord. 1530.

The determination of the Vniuersity of Tholouze.

It was treated in our Vniuersity of Tholouze: whether it were lawfull for a brother to marry her which had bene wife to his brother now departed, and without children: as also whether the Pope which hath the cure of Christs flocke allowing it by his dispensation, it be lawfull: to resolve which, the best Doctors of Diuinity, and the Lawes, did sweare that they would obey the sacred Counsels, and would follow the holy Decrees of the Fathers, and falling to conclusion stucke fast vpon this point, that it is lawfull for no man, neither by the Law of God, nor by the Law of nature, to take her to wife that his brother hath left: neither can the Pope dispense with this Law of God: as touching the commendement in Deuteronomie that the brother should marry his wife to raise up seed vnto him, that his name should not perish among the Tribes of Israel, we answere that that Law was but a shadow and figure of things to come, which vanished away as soon as the substance of the Gospell appeared. Thus haue we given our sentence, which wee haue signed with our Authentickall Seale of this Vniuersity. Taken at Tholouze, the Calends or first day of October, the yeere of our Lord, 1530.

These and many more were read by the Lord Chauncellor vnto the lower house of Parliament that they might report in their countries, the Kings iust cause of diuorfe. To forward which (as was thought) Cardinall Wolsey the said Lord Chancellor was sent Ambassadour into France, laden with Crownes, as Guichardine faith, and with surpassing Pompe as London behelde, who with 900. Horie passed the Bridge toward Dover, and so into France.

But rumors in England full spreading of the good Queens diuorfe, about a yeere after, K. Henry to satisfie all, sent for his Nobles, his Counsellors, Iudges, and many wise Commoners vnto whom he made a most pithy Oration, shewing them with what care he had ruled almost twenty yeeres with honour and victory, which as he said, would shortly be clouded, if he should die and leaue them a litigious Heire, examples he shewed of the woollfull experience of Lancaster and Yorke, in whose diffidence the Realme was like to haue bene utterly destroyed: and although (saith he) we haue a daughter to the great comfort of her mother and me, yet it is told vs by great Clarke, our marriage is not lawfull, but that the stands in case of illegitimacy; and we both, are said to liue in abominable Adultery; thinke you (my Lords) that these words doe not touch my very soule, the perill whereof we venture, as you doe also your inheritance, for which cause I haue asked counsell of the greatest Clarke in Christendome, and haue likewise heard the opinion of mine owne. But as touching the Queene, if it be iudged by the Law of God that she is my lawfull wife, there shall be nothing more acceptable vnto mee, whose noble conditions, I assure you, (besides her great Parentage) is most gentle, loving and obedient, whereof I haue had a true experience almost these twenty yeeres: and were I to choose a wife (if the marriage might stand with Gods Law) my Choise should be of her, before any other woman in the world, and if it shall otherwise be proued, I shall not onely be most sorrowfull for parting with so loving a companion, but much more haue occasion to lament my chauce, and life in so foule a sin; these then are the fores that torment my minde, for the sauing of my soule, and for which cause I haue heere assembled you, that you may declare to our loving Subjects this our true meaning, and to stay if it may be the rumors of vnstaid reports; and this being said, he let them to depart, each man bewraying in countenance the affection of his mind, some pitying the King to see him so perplexed, some fauouring the Queene for her sake, and some

fighed

fighed deeply at this strange speech and sudden alteration.

(68) But the Cardinall of Yorke fearefull to wade too farre alone in these troubled waters, desired the assistance of the learned in the Realme, and thereto got the Kings licence, which with his Legatine authority, commanded many learned men both Diuines & Lawyers, from Oxford and Cambridge, with the presence of many Bishoppes besides. These assembled at London, were shewed the Instruments and Seales of many forraigne vniuersities, all of them disabling the marriage, and holding the dispensation (allowing it) vnlawfull: but because that string could not be touched without found of reproch to the Pope, as also to cleare the King from calumnious reports; it was thought fittest to send the saide instruments to Rome, whereunto these so appointed (set their owne seales, with an humble request to his Holinesse, that an indifferent Iudge might be sent them, to determine this great and strange cause of the King; which was so followed by his Ambassadors in the Popes Court, that Lawrence Campius a Cardinall of great credite and wildome, from their Consistory was sent into England, vnto whom, wife Wolsey Cardinall of Yorke was ioined in commission, with power to erect a Court, to heare the cause pleaded, & to giue sentence definitiue, as they found the equity of law.

(69) To that end therefore a place was ordained at the Blacke-fryers in London, and the King with the Queene remoued themselves vnto his palace of Bridenell neere adioining, whence ere long they were summoned by Proccesse personally to appeare in Court, which accordingly they did, hauing several seates ordained vnder clothes of estate, mounted somewhat higher then the two Cardinals, the Presidents, vnder whose feet sat the Scribes and other Officers; the Court being framed Consistory wife, was furnished with Bishoppes, Doctors, Lawyers, and learned Counsellors, in most solemne wise: the Doctors for the King, were Simpson and Bell, and his Proctors Peter and Tregonell: for the Queene were Fisher, Standish, and Ridley, a very little man but a great Diuine, the Court thus set, and Commission read, the Cryer called the King, by the name of King Henry to come into the Court, who forthwith answered and said, Here. Then was the Queene called by the name of Queene Katherine to come into the Court, who made no answer at all, but presently rose vp, and going about the Court to the King, fell down on her knees, before his feet, and in the hearing of the people spake thus in effect.

Sir, I desire you to take some pity vpon mee, and doe mee Iustice and Right: I am a poore woman, a stranger borne out of your Dominions, hauing here no indifferent Councell, and lesse assurance of friendship. Alasse, wherein haue I offended, or what cause of displeasure haue I giuen, that you intend thus to put mee away? I take God to my Iudge, I haue bene to you a true and humble wife, euer conformable to your will and pleasure, neuer gaue-lying any thing wherein you tooke delight, without all grudge or discontented countenance; I haue loved all them that loved you, howeouer their affections haue bene to mee ward, I haue borne you children, and bin your wife now this twenty yeeres, of my virginity and marriage bed, I make God and your owne conscience the Iudge, and if it otherwise be proued, I am content to bee put from you with shame. The King your Father in his time for wifedome was knowne to bee a second Salomon, and Ferdinando of Spaine my Father, accounted the wisest among their Kings; could they in this match bee so farre ouerseen, or are there now wiser and more learned men, then at that time were? surely it seemeth wonderfull to mee that my marriage after twenty yeeres should bee thus called in question with new inuention against me

who neuer intended but honesty. Alasse Sir, I see I am wronged, hauing no Councell to speake for me, but such as are your Subjects, and cannot bee indifferent vpon my part. Therefore I most humbly beseech you, euen in Charity to stay this course, vntill I may haue aduile and counsell from Spaine; if not, your Graces pleasure be done. And therewithall rising, and making lowly obeysance to the King, departed thence, leaning vpon the Arme of her receiuer, each man expecting shee had returned to her seat, when as shee tooke directie out of the place; which being perceived, the Cryer againe called her by the name of Queene Katherine to come into the Court; Madam quoth her guid, you are againe called; on, on, said shee, it maketh no matter, this is no indifferent Court for me; therefore goe forward.

(70) The King perceiving that she was departed, presently spake thus vnto the assembly. "I will (quoth hee) in her absence declare before you all, that shee hath bene to mee a most true, obedient and comfortable wife, ended with all vertuous qualities and conditions; according to her birth; and in lowliness equals any of baser estate. With that Cardinall Wolsey made vnto the King an humble request, that his Maiesty would bee pleased to declare before that honourable audience, whether hee had bene the causer of this his intended diuorfe, wherewith hee was charged in the opinions of the people.

My Lord Cardinall quoth the King, I can well excuse you in this, and rather affirme that you haue bene against mee, in attempting it thus far; but the chiefest motiue for this matter, was the scruple of conscience, conceived vpon certaine words spoken by the Bishop of Bayon, the French Ambassadour, sent from the King to conclude a marriage betwixt Prince Henry his second sonne, Duke of Orleans, and our onely daughter Lady Mary, which Bishoppe made doubt, and desired respite to bee satisfied for the legitimacy of our said daughter, in respect of our marriage with this woman, being my owne brothers wife, which presently engendered such scruples and doubts in me, that my conscience hath bene continually vexed, left by continuing in that sinne after knowledge, I draw Gods indignation against me, which I feare wee haue already done in that hee hath sent vs no issue male, and them that were begot in this untiall bed, no sooner came into the world, but were taken againe thence, and hopelesse now of more issue by her, it behoueth me to consider the state of this Realme, and the danger that may follow for lacke of a lawfull Prince to succeed. This burden too weighty for my weak conscience (not in any dislike of the Queenes age, or person, with whom I desire only to continue, if our marriage may stand with the law of God) I haue in this place assembled you our graue Prelates, and learned Diuines, to determine of, and will God willing submit my selfe to your iudgements. My doubts in this case I moued in confession to you my Lord of Lincoln, and ghostly father, whereof your selfe being somewhat troubled, said you would aske counsell of you all my Lords. Then of you my Lord of Canterbury being Metropolitan, I got licence to put the matter in question, to which I grant you all put your seales, as here in this Court the same is to be seen. True it is, said the Lord of Canterbury, and I doubt not but that all my brethren here present will acknowledge the same. Not so my Lord said the Bishoppe of Rochester, you neuer had my hand to that Instrument, nor neuer shal. Indeed said Cardinall of York you did it not your selfe, but admitted mee to subscribe your name, and allowed mee your Seale; vnder your correction said Rochester that is not so; Well, well, quoth the King, you are but one man, against whom at this time we will not dispute, and so rose vp, and the Court adioined

X x x x x

vntill

Queene Katherine departed the Court.

The Kings report of this Queene.

The King exclaimeth the Cardinall.

King Henries conscience and care.

The Bishoppe of Rochester contradicted the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The second sitting of the Court in Blacke Fryers.

Fox Mar. p. 1194

Holinshed. p. 913.

Reasons to disprove the marriage.

Edward Hall.

Great presumptions that Qu. Katherine had been carnally known by Prince Arthur.

Ex MS. by the Kings Agent.

The Emperour sought to retract the sentence of Padua.

The two Cardinals refused to leave the Queene.

Wolsey's speech to the Queene.

The Queene's answer.

untill another day. Which was vpon the next following, and twenty of May, the two Cardinals being for, the Lawyers were ready vpon either parts. Against the lawfulness of the marriage was alledged the other formerly solemnized with Prince Arthur, the Kings elder brother, and the nuptial knowledge of Lady Katherine's body, which was vehemently prosecuted by the Kings learned Council, by many reasons and likelihood of truth: one was, that Prince Henry had bene deferred from creation and title of Prince of Wales, the space of fixe monethes after Arthurs decease, as doubtfull whether Lady Katherine had bene by him conceived with child; for which cause as was alledged the said Lady had procured a second Bull from the Pope, with this collocation, *vel forsan cognitam, and peradventur carnally knowne*: which Bull was onely purchased to dispenche with this marriage. That she was carnally knowne, was vrged the report of his Chamberlaine, vpon certaine wordes spoken by Prince Arthur the first morning that hee rose from her bed.

(71) The Negatives denied all the presumptions, and this last, too farre vnbecoming that reuerent assembly and honourable Court. But by these Authentical Records which M. Fox had in his custody, the matter is past all contradiction for her carnal knowledge, whereto is affirmed that the Ambassadors of Ferdinand, being in England to see the same marriage consummated, returned their knowledge of their mutual conjunction, as that nothing was left vnperformed of any nuptial right, and they being of yeeres able to explete the Act, hee aboute fifteene, and shee aboute seuentee, laide both in one bed almost fixe monethes together, doe assure vs the certainty of that, which they made their greatest doubt, vnlesse the Popes dispensation was a Core to the cause. But that shee was carnally knowne the Vniuersity of Padua had concluded in their sentence, whom the Emperors Ambassadors earnestly solicited, either to retract their said grant, or to giue forth a new sentence vpon the case that the Queene was not *carnaliter cognita ab illustissimo Principe Arthur*, or to determine that this Matrimony was not *dirimendum*, which in no wise they could obtaine though they offered very largely to haue it done. Thus from day to day the pleas proceeded, but nothing concluded touching the diuorce, whereupon the King sent the two Cardinals to perswade with the Queene to put the whole matter onely to himselfe, which would bee farre better, and more honourable for her, then to stand to the tryall of law.

(72) These Legates accordingly repaired to Bridewell, and in presence staied for the Queene, who presently from among her maides at worke came forth vnto them, hauing a skaine of white thread about her necke; at whose sight shee said, alacke my Lords, I am very sorry to make you attend vpon me; what is your will? if it please your Grace (quoth Cardinal Wolsey) to goe into your priuy Chamber, we will deliuer the cause of our coming: my Lord (quoth he) this place is most fit, I pray you therefore declare here your minds. With that hee began his speech in Latine which she presently interrupted, saying, that shee vnderstoode the English very well.

(73) Madam (quoth the Cardinal) wee are come in goodwill, to know your Graces mind, in this great matter of your marriage, and to giue you our aduise with the best seruite we can. My Lords (said shee) I thank you, but for answer of my resolution, I cannot so suddenly make, the cause is great, and toucheth mee very neere; I am here a stranger, a poore woman lacking witte, notable to answer such noble and wise personages as yee be, I haue need of counsell, and they be in Spaine; for thinke you my Lords, that any English subjects, will bee for me against the King? forsooth I know

"they wil not, I pray your Lordships be good vnto me, a forrainger and destitute of friends, and assist mee with your Counsells, which I will be glad to heare. And thereupon taking them by the hands, led them into her Chamber, where they staied somewhat long; which done they departed, and made relation of her answer vnto the King. Who nothing pleased at the answer shee made them, sent againe certaine Lords vnto her, to shew her the determinations of those Christian Vniuersities, who had prescribed the marriage vnlawfull, and to wish her to remit the matter for the quieting of the kings conscience vnto foure Prelates, and foure temporall Lords: vnto whom shee answered saying, "the King my Father which concluded my marriage, I am sure was not so ignorant, but he asked counsell of Clerkes and well learned men, before hee married me the second time; for if he had had any doubt in my marriage, hee would not haue disbursed for a great treasures hee did, and then all the Doctors agreed my marriage to be good; insum that the Pope himselfe, which knew best what was to be done, did both dispense and ratifie the second marriage, against whose doings I maruaile that any person will speake or write. But as touching the determinations of the Vniuersities, I am a woman and lacke witte and learning to answer to them, but to God I commit the iudgement of that, whether they haue done iustly or partially: for this I am sure, that neither the Kings father, nor my father would haue condiscended to our marriage, if it had bene declared to bee vnlawfull; and where you say, I should put the cause to eight persons of this Realme for quietnesse of the Kings conscience; I pray God send his Grace a quiet conscience: and this shall bee your answer, that I say I am his lawful wife, and to him lawfully married, and by the order of the holy Church, I was to him espoused as his true wife (although I was so worthy) and in that point I will abide till the Court of Rome which was priuy to the beginning, haue made thereof a determination and final end.

(74) The King then hopelesse of his Queenes consent hastid his Lawyers to forward their diuorce, which daily they did, and the Consistory at Blacke Friers daily frequented, all points in Law were opened to the full, so that nothing now remained but the sentence of the Judges: for which a solemne day was assigned when the King in person came to heare it himselfe. His seat taken, and the Court set, after a crié for silence the proceedings were openly read, and all doubts cleared, the learned Counsell at Barre called for Iudgement, wherunto *Campius* the Popes stout Champion, vpon his stiffe gouty legges stood vp, all men expecting the sentence of Diuorce, but the Cardinal now not to learne what hee had formerly determined, said flatly, I will not giue iudgement in this matter, too high for vs, considering the estates of the Persons, and the doubtfulness of the occasions alledged, vntill I haue made a full relation to the Popes holiness of all our proceedings, whose counsell and commendation in this case I will obserue and follow, vnder whose authority we fit and are commissioners, therefore I will adiourne the Court for this time according to the order of the Court of Rome from whence our semblable iurisdiction is deriued. Which how it displeased the King, the Sequell will shew, and how then taken the words of the Duke of Suffolke did well declare, who stepping forth with a sterne countenance vied these words, It was neuer merry in England since we haue had any Cardinals among vs.

The Iudgement thus said, the King sent his Secretary *Stephen Gardiner* to Rome, to follow that Court, whether Queene Katherine had made her appeale: and Cardinal *Campius* admitted to depart, went away in no such estate, as was held fit for a man of his place, but rather as one suspected to carry with him more then his owne, had all his Chests

Cardinals who searched.

Slidam.

cause why againe staied.

ingreatnes.

ab. pg. 848.

trall. Abb. lib.

in Campian.

ital.

King Henry secuteth diuorce.

plaints a. 1519.

judicellina.

in Cam. 19.

Cardinal Campius returns the cause of diuorce to the judgement of the Pope.

in Cam. 19.

The saying of the Duke of Suffolke.

recuseth of Campius against Cardinal.

Chests searched at Callis, euen to the Cloke-bags and Males. The cause of this stay (saith *Slidam*) was, that the French King, an entire friend vnto Rome, had no better successe in Naples, against the Emperour, whom the Pope durst not displease, the Lady Katherine being his Aunt, for whom the Emperour was so earnest, as in her behalfe he laboured Milan and many other places, that their learned men should not determine against the said Queene. But whatsoever the cause was, that *Campius* denied his sentence for the Diuorce, certaine it is, that Cardinal *Wolsey*, fell likewise in great displeasure of the King, though hee sought to excuse himselfe with want of sufficient authority: but now his Sunne hauing passed the Meridian of his greatnesse, began by degrees againe to decline, till lastly it set vnder the cloud of his fatal eclipse.

(75) Formerly wee haue spoken of the rising of this man, who now being swolne so bigge by the blasts of promotion, as the bladder not able to containe more greatnesse, suddenly burst, and vented forth the winde of all former fauours. Vaine glorious he was, in state, in diet, and in rich furniture for house, and in prodigall intertainements, more like to a Prince then a Prelate, attended with so many officers, and seruants as is almost incredible, were nor his Check-roll yet to bee seene. At his masse hee was serued by Dukes, and Earles, whoooke the assaie of his wine on their knees, and held him his Basin at the Lauatorie. And being Ambassador vnto the Emperour at Brussels, was there waited vpon by manie noble men of England, and serued at Table by his seruitors vpon their knees, to the great admiration of the *Germanes* which behelde it: and indeed so much ouertopped the Pompe of a spiritual function, as hee seemed to the more humble, to be mad for ioy; and him doth *Campian* iudge, rather to be a Bastard of some Prince, then the Sonne of a Butcher, so moulded for the one, and so farre mounting from the other: exceedingly wise he was and very well spoken, but full of reuenge and vicious of body, thrall to affection, and lulled asleepe with flattery, insatiable to get, but princely in bestowing, lofty to his enemies, and not easily reconciled, which hastened his fall, when he first began forto slippe. Queene Katherine in her cause, did grieuously accuse him, the Counsell for their parts, did article against him, the Law found him in a premunire vnto the King, and Sir *Thomas Moore* in the high Court of Parliament inueighed bitterly against him.

(76) The first steppe of his discent was his dislike of the Kings affection vnto *Anne Bullen*, a Gentlewoman nothing fauourable to his Pontificall Pompe, nor no great follower of the Rites of those times, which moued the Cardinal (the Pope hauing assumed the sentence of Queene Katherine's cause vnto himselfe) to write vnto his holiness to deferre the iudgement of Diuorce, till he had wrought the Kings minde in another mould. This was not done so secretly, but that it came to the Kings eare, and lastly cost the proud Cardinal his life. For the broad Scale first taken from him, and his other Bishopricks elsewhere betowed, his House and furniture seized vpon, and himselfe removed into the North, at *Cawood Castle* (euen miles from Yorke, was suddenly arrested (for arrogant words importing a desire of reuengement, saith *Slidam*) by the Earle of Northumberland, whence he was conueied toward London by the Lieutenant of the Tower, in which iourney at *Leicester Abbey* he ended his life, whose death himselfe had hastened by taking an ouermuch quantity of a confection to breake winde from off his stomacke, and in that Church was there enterrd.

(77) The grudges against this Cardinal were many and great, not onely for the effectual fauour he stood in with the King, and great stroake he bare at Counsell Board, (both which commonly breed emulation vnto the man so fasted) but for his intolerable pillings, who to patch vp his pride in the

raising of his new Colledges, erected at Oxford and Ipswich, by the licence of Pope Clement 7. suppressed forrie Monasteries of good fame, and bountifull Hospitalitie, conuerting all their goods and mouables into his owne Cofers; which were so stuffed with treasure; that twelue Barrells full of gold and siluer were laid aside, to serue the Pope in his warres. As also that he emptied the Land of twelue score thousand pound, enforced by him from the King: All which he conuerted to relieue, and ranfome the Pope then in Prison, to the great impoverishing of his Maiesties Cofers: That his owne reuenues by his faculties, licences, and other legantine exactions did equalize the Kings yeerly Reuenues; and lastly his pride so intolerable, as no lesse then twelue hundred horse for his retinue, fourescore Waggons for his carriage, and threecore Mules for sumpter horses attended him into France. But *St. transt gloria mundi*, and the highest floud is subiect to an ebbe.

(78) But whilst the matter of the Kings marriage hung thus in suspence the space of two yeeres, and other Ambassadors intended to bee sent vnto Rome: it chaunced Doctor *Crammer*, Doctor *Stephens*, and Doctor *Fox* to meet at *Waltham* at one Table, where the two later, great Agents for the King, fell in discourse of his cause by termes, and strength of the Ciuill Law. Well said Doctor *Crammer*, if I might be heard, I thinke much better it might be tried by Gods Law: whereby the King should bee frustrated in the cause of his Conscience, then thus to be potted off with deliaies from yeere to yeere. This speech Doctor *Fox* made known to his Maiestie, which founded very tunably in his eare, then was *Crammer* sent for, conferred with by the King, and commanded to write his minde in the matter, but with this caution prefixed, not to respect the persons but the cause; who to him commended the vertuous perfections of his Queene, with whom aboute all others he most desired to continue, if their marriage could bee made warrantable by Gods Lawes; to which end hee commended the care of Bookes, and of his other Prouisions vnto the Earle of *Wiltshire* at *Durham Place*. The Doctor thus set on worke, when hee least looked to be so imployed, proued by Scriptures, General Councils, Auncient Writers, besides the present, and his owne opinion, that the Bishop of Rome had no authority to dispenche with the word of God, nor the Scriptures.

(79) The treatise thus finished, he presented it to the King, which when he had well read, and weighed the substance therein contained; Will you (quoth he) Master Doctor abide by what you haue writ? that will I by Gods grace said *Crammer*, euen before the Pope himselfe, if your Maieity will so assigne it; Marry quoth the King to him shall you goe. Whereupon *Thomas Bullen* Earle of *Wiltshire*, Doctor *Stokeley*, Eleck of London, Doctor *Lee* the Kings Almoner, the Doctors *Crane*, *Bennet*, and *Crammer*, were sent to the Pope then at *Bononie* in Italy. The day approached for audience of their Ambassage, and the high Prelate set vpon his Throne of Estate, the Doctor prepared to make his Oration in defence of what hee had writ, when on the suddaine hee was interrupted by an vnmannerly spanell of the Earles, who seeing the Pope put forth his foot to be kist, caught in his teeth the Pontificall great Toe, so that these Ambassadors disdaining to kisse where the dogge had taken an assay, let the Pope draw backe his foot, and so lost that effectual fauour offered vnto them. The Proposition then made, that no man iure diuino could or ought to marry his brothers wife, and that the Bishop of Rome by no means could dispenche to the contrary, was replied vnto, that it should be answered at more leasure, when his holiness returned to Rome; in the meane while, to grace *Crammer* the more, he gratified him with the office of the Penitenciarship, and so dismissed the Ambassadors: who all, lauing *Crammer* returned

M. Fox in Acts and Monuments. Forty Monasteries suppressed by Cardinal Wolsey.

Edw. Hall.

Doctor Crammers opinion of the controuersie.

Doctor Crammer sent for to the King.

Crammers collections against the Pope.

Ambassadors sent vnto the Pope.

Fox Acts and Monuments, pag. 2034.

Answer to the proposition put off.

Cornelius Agrippa
pa yealdeth to
the propoſition.

The Popes vſur-
pation forbid by
Parliament.

Rx Parl 24 H.8.
K. Henries mar-
riage diſſolued by
Parliament.

Fox Mart. 1197.

Katherine Dow-
ger.

Holinſh. pag 936.

Pope Clement 7.
adudgeth the mar-
riage law-
full.

The thunde-
rings of Pope
Clement 7.

Steiden. com. li. 9.

The diſcent of
Anne Bullen.

Sir Godfrey Bull-
en Lord Maior
of London. Anno
1457.

Sanders in Sebiſ-
Angl.

Anne Bullenſe-
ligion.

Steiden. com. li. 9.

ned to England; but he tooke his way towards the Emperour (to whom the cause somewhat appertained) being then at Vienna in his expedition against the Turke, vnto whose learned men he offered disputation, and in priuate conference ſatisfied Cornelius Agrippa, the most respected for learning in the Emperours Court, as he held the Proposition most true. Whereupon others learned were discouraged to dispute, and suffered Grammer to depart without any further proceedings.

(80) The matter thus manifested in most parts of Christendome, this Gordians knot was lastly vnloosed by King Henrie himselfe, who now belides this his marriage, beganne to call in question, what authority the Pope had in his dominions, which being afterwards debated in Parliament, an Act passed against his vſurped Hierarchie, and all persons forbidden to appeale, or to make any payments vnto Rome. The Kings marriage with Lady Katherine, was by the same Parliament diſſolued, and his separation from her, made by the Archbishop of Canterbury to stand good, and effectually by Law, and that Queene Katherine from thenceforth should be called Princeſſe Dowager, which doings shee tooke so to hart, as shee procured the Popes curse against King Henrie, and his Realme, which curse was set vp at Dunkirke in Flanders, for that the bringer thereof durst come no nearer. And the Pope in reuenge of himselfe, being set in his Consistory accompanied with his Cardinals, proceeded to the Censure of these great Princes marriage, which he then adjudged to stand most firme and Canonically, and enioyned King Henry to hold matrimoniall society with the said Katherine his lawfull wife and Queene, and in that estate to account and maintaine her as it became a King and louing husband to doe, and if he refused to accomplish these premisses, then to be compelled thereunto, and neuer after to be heard in any Court as touching the invaliditie of the said marriage, and to pay the expences of the said traueſe, as he the holy father should iudice and thinke meete. This was done a yeere after that the King had married Queen Anne, and bare date from Rome, the 23. of March and yeere of Christ 1534. For in the meane while King Henry had set his affection vpon the Lady Anne Bullen, a Phenix indeed in his Princely eye, and another Heſſer for Englands saluation, both in her selfe and roiall Bud ſucceeding, as the heauens and world doe witness to this day. Shee was the daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen Viſcount Rochford, Earle of Wiltſhire, and of Ladie Elizabeth, daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk. This Earle Thomas her father was the ſonne of Sir William Bullen, whose wife was Lady Margaret, the second daughter and Coheire of Thomas Butler Earle of Ormond, and the said Sir William was the ſonne of Sir Godfrey Bullen Lord Maior of London, who lieth buried in Saint Laurence Church in the Iewrie, pictured in his winding ſheete vpon a Plate of Braſſe, and about his Graue-stone vpon a border of braſſe in many places these words are written. *Now thus, Now thus, Now thus*, whose Charity was extended vpon the poore householders of that Citie, in distributing among them a thousand pounds. His Lady was Anne, eldest daughter and Coheire vnto Thomas Lord Hoo and Haffing, and his diſcent out of the house of the Bullens, an ancient Family in the Countie of Norfolk; accured therefore be the pen, that slanderously bringeth this roſe from a defiled Bed, whose Serpents mouth to vphold his God the Pope, hath ſewed out his poiſon of vntruthes, and made his tongue a sharpe ſword against the Lords annointed; let him therefore receiue his portion with the Serpent of deceit, and his reward with Satan the father of Lies.

(81) This Ladies religion was different from all Papall indulgences, embracing the Gospell that then began in our vulgar language to bee read, for which cause ſaith Steiden shee was accounted a Lutheran, cause

enough to bee enuied at, by the Biſhops of that time.

(82) Her, the King inuested Marchionesse of Pembroke with Mantle and Coronet, both in regarde of her Nobilitie and many vertues (for ſo runne the wordes of her Patent) which done, he tooke the seas, for France, accompanied with ſuch a traine of his Nobles, as the like had not been ſeen, and among many Ladies Anne Bullen was one, where hee complained to the French King of the great wrongs offered him by the dull Pope as hee called him, who would haue Kings in perſonto attend his leaſure at Rome, and contrary to their Kingly dignities, to expoſe themſelues and affaires at his will there, to bondage and great danger; and therefore hee earnestly requested that the Pope might bee ſummoned to a Councell, to anſwer the many abuſes that hee had offered vnto most of the Princes in Christendome, and vnto himselfe not the leaſt, who for his part had allowed him threeſcore thousand Angels monethly to maintaine an Army for his deliuerance out of the Caſtle of Angell; where the Emperials vnder the Prince of Orange kept him. Which his buſineſſe being ended in France, and the King againe returned into England, hee preſently (though priuily) married the ſaid Lady Marchionesse in his Cloſet at White-hall, in the preſence of many; the Lady Anne Savage bearing her Traine, and Doctor Lee doing the rites of their coniunction, who was afterwards consecrated Biſhop of Cheſter, Conuener, and Lichfield, and Preſident of Wales.

(83) The Romanists much fearing that Babel would downe, if Queene Anne might bee heard against wicked * Haman, fought to vnderproppethe foundations thereof, with certaine deuiles of their owne; and that the ſame might paſſe without note of ſuſpition, they laid their forgery euen vpon Heauen it ſelfe; whose pretended Oracle Elizabeth Barton (commonly called, the holy maide of Kent) was made to bee; and the pillars of this godleſſe Fabrick were Edward Bocking, a Moncke by profeſſion, and doctour of Diuinity, Richard Maſters, Parſon of Aldington, the Town wherein he dwelt, Richard Deering a Monke, Hugh Rich a Friar, John Aſtſone, and Thomas Abell, Priests, put to their helping handes, and Henrie Gould Bachelor of Diuinity, with John Fiſher the Reuerend father of Rochefter, imploied their paines to daube theſe downe-falling walles, with their vnreproued Morter. The Scribes that let their pens for her Miracles, were Edward Thwaites Gentleman, and Thomas Lawrence Register, beſides Haukerſſ a Monke who writte a letter that was forged to bee ſent her from Heauen; and Richard Riſby and Thomas Gould, were the men which diſperſed her Miracles abroad to the world. This holy maide Elizabeth made a Votariffe in Canterbury, was taught by Bocking her Ghoſtly Father, and ſuſpected Paramour, to counterfeit many ſayned trances, and in the ſame to vtter many virtuous wordes, for the rebuke of ſinne, vnder which, more freely ſhee was heard againſt Luthers Doctrine, and the Scriptures translation, then deſired of many: neither ſo onely, but that ſhee gaue forth from God, and his Saints, by ſundry ſuggeſtiue Reuelations, that if the King proceeded in his diuorce, and ſecond marriage, he ſhould not raigne in his Realme one moneth after, nor reſt in Gods fauour the ſpace of an houre. But the truth diſcovered by Gods true Miniſters, this Oracle gaue place as all other ſuch did, when Chriſt by his death ſtopped their lying mouthes: for her ſelfe and * ſeuē of her Diſciples were executed for Treason at Tiſborne, and the other fixe put to their fines and imprisonment. With the like counterfeit reuelations and ſained predictions this Generation of Hypocrites had brought Edward Lord Stafford, Duke of Buckingham vnto his vnhappy ende, when as by the workings of John de la Court, his own Confeſſor, together with Nicolas Hopkins a Monke of the Carthusian Order, in the Priorie

Anne Bullen
acted Marchion-
neſſe of Pemb-
roke.

A.D. 1534
Octob. 11.

K. Henrie com-
plaied of the
dull Pope.

King Henrie di-
loued the Pope
ſo much, Angli-
monethly.

John Stow, 1534
Anno Dom. 1534
Aprill 14.
Vpon S. Edm-
unds day, the
Hollifield and
Grafſton,
King Henry mar-
ried Anne Bul-
len.

* The Pope.

Elizabeth Barton
the ſſe Oracle
of the Roman-
iſts.

The afflieted
this ſſe Pro-
phetiſſe.

Read Statute
in Anno 25.
King H.8.

The counterfeit-
ings of Elizabeth
Barton.

Edward Hall,
John Stow,
Holinſh.

Crommer,
Cromwell,
Latimer.

* Elizabeth, Bart.
Edward Hall,
Richard Doſſy,
Richard Riſby,
Richard Maſter,
Henry Gould,
Two Monks.

John Stow.

Lord Duke
of Buckingham
ſuſpected.

ſuſpected.

the ſame ſeare
ſuſpected Bullen.

the Pope in-
clined James King
ſuſpected a-
gainſt England.

King Henrie di-
loued the Pope
ſo much, Angli-
monethly.

ſuſpected.

ſuſpected.

the Pope giues
ſuſpected to him
would get it.

the Pope.

Elizabeth Barton
the ſſe Oracle
of the Roman-
iſts.

The afflieted
this ſſe Pro-
phetiſſe.

Read Statute
in Anno 25.
King H.8.

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of Henion in Somerſetſhire, who by his viſions from heauen forthwith, heartned him for the Crown; but before his owne Coronet could aſpire to that toppie, hee worthily loſt both head and all vpon Tower-hill for his treaſon, Anno Dom. 1521. Vnto ſuch ſinners the world was then ſubiect, and into ſuch conceites their reputed holines had brought them, not onely among the ſimple and vnlettered, but euen with them that ſeemed to bee learned indeed: for by certaine predictions foreſhewing a great deluge, Prior Bolton of Saint Bartholomewes in London was ſo ſearefull, that hee built him a houſe vpon the height of Harrow hill, ſtoring it with provisions neceſſary, to keepe himſelfe from drowning, in A. D. 1524.

(84) But the Popes Holineſſe fearing the euent of the game, if euery man might ſet and caſt at his Crowne, thought it high time to lay hand on his owne State, and to keepe what was left, leſt al would bee gone; to which end hee ſollicited many Chriſtian Princes to ſtand on his part, and among them ſent his Brief vnto James the ſixt King of Scotland, deſiring his aſſiſtance againſt King Henry of England, whom in his Conſistory hee had pronounced to bee an Here-ſike, a Schiſmatike, a manifeſt Adulterer, a publike murderer, a committer of Sacrilege, a Rebel, and conuict of Leſe Maieſtatū, for that hee had riſen againſt him who was his Lord. And therefore hee had iuſtly depriued him of his ſaid Kingdom, and would diſpoſe the ſame to him and other Princes: ſo as they would aſſiſt to recouer the ſame, a very good provision, and very well foreſeene; for notwithstanding theſe boiſterous blaſts from Rome, the King kept his Crowne, and was rather feare of the Popes beſt Abettors, then did feare any potent power that the world could afford, whose thoughts were now buſied for the Coronation of his Queene.

(85) For Queene Anne conceiued, and percieued with Child, her royall Coronation was forthwith prepared, which with all royall obſeruances vpon the ſiſt of Iune, being Whiſunday was performed; and the ſeuenth of September following, ſhee bare into the world that excellent Princeſſe, which afterwards proued the mirrour of the world, euen Lady ELIZABETH, our late and moſt famous Queene.

(86) True it is, that the zealous conuerſation of this godly Queene gaue great encouragements vnto many, more publickly with boldnes to profeſſe the Goſpell; ſo that the Miniſters formerly fled in ſcafe of Religion, returned againe into England, where the new Teſtament (translated by Tyndall) was read, but with ſuch diſlikes to the Biſhoppes, that they got it to be burnt. Notwithstanding, to tickle the Kings eare, they preached againſt the Popes ſupremacy, and tooke the oath for the King themſelues; aboliſhed his authority by Act of Parliament, and ſuppreſſed many Monaſteries; leaving their reuenues to the Kings will; faire introductions indeed for what they intended, as the ſequell of the fixe Articles by them procured, doth manifeſtly ſhew: and thoſe purpoſely made againſt the maintainers of the Goſpell, whereof Queen Anne was the chiefe, who firſt was moſt fauourable to thoſe learned Diuines, that laide mans ſalutation vpon the Rocke Chriſt, next in procuring a tolleration from the king for them, whose doctrine did daily vndermine the Papall foundation: & laſtly, ſhe by no means would conſent to marry the King, vntill a lawfull diuorce was had for his ſeparation from Lady Katherine; his brother Arthurs wife, which thing this Pope greatly withſtood: theſe were cauſes ſufficient to moue his Holineſſe to bend his brow, and by his Inſtruments in Court to cutte off the principal mouer, who foreſawing no time tooke the Ball before his rebound.

(87) For the Queene deliuered of a dead Child, and the Kings affection wandring elſewhere, gaue them occaſion to worke on that Subiect, which God

In his wiſdome would haue downe, left his deliuerance from the bondage of darkeneſſe ſhould be attributed to any fleſhly arme, or that ſhee who then ſate in the throne of the worlds full felicity, ſhould fixe her ſenſes on ſo ſickle a Center, who hauing had experience what it was to bee a Princeſſe, muſt henceforth praſtiſe the patience of a poore priſoner, which in the third yeere of her marriage, and ſecond of May, to act the woſull Scene of her Tragedy, ſhee came vpon the Stage, being ſent to the Tower of London, and charged with high Treason againſt the King: at whole firſt entrance ſhee fell on her knees before Thomas Audley Lord Chancellor, the Duke of Norfolk; and Thomas Cromwell Secretary her bringers, deſiring God to help her as ſhe was guiltleſſe of thoſe things whereof theſe waſtaceſſed, beſeeching thoſe Lords to bee Petitioners vnto his Maieſty in her behaile, who lamenting her caſe, left her Priſoner with Sir William Kingſſom Conſtable of the place.

(88) I will in no wiſe excuſe her guilt, hauing had iudgement and death by law, though others, and that vpon iuſt occaſions before mee haue done, but will ſpeake from them what they haue ſaid; and namely one, that wrote thereof vnto a worthy and reuerent perſon; in whoſe defence his wordes are theſe: *It ſeemeth very plaine, that the crimes ſuppoſed againſt this Chriſtian Queene Anne, were matters contriued by the deuſe of the Pope, and his Inſtruments her enemies. None of them all that were accuſed in the ſame Treason, conſeſſing the Act euen vnto death, but haue left direct Teſtimonies in writing to the contrary; one meane Groome excepted, namely Marke Smeton, made confeſſion vpon ſome promiſe of life be like, but had his head cut off before hee was aware, or had time to recall what he had ſaid. The like did Cromwell the Secretary ſignific to the King, after the priſoners had bene thoroughly examined in the Tower by the Councell, who wrote thus in his letter on the ſame day; many things haue bene obiected, but nothing conſeſſed; onely ſome circumſtances haue bene acknowledged by Marke. And ſo doth Crommer Arch-biſhoppe of Canterbury in his letter of comfort vnto the King, who roſe lamented that ſuch a ſtarre was fallen, if her guilt could bee prooued. And willed his Highneſſe to ſtand in defence of the Goſpell as ſhee had done, without any report of confeſſing or acknowledging any ſuch Acts as were obiected, which as Steiden writteth, were Adultery, and inceſt, but vniuſally (ſaith he) as it is ſuppoſed and proued ſince: With her were executed certaine Gentlemen of the Kings Priuie Chamber, namely, Norris, Weſton, Breynton, and one Marke, which contrary to his conſcience (as it is reported) for hope of preferment ſubſcribed to a bill, whereby hee condemned both himſelfe and all the reſt.*

(89) For vpon the ſeuenth of May, her brother George Bullen Lord Rochford, for his ſuppoſed offence with theſe foure before named, were all of them beheaded vpon the Tower hill, but none of them confeſſing the Act; I haue heard it reported that Rochford the Queenes brother coming to her bed ſide to ſollicite a ſuite, leaned thereupon to whiſper her in the eares, which the Spials gaue forth that hee did ſo, to kill the Queen, howloeuer, they are dead, and the Queene muſt die, who two dayes before had bene arraigned in the Tower, the Duke of Norfolk being her Judge; to her inditement ſhee anſwered ſo effectually, that ſhee ſeemed to cleare all matters laid to her charge; yet was ſhee found guilty, and vpon the nineteenth day of May, was brought to a Scaffold erected on the Greene within the ſaide Tower, where, in preſence of many noble men, the Lord Mayor of London, the Shirriffs, and ſome principall commoners, ſhee is ſaid to haue ſpoken theſe wordes in their preſence.

(90) Good Chriſtian people, I am come hither to die, for according to the Law, and by the Law I am iudged to death, and therefore I will ſpeake nothing againſt it: I come hither to accuſe no man

Queene Anne
deliuered of a
dead Child.

Queene Anne
ſent to the
Tower.

Mych. Sande.
The defence of
Queene Anne.

Cromwell letter
to the King vnto
his own hand

Archbiſhop
Crommer letter
to the King.

Steiden com. li. 10

L. Rochford.
Norris, Weſton
Breynton &c Marke
beheaded.

May 15.

Queene Anne
condemned and
beheaded.

Robert Greene,
Queene Anne
ſpeach at her
death.

A a a a a

"man, nor to speake any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned; as for mine owne offences God knoweth them; and vnto God I remitte them, beseeching him to haue mercy vpon my soule; and if any person will meddle in my cause, I desire them to iudge the best; and so I take my leaue of the world, and of you all, and heartily do beseech you to pray for mee; and I beseech Iesus Iesus my Soueraigne and Master the King, the most godliest, noblest, and gentlest Prince, that is, long to raigne ouer you. These words the vttered with a smiling countenance, which done, shee kneeled down, and with a feruent Spirit said, to Iesus Christ I commend my soule, Lord Iesus receive my soule; and repeating thole words very often, suddainly the stroke of the sword sealed the debt that she owed vnto death; whose head and body was buried in the quier of the Chappell in the Tower.

(91) Now that her death was rather sought for, than any wife desired, doth witness the sword, whose edge was not wiped from the blood of her death, before the marriage bed of the King was prepared for another wife, which was Lady Jane Seimer in vertues her equal; who vpon the next day following being the twentieth of May, was married vnto the King, and succeeded this vnforgotten Lady in place of his *Queene*.

(92) And albeit *Eugene Anne* in her life time had sinned as *David*; or by traitory fell, as who sinneth not; yet that it should be follicitious and vnnatural, the quiet of her conscience at her death, did well witness the contrary, & her innocency so much more apparant, as her Christian modesty, in excusing her Soueraigne, and yielding obedience to the law howsoever *Poole* and *Paulus Iustus* from their Cardinals spleenes have filled their penes to blot her faire name, whose death notwithstanding was so grievously taken among the German Protestant Princes, who were minded to haue made *K. Henry* the head of their league, that thereupon they vtterly brake off, and refused him, onely for the cause and death of this most Christian *Queene*, whose religion and vertues daily shewed forth the fruits of her life, both in preferring the best men of gifts vnto the best benefices, and also in retaining for her Chaplains them of good fame, whose godly exhortations shee did not onely follow, but would will them freely to tell her what they law in her amiss. So mercifull shee was to the poore, that shee spent almost her whole reuene for their reliefe, and in nine moneths space distributed among them to the value of fifteen thousand pounds, intending likewise to bestow a great stocke into the four quarters of the Realme, to set poore Artificers on worke. Now if the tree bee known by the fruits, as truly it is, then these were her lights that shined before men, and the workes that shewed the fruites of her faith farre from such finnes, as the sway of thole times charged her with.

(93) And by the working of the same faith, her penance was scene, in her sorrowes conceiued, and thirsting reconciliation vnto them whome shee had any wife offended, as by this worthy example is apparant; when the day before the suffered death, being attended vpon with six Ladies in the Tower, shee took the Lady *Kingston* into her Prefence Chamber, and there locking the dore vpon them, willed her to sit downe in the chaire of Estate: whereunto she answered, that it was her duty to stand, and not to sit at all in her prefence, much lesse vpon the seat and state of her, her *Queene*. Ah Madam quoth shee, that title is gone, I am a condemned person, and by law haue no estate left me in this life; but for clearing of my conscience I pray you sit downe; well said the Lady *Kingston*, I haue often played the foole in my youth, and to fulfill your command, I will doe it once more in mine age, and thereupon shee lay downe vnder the cloth of estate, which no sooner was done, but that the *Queene* most humbly fell vpon her knees before her, and with teares, holding vp her

hands, charged her in the prefence of God and his Angels, as she would answer her before them, when all should appeare in iudgement, that shee should fall downe before the Lady *Maries* Grace her daughter in Law; and in her name in like manner, aske her forgiveness for the wrongs shee had done her, for till that was accomplished (the said) her conscience could not bee quiet: what her offence was to her ward; wee know not, but may be supposed not to bee capital, the *Queenes* case wayed, the time considered, and her enemies none of the meanest, onely this I obserue, that as shee cleared her conscience of the lesser crimes, so vndoubtedly would shee haue done of the greater, if any had been committed, and so as herselfe instantly desired, I count her case to be charitably spoken of, and leaue her and them vnto the Lord.

(94) But as one pillar for the Gospel's defence was fallen by the death of *Queene Anne*, so another was raised, by raising *Cromwell* from the base of his birth, no better indeed than a Blacke-Smiths son, who serueng great *Wolsey* in the office of his Solicitor, was employed by him for the suppression of forty Monasteries, to the erection of his Colledges at *Oxford* and *Ipwich*, by which he mounted thole steps of estate, which let (but not kept) him in the high Chaire of his authority; first by King *Henric* hee was made Master of his Iewell-house, then Baron of *Okeham* in *Rutlandshire*, then Knight of the Garter, ere long was created Earle of *Essex*, then was hee made Lord great Chamberlaine, and lastly ordained the Kings Vicar Generall, and thus farre fortune brought him from the forge for a fall.

(95) For King *Henry* vntaied in religious resolution (the Supremacy settled where hee would haue it, and the Reuenues of all Monasteries giuen him by Parliament) fought no further to reforme the Churches abuses, but onely gaue way that the Lords Prayer, the Creede, and Commandements might be read in English, which *Cromwell* procured to be enacted by Parliament. The Commons then misliking that their mummings must downe, and the Monkes fore troubled to mingle English in their Masses, the *Lincolshire* men beganne a Commotion vnder the conduct of *D. Mackarell* a Monke, who named himselfe Captaine *Cobler*, and his followers were growne well neere vnto twenty thousand. Against these, the King in person prepared, sending forth his command vnto severall Counties, to charge them with a taxation of furnished Souldiers to meet him at *Amphell*, as by * one we haue seen signed with the Rampe of his hand, and sent vnto the Bishoppe of *Excester* for foure hundred able men, whereof sixscore to be Archers, which great preparation being knowne to the Rebels, they sent to his Maiesty these Articles subscribed with many of their hands, the tenour whereof out of the Originall it selfe was as followeth.

To the King our Soueraigne Lord.

Pleaseth it your Highnes to be aduertised, that your poore Commonalty, true and faithfull Subiects, in your County of *Lincolne*, at this present time assembled, sinderth our felices griued in these Articles hereafter following.

First, for the suppression of so many religious houses, as be at this instant time suppressed. Whereby the seruice of God is not onely diminished, but also the poorealty of your Realme bee vnrelieued, and many persons bee put from their liuings, and left at large, which we thinke is a great hinderance to the Common-wealth.

The second Article is, that wee humble beseech your Grace, that the Act of vles may bee repealed, because we thinke that by the said Act we be clearly restrained of our liberties, in the declaration of our Willes, concerning our lands: aswell for the payment of our debts, for doing of your Grace seruice,

The thing of
Cromwell.

* S. Friderick
now Christ Church

Statute in Act
H. 8. c. 13

The Lords
Prayer, the
Creed, and
Commandments
were in the
English tongue

Commons
in rebellion

* King Henry
letter dated
the 10th of
October, in
his reign.

The aggressions
of the Commons
of *Lincolnshire*.

Suppression
of Monasteries

Act of Vles

Commons in
rebellion

as for helping and relieuing of our children, which wee haue had by the sufferance of your lawes by a long continuance, which as we thinke is great hurt and difcommodity to the Common-wealth.

The third Article is, that where your Grace hath a tax, or quindecim granted vnto you by Act of Parliament, payable the next yeere: which is, and euer hath been leueable of shepe and cattall: And the shepe and cattall of your Subiects within this faide Shire, are now at this instant vtterly decayed and gone. Whereby yff your Grace will take the faide tax, Your said Subiects should be constrained to pay iij. d. for a beast, and xii. d. for xx. shepe: And that would bee an importunate charge to theym, considered the poverty that they bee in already, and the losse which they haue sustained these two yeeres by-past.

The fowrt Article is, that wee your trow & faithfull Subiects, thinke that your Grace takes of your Council, and very nygh about you, such Personages as be of lawe birth, and faire reputation, which haue procured the premysses, most especial for their singler lue and aduantage: the which wee suspect to bee the Lord *Cromwell*, & Sir *Richard Rich* Chan- celler of the augmentations.

The fift Article is, your Grace to haue the xth. and first fruits of euery spiritual promotion, of the value of xx. l. and above. And of all other vnder the said value which doe not keepe residence and hospitality of their said Benefices.

The sixt Article is, that wee your true Subiectes find them griued, that there be diuers Bishoppes of *Yngland*, of your Grace late promotion, that haue subuerted the faith of Crist, as we thinke, which is the Archbyschoppe of *Canterbury*, the Byshoppe of *Rochefer*, the Byshoppe of *Saerbury*, the Byshoppe of *S. Dawes*, and the Bishoppe of *Dewelyn*. And in especiall as wee thinke the beginning of all the trouble of this Realme, and the gret exactions that hath been taken of your poore Commonalty, haue ryfen by the occasion of the Bishoppe of *Lincolne*: by whose officers, and by other of the Lord *Cromwells* seruants, a great rumor & noise is risen, and the common vocce is, that such Iowellys, plate, and other ornaments of our Parish Churches, which we occupie in the seruice and honour of God, should bee taken from vs and spoiled in lyke manner and facion, as the housys of Religion hath bene. For a reformation of all and singler the aforeseyd abvies, Wee your poore and trowe subiects humble requirys your grace and maiesty, that it might please your highnesse to call vnto you the Nobility of this your Realme, to see such Order and direction concerning all and singler the premysses, as may stand with honor and seruey of your grace, the welthe and prosperity of your Realme, and the contentation of vs your poore Subiects, and other the whole Commonalty of this your Realme. Whereby we shall not onely accept your Grace to be the Head and Soueraigne of vs your Subiects, but also accept and take your Grace to be Supreme head of the Church of *Yngland*, which wee doe knowledge your Grace trowe inheritance and right.

Also your faide trowe and faithfull subiects, with the hole assent of all your Commonalty of the faide Shire, most humble beseech your gracious Maiesty, to perdon this poore bearer in doing this his message to your Highnesse, who is your trowe and faithfull subiect, and hath taken this message vpon him for the feruent loue that hee hath to your Grace most in especiall, and for the staying of your Commonalty euer lens this ruffill began, hath bene as gladd with all his diligence to stay the commune people for the effusion of blood, as bee all his powre he might. The King with good words pacified these Commons, who laying aside weapons embraced their pardons.

(96) But this cloud scarcely ouerblowne, another more dangerous arose in the North, which

threatned darker stormes by the Skies ouercast: for fortie thousand Rusticks assembled in *Torkeshire*, furnished with Horse, Armour, Artillery and Abilliments for warre, threatened to set the flay of Estate vpon the props of their giddy inuentions. Their pretence was Religion, and defence of holy Church, their Banners painted with the fiue wounds of our Lord, the Chalice, the Cake and other like inuentions of *Rome*, and vpon their fleeces was writte the name of the Lord: and so forward, and so feruent were they in their proceedings, that this their attempt must be termed the holy Pilgrimage. Neither were the Rurall onely guilty in this rebellion, but others of greater place and degree were associates therein, namely, *Edward* Lord Archbishop of *York*, and the Lord *Thomas Darcy*, though both of them constrained by the Rebels as the said Archbishoppe testified vnder his owne hand: but voluntary and most forward were the Clergy of thole parts, the Lord *Lumley*, Sir *Thomas* and Sir *William Percy*, Sir *Robert Constable*, Sir *Francis Bigot*, and Sir *Robert Dugill* all of them Knights, *John Lacy*, *Richard Beamond* and *Robert Bowes* Esquires: & the Bailiffs of *Smythe* of *Leeds*, *Kellam*, and of *Beverly*. And for Captaine Generall, was *Robert Aske* a meane Gentleman, and one *Rudstone* his Associate in the Field. Other Commanders they had out of the Commonfoote, as *Tames Diamond* Generall of the Foot, and a poore Fisherman, stiled by himselfe and others, the Earle of *Powerty*. What authority these bare, among these rude multitude may partly be perceived by their Mandates, and Commissions, sent forth in their names, and subscribed with their owne hands, as from the Originalls of some of them is here to be scene.

Lords, Knights, Masters, Kinmen, and Friends, wee perceive that yee be informed that this Assemblie our Pilgrimage, which we by the fauour and mercy of Almighty God intendeth to proceede in, is because the King our Soueraigne Lord hath had much inuocacions of vs, wee doubt not but yee doe knowe and remember that to our powers we haue bene alwaies as ready in payments and seruices to his Highnesse as any his subiects: and further to ascertaine you of the cause of our faide assemblie and pilgrimage is this, That forsomuch that such simple and euill disposed persons being of the Kings Council, hath not onely incensed his Grace with many things which bee contrarie to the Faith of God, honour of the Kings Maiesty, and the Common wealth of this Realme: and thereby hath destroyed, and yet vtterly intendeth to destroy the Church of *England*, and the Ministers of the same, as yee know so well as we: but also the faide Council hath robbed & spoiled, and further intendeth vtterly to robbe and spoile the whole body of the Kings Realme, and that as well all you, as vs, if God of his infinite mercy had not caused such as hath taken, and hereafter shall take this pilgrimage vpon them to proceede in the same: and whether all these things be true or not, we put it to your conscience. And if yee thinke it bee true, and fight against vs, which intendeth the Comen wealth of this Realme, and nothing else, we trust ye shall haue smal speed: For this pilgrimage we haue taken hyt for the preferation of Crysts Church of this Realme of *England*, the King our Soueraigne Lord the Nobility, Barony and Commons of the same, and to the intent to make petition to the Kings Highnesse for reformation of that which is amisse within this his Realme. And for punishment of Hereticks & Subverters of Lawes; and neither for money, malice, nor displeasure to any person, but such as be not worthy to remaine neere the King our Soueraigne Lords person. And further we know if yee should obtaine as we trust yn God ye shall nat, then ye put both vs and you, your heires and ours in bondage for euer: and further yee are sure of the interdiction of Crysts curse, and we clere, and out of the same: And yf wee overcome you, yee shall be in our wyls: wherefore for a conclusion, if you will not comen with vs for a reformation of the Premises, we certifie you by this our writing that we will feyght and dye, both against you, and all those that shalbe about wards to stoppe vs in the faide pilgrimage: And then God shall hem his Grace and mercy therein: And then yee

Holy Pilgrimage

Ex. MS. in Sir
Robert Cotton Lib.
rary.

The Capitaine
of the Commo-
nities letters.

King Henry married the day after
Queene Annes death.

John Stow.

Queen Anne thought to die
guiltlesse.

For Mar. p. 1234

Latimer to the
Bishoppe of
Norwich.
D. Shaxton to the
Bishoppe of
Salisbury.

The godly life of
Queene Anne.

Ab. and John.

James a. 28.

Out of the relation
of a noble
man.

The example of
Queene Annes
penance.

Ex MS.

The audacious dealings of the Rebels.

Slandrous vnttruths against the King.

The oath of the Pilgrims.

ye shall be iudged hereafter to be shedders of some of Cryflyn blood, and defileers of your own Cryflyn. From Robert Aske chiefe Capitaine of the Comynalty assembled in pilgrimage, For the Barony and Comynalty of the same.

By mee Robert Aske yn the name of all the Comynalty and Barony.

Offsuch terrour and haughty spirit was this Capitaine Aske, that when Lancafter an Herald at Armes, was sent to declare the Kings mesfage in Pomfret Cattle (which the Rebels had got by surrender from the Lord Darcy) hee so bluffed out his answers, that the daunted man excusing himselfe to bee but a messenger, fell before him on his knees; till the Archbishop of Yorke tooke him vp, saying, it was not becoming the Coate hee wore, to prostrate to any, but only to his Soueraigne. Reade likewise if you please this strange Mandate from some meane man among them; the false suggestion that they possessed the ignorant with, and the Oath wherunto these holy Pilgrimes were fworne, as I finde them recorded by themfelues in these very words.

To the Commyns of Hawkefide parish Bailiffs, or Constables, with all the Hamlets of the same.

Welbeloued we greet you well, and whereas our brother Poverly, and our brother Rogers, goith forward, is openly for the aide & assistance of your faith, and holy Church, and for the reformation of such Abbeys and Monasteries, now dissolved and suppressed without any iust cause. Wherefore guddle brethers, Forasmuch as our sayd brether hath sent to us for ayde and helpe, wee doe not only effectually desire you, but also under the paine of deadly sinne wee commaunde you, and euery of you, to bee at the stoke Greene beside Hawkefide-kirke, the Saturday next being the xxvij. day of October by xi. of the Clocke, in your best array: as you will make answer before the heigh Iudge at the dreadfull day of Dome, and in the payne of pulling downe your Houses, and leasing of your guddes, and your bodies to be at the Captayns will: For at the place aforesaid, then and there, yee and we, shall take further direction concerning our faith, so farre decayed. And for guddle and laudable Customes of the Country, And such naughty inventions and strange Articles now accepted and admitted, so that our said brother bee subdued, they are lyke to goe furthwards to utter vndoing of the Commynwells.

(97) And the more to drawe forward the rude multitude which were forward enough of themfelues, they fet forth in writing these slanderous vnttruths against the King.

1 The first is that no infant shall receyue the blessed Sacrament of Baptisme, bott onlesse an trybett to bee payd to the King.

2 The second is that no man vnder xxi. Landes shall cyte no brede made of Wheate, ner Capon, chekyn, gois, ner pigge, bott onlesse to pay a trybett to the King.

3 The third is that for euery ploghe land the King will haue en trybett, with other diuerse extreme vrgent causes, and hertely fare ye well.

The Oath of the holy Pilgrimes.

Ye shall not enter into this our Pilgrimage of Grace for the Commynwells, but only for the loue that you doe bere vnto Almighty Godde, his faith, and to holy Church militant, the maintenance thereof, to the preservation of the Kings person, his issue, to the purifying of Nobilitie, and to expulse all vilanye blode, and euill Counsellors against the Commynwells, from his Grace and the priue Counsell of the same, and that ye shall not enter into oure said Pilgrimage, for no particular proffite to your selfe, nor to doe no displeasure to no pryncy person, but by Coun-

cell for the Commynwells, ner see, ner murder for no enye, but in your herits put away all feare and dread, and take afore you the Crosse of Criste, and in your herits his faith, the restitution of the Church, the suppression of these Heretykes, and their oppnyons, by all the helle contents of this Booke.

And for the obseruation of this Oath, heare another commande of the Commissioners, as we find it recorded.

To the Bayliffes and Communes of the Towne of Skarboro.

Welbelouyd, we Francis Bygod Knyghte, and Iohn Halom yoman, in the name of all the Communes, commande and charde you, that ye assemble your selues together medietely upon receypte hereof, and so take this othe wchys we here send vnto you, and then after in all haste possible to assist and hayde theis overbrethern, wome wee sende to you to keepe, and make sure the Castell, Towne, and Port of Skarboro, that no man enter into the same Castell, that belongs vnto Rafe Ewers the younger Knyghte, nor any other whiches did not take full parte with the Communes, at ouer first and last assemblynge in whos name, auctorithy, or attorney fouer they come, vnlesse they haue licence of all the communes, in like manner yee shall truly keepe all suchs or dinance, and shippe to the vse of the Communes, wythe wyches wee charde you at our late being here, and thys not to faile, upon payne of yower lyes, yee shall reuer credence vnto this meffengeres, thus in hast: Fare ye well, from Settrynton this Mondaye Sancte Matris daye.

Francis Bigott Knight in the name, and by Commandement of all the Communes.

Against these rout of Rebels, George Earle of Shrewsbury, not staying for the Kings commission mustred his men, middeemed of many, that he meant to be a Pilgrime himselfe, vnto which susceptor hee made a loyall Oration, disclaiming all intencion against their attempts, how colourable so euer they laid their pretence; which done he caused his Chaplen to minister him an Oath of his loyaltie, before them in the Field: It was likewise reported that the Earle of Darby was set forward towards them, whome the Pilgrimes well hoped would haue sided with them, as by their mandate sent to the Brethren appeares, where is forbid that none of them should aide him, vnlesse he tooke the Oath: which he neuer meant to assay or fwere to.

(98) But true it is the King sent Thomas Duke of Norfolk, Lord General against them, accompanied with the Marquess of Excester, the Earles of Huntingdon and Rutland; who ioining their powers made towards Doncafter, where the Rebels then lay in their Randiuou; in whose sight immediately they fet vp their Tents, and determined battell vpon the next day; but on the night betwix, such floods of water fell, that the river Dun overflowed his bancke, and admitted no passage over the Bridge, which thing was taken as a token from God, and thereupon the Lord General offered them Conference, aliecing that the King was tender of his Subjects liues, and very vnnwilling to shed Christian blood: that their cause should be fauourably heard, and iust complaints redressed, if with submission and duty of Subjects, they would yeeld themfelues & affaires to the Kings mercy; that this their rebellious proceedings, was not only the forerunning messenger of destruction to themfelues and partakers, but gaue also a great aduantage vnto the Scots, the dangerous enemy vnto the Land, and them all: with these and the like petiswans the matter was so forwarded, that a conference was appointed at Doncafter, and foure pledges were sent from the Lord General vnto the

The Earle of Shrewsbury kept against the Rebels.

Ex MS. R. 10.

Thomas Duke of Norfolk Lord General of the North.

Pardon and peace offered to the Rebels.

original MS.

demands of Commons

The Earle of Shrewsbury kept against the Rebels.

whole drift to downe the Gospell.

recheritable by the King's Highnesse.

the Commons, for the safe returnes of their assigned Commissioners, which were these by name.

Lord Newill.	Sir William Constable.
Lord Darcy.	Sir Rafe Constable.
Lord Strete.	Sir Rich: Tempest.
Lord Lumley.	Sir Rafe Romer.
Lord Latimer.	Sir William Eufstan.
Sir Thomas Percy.	Sir George Lawton.
Sir George Darcy.	Sir Thomas Hyton.
Robert Aske Capitaine.	M. Robert Constable.
Sir Rafe Clayer, Seni.	M. Richard Banner.
Sir Rafe Clayer Iun.	M. Wisgeroppe.
Sir Rafe Ewers.	

Whose Articles and demands were these, as foloweth.

The instruction for Sir Thomas Hilton and other Companions.

1 First to declare to the Duke of Norfolk, and other the Lords, that the intent of our meeting of our partie, surely is meant and thought of assured troth, without any manner of disceyte, or male engyne.

2 The second is to receiue the Kinges sauecundith, vnder the Brode Seale of Englonde, and to deliuer our sauecundith, and promise, vndre oure hands, for the Lordys there.

3 The thirde to entreate of oure generall pardon, for all suchs, and all persons, which be within the Realme, wychein herte, word, or deed assented, edytter procured, the furtherance in this our quarrell, may be pardoned life, lands, goods; and that in the sayd pardon, nor other the Kinges records, we be not witon reputed, ne taken, as Rebylous or trectors, nor reherfyd in the same.

4 The fourth that Thomas Cromwell, nor any of his bandeon ferte, bee not at oure meeting at Doncafter, but abeente themselves from the Council.

5 The fift, to receiue the Kings answer by the declarations of the Lords, and to certifie the were ceter thereof to us there.

Also to know what authority the Lords haue to etreate, in promes with us ther, as well of oure promes of other things.

Also to know what plege the wyll deliuer for our Capitam.

Also if thys particulars be concluded, then for to condysend of other periculers.

1 The first touching our faith, to haue the heresies of Luther, Wyche, Hussie, Melancton, Ecolampadius, Bussirs, the Confession Germane, the Applege of Melancton, the werke of Tyndale, of Bernys, Eryth, of Marshall, Kastell, the Bookes of Sent Germane, and such other of any manner Herefy, without the Realme, not to be kept, but utterly to be destroyed.

2 The second to haue the supreme of the Chyrch touching cure of soule to be reseruyd to the See of Rome, as byfore hyt was accusomd for to be, and to haue the consecration of Byshopps from hym without any first fruts, or penyons to him to be paid out of this Realme, or ellys a penyion reasonable for the outwarde defence of our fayth.

Also we beske humble our most drade Soueraigne Lord that the Lady Mary may be legetymate, and the estatutes contrary to the same to be annulld for the dome of the tytle that might incur to the Crown by Scotland, and that to be by Parliament.

Also to haue the Abbeyes that bee suppressed to be restorid to their Lands, Howys, and Goods.

Also to haue the Tents and first fruts clearely discharged, onles the Clergy wyll of their selfys grant a Rent or Charge to the augmentation of the Crown.

Also to haue the Ereres obseruans restorid to their houses againe.

Also to haue the Heretiks Byshopps, and temporal men of their seate, to haue condigne payment by fyre, or such others, or ellis to trie ther quarrell with us and our partakers in battell.

Also to haue the Ereres obseruans restorid to their houses againe.

Also to haue the Heretiks Byshopps, and temporal men of their seate, to haue condigne payment by fyre, or such others, or ellis to trie ther quarrell with us and our partakers in battell.

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Also to haue the Heretiks Byshopps, and temporal men of their seate, to haue condigne payment by fyre, or such others, or ellis to trie ther quarrell with us and our partakers in battell.

Also to haue the Lord Cromwell, the Lord Chancellor, and Sir Ryc. Rych Knight to haue condigne payment, as subverters of the gadlawes of the Realme, and outcramers of the sefe seif of this false heretykes fyrst inuenter and brenger of them.

Also that the Landys in Westmorland, Comberland, Kendale, Dent fyd, Furnes, and the Abbeis lands in Yorke, Worfaidshire, Keyshyshire, Netherdale, mayne bee Tennant Right, and the lord to haue at euery change two yeeres rent, in the name of a garsumme, and no more, according to a grant now made by the Lords to the Communes vnder their Seales, and this to be done by Act of Parlement.

Also the hand-guynys and Crosse-boys, with the penaltie of the same to be repelled, onles hyt be in the Kings forests and Parkes to killers of Deere.

Also that Doctor Lee, and Doctor Leyton, may haue condigne payment for their extorsions in time of visitation, in brybes, of some religious houses, x. l. xx. l. and for other summes, byfyde horfys, wofens, leases, vnder conent seallys, by them taken, and other abominable Acts by them committed and done.

Also to see reformation for the election of Knights of shire, and the Burgys, and for the vse among the Lords in the Parlement after the ancient custome.

Also the Statute for inclosyng Intackes to bee put in execution, that all Intacks, inclosys fith Anno quarto Henrici septimi be pulld downe exceeding Forests, and Parkys to be destrud of their quition, and tax now granted by Parliament.

Also to haue the Parlyament in a conuenient place as Nottingham or Yorke, and the same to bee so moued shortly.

Also that it may be enacted by authority of Parliament, that all recognisances, statutes, penalties, newly forfeyted during the tyme of the Commission may be pardoned & discharged, aswell against the King as stranger.

Also the Priuilege of the Ryght of the Church to be confirmed by Act of Parliament, and Prysts not to suffer onles they be degraded, a man to be faued by his Booke; Sanctuary to faue a man in all causes in extreme need, and the Church to faue a man for forty dayes; and further according to the lawes as they were vsed in the beginning of the Kingys dayes.

Also the liberties of the Church to haue their old Customes, as the County Palatine of Durham, Beuterly, Respon, S. Peter of Yorke, and such other by Act of Parliament.

Also to haue the Statute that no man shall declare his will on his land to be repelled.

Also the Statute of treason for Warrys, made fith Anno xxi. of our Soueraigne that now is to bee in like wise repelled.

Also that the common Law may haue place aswell as was vsed in the beginning of your graciours reign, and that all Innuations be cleere denied, and not granted, vnlesse the matter be heard in the Chancery, and there determined.

Also that no man upon sub poena, or Priuy Seale from Trent Northward, appeare but at Yorke, or by Attorney vnlesse it be directed vpon bene of allegyance, or for any matter concerning the King.

Also a remedy against Exchequer for fining of false Offices, and extorsions in taking of Fees, for that which is not held of the King, and against the Promoters thereof.

These were the Instructions giuen to their Commissioners to be conferred vpon, all which as it should seeme, were drawne into foure Articles or heads, as by the minute of the Kings answer therunto doth appeare: which Originall in many places with his owne hand is interlined with so wise and learned additions, as doe confirme his Kingly care, both for the Church and common weale: the true copy whereof to his great fame is as followeth: his corrections and additions is varied from the rest by a several Character.

[Petitions]

An Answer to the demands of the Rebels in Yorkefshyre, by the Kings Highnesse.

B b b b b

First

First, as touching the maintenance of the Faith, the termes bee so general, that it would bee very hard to make certaine answer to the same; but if they meane the faith of Christ, to the which all Christen men bee wonly bound: wee declare and protest our selfe to be that Prince, that doth entend, and hath alwayes minded to liue and die in the mainte-

nance, defence, [and] obseruation [and] purity of the same. And that no man can or dare let his foote by vs in prouing of the contrary. Maruelling therefore much that ignorant people would goe about to take vpon them to instruct and teach vs (which hath

beene noted [to be] learned) what the faith should be: [And also that they being ignorant people bee so presumptuous (seeing that wee and our hole Clergy in Consecration hath in Articles declared it) would take vpon them to correct vs all therein.] Or that they would bee to ingrate and vnnatural towards vs their most rightfull King, and naturall Soueraigne Lord, without any our desert, vpon false reports or surmises to suspect vs of the same, and giue rather credence to forged light tales, then to the very truth by vs these twenty eight yeeres vsed, and by our deedes approued.

To the second which toucheth the maintenance of the Church, and the liberties of the same we say it is so general a proposition that without distinctions no man with trouth can answer it, neither by Gods lawes, nor by the lawes of the Realme. For first, the Church which they mean must be known: Second, whether those things which they call liberties, and say they would maintaine, be things lawfull and beneficiall to the [Princes] common wealth, or otherwise. And these knowne wee doubt not but they shall be answered according to Gods law, equity and iustice. Neuerthelesse for all their generality this wee dare affirme, that (meaning what Church they list) Wee haue done nothing that may not be aciden by, both by Gods lawes and mans lawes, or that is prejudiciall to our common wealth, if our proceedings may be indifferently considered. And in our owne Church of England, where of wee be the supreme head on Earth, we haue done

nothing so [extremely] and [as many of our Predecessors haue done, vpon much lesser grounds. Wherefore fithens this Article pertaineth nothing to any of our Commons, nor that they beare any thing therein, we cannot but reckon a great vnkindnesse and vnnaturalnesse in them, which had leuer a Chorde or twaine should enioy those profits of their Monasteries, for the supportation and maintenance of abominable life, then that we their Prince should recieue the same towards our extreme charges, doon, [and] daily sustained for their defence against forraigne enemies.

The third Article toucheth three things; the first is the lawes, the second is the common-wealth, the third, the directors of the lawes vnder vs. Touching the Lawes, as it becometh not blind men to iudge any colours, nee take vpon them to be iudges of the same: so wee dare expressly and boldly affirme as a thing that may bee easily and duely proued; that there were neuer in any One of our Predecessors dayes, so many wholesome, commodious and beneficiall Acts made for the common wealth, as haue bin made in our time, & fithens some of them had

[experience] & doing [in the world,] that would now [perchance] [gain] pycke them thanke without desert. For our Lord forbids that both wee and our Council should haue lost so much time, as not to know better now then we did in the beginning of our raigne; what were a Common-wealth, and what were against the good and commodity of the same, seeing wee haue bene a King these twenty eight yeeres, and by experience learned the perfitnesse thereof: and although the folly and vnkindnesse

of some will not perchance let them so knowledge it, yet wee trust and doubt not, but the most part of our louing Subjects speciallie, those which bee not seduced by false reports, doe both thinke it, accept it, and finde it so. Now touching the Common wealth, what King hath kept his Subjects so long in wealth and peace, so long without taking or doing wrong one to another; so indifferently ministred iustice to all estates both high and low; so defended them from all outward enemies: so fortified the frontiers of his Realme to his no little, and in manner inestimable charges, and all for their wealth and sureties? What King hath giuen among his Subjects moe generall or freer pardons? What King hath bene lother to punish his Subjects, or shewed more mercy among them? these things being so true, as no true man can deny them: It is an vnnatural and an vnkind demeanour of you our Subjects to beleue or deeme the contrary of it: by whose report fouer it should be set forth against vs. And the beginning of our raigne, where it is said that so many Noblemen were Counsellors: we doe not forget who were then Counsellors: for of the Temporality there were but two worthy to bee called Noble, the oon, the Treasurer of England, the other the high Steward of our household. Others,

as the Lord *Armer* and *Darcy* but [cant wel] born

Gentlemen, [and] yet of no great lands, till they were promoted by vs, and so made Knights and Lords; the rest were Lawyers and Priests, sauing the two Bishops of *Canterbury* and *Winchester*: If these then bee the great number of Noblemen, that is spoken off, and that our Subjects seemed then contented withall, why then bee they not now much better contented with vs, which haue so many Nobles indeed, both of birth and condition of our Council. For first of the Temporality in our Priuy Council, wee haue the Duke of *Norfolke*, the Duke of *Suffolk*, the Marquess of *Excester*, the Lord Steward (when hee is present) the Earle of *Oxford*, the Earle of *Suffex*, the Lord *Sandes* our Chamberlain, the Lord Admiral Treasurer of our house: Sir *William Paules* Comptroller of our house. And of the Spiritualitie, the Bishops of *Canterbury*, *Winchester*, *Hereford*, and *Gloucester*: And for because it is more then necessary to haue some in our Priuy Council lemyd in our laws, and parts of the world: wee by the aduise of our hole Council asforesayd, haue delect and choise into our Priue Counsell, and also into their roomes our Chancellor and Priue Cell, thinking them men in all our opinion, most meetest for the same roomes; and wee with our hole Council thinke it right strange, that yee, which bee but brutes, and inexpert folke, doe take vpon you to appoint vs,

who bee meet for our Counsell and hoo bee not. [Now therefore now how these feditious persons which how farre be thus wrongfully haue borne you thus in hand haue these

folke abused you.] Ions abused, that reckon there were then moe Noblemen in our Priuy Council then be now: but yet thogh of our great clemency & princely goodnes, we declare now the truth, to pull our Subjects from that error and blindnesse they were led and trained into, by false and vntrue surmise and report: Wee would againe that euery of them knew, that it appertaineth not to any Subject, to presume to take vpon him, the appointment of his King and Soueraigne Lords Council. Ne for our part wee will take any such thing at any of our Subjects hands. Wherefore wee would that from henceforth they should better remember the duties of good Subjects towards their naturall Liege Lord, and meddle no further of those or such like things, as they haue nothing to doe withall.

To the fourth Article, where the Commons doe name

name certaine of our Council to be subverters both of Gods law, and the lawes of this Realme: Wee doe take and repute them as iust and true Executors both of Gods Lawes, and as ferre as their Commissions vnder vs doe extend. And if any of our Subjects can duely prouoe the contrary wee shall proceede against them and all other offenders therein, according to iustice, as to our estate and dignity royal doth appertaine. And in case it be but a false and an vntrue report, as we verily thinke it is, then it were as meet and standeth allwell with iustice, that they should haue the selfe same punishment, which wrongfully hath objected this to them, that they should haue had, if they had deserued it. And oon thing among others causeth vs to thinke that this slander should bee vntrue, because it proceedeth from that place, which is both farre distant from that where they inhabite, and also from those people which neuer heard them preach, nor yet knoweth any part of their conuersation. Wherefore we exhorte all ye our Commons to be no more so light of credit in the beleueing of yuel things spoken of vs your naturall Prince and Soueraigne Lord: Nor of any of our Prelates and Counsaillers, but to thinke that your King hauing so long reigned ouer you with the aduise of his Counsell hath as good discretion to elect and chuse his Counsaillers, as thoe who so euer they bee that hath put this in your heads or yee other being but ignorant people and ought off all experyens off pryinces affaires.

Here in this final point which yee our Comens of *Tokeshire*, *Westmerland*, *Cumberland*, the Bishopricke of *Durham*, *Richmondshire*, *Crauen*, *Dent*, *Sedbarre*, and all other places that haue bene seduced to this lussurellion doe desire; and also in the matter of the whole discourse of your Petitions. We verily thinke that the rest of all our hole Comens of many Countreys to whom you be in manner but an handfull, will greatly disdain and not beare it, that you take vpon you to set order to vs and them, and specially to vs being Soueraigne Lord to you both:

[you being rebeller.] And that because you be rebells, you would make them as bearers and pertakers of your mischief, willing them to take perdon for Insurrections which verelie we thinke and doubt not they neuer minded: but like true Subjects to the contrary haue both with heart and deede been ready at our call to defend both vs and themselves: and now for our part as to your demands, we let you wit, that perdon of such things as you demaund lyeth onely in the will and pleasure of the Prince: but it seemeth by your lewde proclamations and false conductes, that there becomings you which take vpon them both: the parts of Kings and Counsaillers. Which neither by vs nor by the General content of our Realme hath been admitted to any such roome. What arrogancie is then in those wretches being also of none experience, to presume to raise you our Subjects without Commission or authoritie: yee and against vs vnder a cloked colour of your wealth and in our name, and as the successe and ende would declare if wee should not be more mercifull vnto you then you haue deserued to your owne vtter confusions. Wherefore wee late all you our said Subjects againe wit, that were it not that our Princely heart cannot reckon this your shamefull insurrection and most ingrate and vnatural rebellion to bee done of malice or rancour, but rather by a lightnesse giuen in manner by a naughty nature to a Commonality, and a wondrous sudden surreption of Gentlemen: We must needs haue executed an other maner of punishment, then if you will humbly knowledge your fault, and submit your selfe to our mercie, wee intend to doe [as by our proclamations we doe might yee be informed.]

Fynys.

The effect that the Kings reply wrought, is mani-

fest by his free pardons sent vnto the offenders, by Proclamation diuulged by his messenger at Armes and his trumpet throughout the North parts, the tenour wherof from the Originall is as followeth:

Allbee yt, that yowe the Kings Subjects and Commons dwelling and inhabiting in the Shires of *Torke*, *Cumberland*, *Westmerland*, *Northumberland*, the Bishopricke of *Durham*, the City of *Torke*, and the Shire of the same, the Towne of *Kyngston upon Hull*, and the Shire of the same, the Towne of *Newcastle upon Tyne*, and the Shire of the same, and in other Shires, Towns, Dales, Places, privileged, the Franchises and Liberties within the limits of the said Shires, Cities, and Townes, or any of them, or being reputed or taken for any part, parcell, number of any of them, and such other the Kings said Subjects, inhabiting in the Towne of *Lancaster*, or elsewhere, by North, in the Shire of *Lancaster*, haue now of late attempted and committed manifest and open rebellion, against his most royall Maiesty, whereby was like to haue ensuewed, the utter rewin and destruction of these hole Countreys, to the grete comforte and auancement of your ancient enemies the Scots, which as his Hienes credably enforced, doe with a great Redmes waite vpon the same, and to the high displeasure of God, who streitly commandeth you to obey your Soueraigne Lord and Kings in all things, and not with violence to resist his will or Commandement, for anie cause whatsoeuer it be: Neuerthelesse the Kings roiall Magestie, perceling as well by the Articles of their partners sent to his Hienes: As also dewly enforced by credible reports, that their said offences proceeded of ignorance, and by occasion of fundrie false talis neuer minded or intended by his Hienes, or any of his Council, but most craftely contriued, and most spitefully set abroade amongst you, by certain malicious and feditious persons; and thereupon his Hignes inclined to extend his most gracious mercy and pity towards you, hauing chefe charge of you vnder God, both of your sowles and bodies, and desiring rather the preservation of the same, and your reconciliation, by his mercifull meyns, than by the order and rigour of Iustice to punish you according to your demerits, of his inestimable goodnes, benignity, mercy, and pity, and at your most humble petitions and submissions made vnto his Hignes, hee is content & pleased to giue and grant, and by his present Proclamation doth giue & grant vnto you al, and to al & euery your confederates whosoever they dwell, of estate, degree, or what condition soeuer they be, or by what name or names soeuer they or you be, or may bee called, his Generall and free pardon for all manner of treasons, rebellions, insurrections, misprisions of treasons, murders, robberies, felonies, and of al offences of the same, and of euery of them, unlawfull assemblies, unlawfull Conuenticles, unlawfull speaking of wordes, confederacies, riots, rowts: And all other trespasses, offences and contemptes, done and committed by you, or anie of you against the Kings Magestie, his Crowne or dignitie royal, within and from the time of the beginning of the said Rebellion whensoeuer it was, vnto the present day of proclaiming of this Proclamation, and of all paines, iudgements, and executions, of death, and all other penalties, forfeitures, fines, and forfeitures of Landes, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods or Catells by any of your forfeitures incurred by reason of the premises, or any of them; which Fines, Forfeitures, Landes, Tenements, Hereditaments, Goods, and Catells, the Kings said Hignes of his speciall grace, and mere motion by these presents, giueth to such of you, as haue or should haue forfeited, or loste the same, by occasion of the premises or any of them: And also his Hignes is pleased, and contented, that you and euery of you from time to time, shall and may haue vpon your fewtes to be made hereafter in his Chancery, his said and most gracious and free pardon vnder his great Seale concerning the premises, without any further Bill or Warrant to be obtained for the same, and without paying any thing for the great seale thereof: And that you and euery of you from time to time may freely and liberally serue for his said pardon, when and as often as it shall like you, without anie trouble, vexation or impeachment for

King thithis free pardon by Proclamation,

Additional ten with his Kings hand

for the premisses, or anie of them, by his heires, or by anie his Officers, Ministers, or Subiects, by anie manner of means, or in anie manner of wise. Provided alwaies, that you and euery of you in token of a perfect declaration and knowledge, that ye doe hartlie lament and be sorrie for your said offences, shall make your humbly submission vnto his Highnes, in the presence of his right trustie and right intirely beloved Cofens and Concillars: the Duke of Norfolke, and the Earle of Shrewsburie his Lieutenants Generall, or any of them, or to their Deputy or Deputies of them, or any of them, or such other person, or persons as the Kings Highnes shall appoint for the same: Furthermore the Kings most roiall Magesty, fireitely chargeth and commandeth, that you and euery of you, shall from henceforth, like true and faithfull Subiects use your felues, in Gods peace, and his, according to the duties of allegiance, and that you shall in no wise hereafter, attempt to make or procure, any such rebellion, intent, unlawfull Assemblies, Riots, Rowts, and Conspirations, nor at the Commandement, nor by the Authority of any person, of what estate or degree, or for what cause soeuer it be, shall arise in any forcible manner, and array, vnto it be at the speciall commandement of the Kings Highnes, or his Lieutenant sufficiently authorized for the same. In witness whereof the King most roiall Magesty, hath caused this his Proclamation to be made Patent, and sealed with his great sayle at Richemonte the 1 X. day of December in the XX V I I I. yeere of his Reigne. 1536.

Excell.

Notwithstanding this Generall pardon and mercifull dealings of the King a new Insurrection was raised in the North, wherein many of the former were now againe Actors, as by name Robert Aske whom the King had not onely pardoned, but also highly rewarded, the Lord Dacres, Sir Robert Constable, Sir Francis Bygod, Pulmer, Percy, Hamilton, Tempest and Lumley, all of them put to death, as they well deserved.

(92) In which Commotions those men whose profession was onely the Booke and their Beades, mistaking Christs meanings, who bad his Disciples to sell their coats, and to buy a sword, came armed among the Rebels into the Field, and with them were taken as Traitors against the Crowne: for which offence many of them suffered death: namely, *John Passlew* Abbot of *Whaley* in *Lincolneshire*, *John Casteigate* and *William Haydocke* Monks of the same houle, *Robert Hobbs* Abbot of *Woborne* in *Bedfordshire*, *Adam Sudbury* Abbot of *Gernaux* with *Asbeed* a Monke of that houle; the Abbot of *Sawley* in *Lancashire* and the Prior of the same place, *William Wold* Prior of *Birlington*, the Parson of *Pudington*, sixe Priests of *Lincolneshire*, and with them their chieftaine, *Captaine Collier*, and *John Allen* Priest.

(100) These stirres thus quieted and the Statesmen at leasure to prevent the like, a Commission came forth to purge the Churches of Idols; and to suppress the Monasteries to the Kings vse, granted vnto him by Parliament: the one of them, the onely working cause, through the gaine that was got by ignorant deuotion, and gadding on pilgrimage, and the other, the Nest and very receptacle of all traitorous attempters, against the peace of the Land and Supremacy of the Crowne. The abuse of the first was solemnly shewed at *Pauls Crosse* in *London*, vpon Sunday the twenty foure of February, by *Doctor John Fisher* Bishop of *Rocheester*, where the Roode of *Boxley* in *Kent*, commonly called the *Roode of Grace*, made with diuers vices to bow downe and to life vp it selfe, to shake, and to stirre both Heads, hands, and feet, to rowle the eies, moue the lippes and to bend the browes; was then broken and pulled in peeces. So likewise the Images of our Lady of *Walsingham* and *Ipwich*, let and be sprinkled with Iewels, and Gemmes, with diuers others both of *England* and *Wales*; were brought to *London* and burnt at *Chelsey* before the Lord *Cromwell*. Then the Axes of the hewers began to cast downe the walles of all

Monasteries, whose number (as *Cambden* doth account them) were sixe hundred forty sixe, besides fourscore and tenne Colledges, them of *Oxford* and *Cambridge* not accounted: of Hospitalls one hundred and tenne, and of Chauntries and free Chapels two thousand, three hundred, feutyenty four, all of them almost were then borne downe with the sudden deluge of those tempestuous times, whilst the world stood amazed, King *Henric* proceeded, and the Clergy men groaned vnder their owne destructions; among these the Shrine of *Thomas Becket* was defaced, which did abound with more then Princely riches: whose meanest part was pure gold, garnished with many precious stones, as *Erasmus* that saw it, hath written, whereof the chieftest was a rich Gemme of *France*, offered by *King Lewis*, who asked and obtained (you may be sure, he buying it so deare) that no passenger betwixt *Douer* and *White-sand* should perish by shipwracke; his bones by *Stephen Langton* had bene laide in a golden Shrine, his name canonized, and the day of his death made annually holy, such concourse of Pilgrime, such pressing to touch him, and such creeping and kneeling to his Tombe, that the prints of their deuotion in the Marble stones, remains to this day; euery Pillar rebounding the miracles of this reputed Martyre, and the Church it selfe dedicated to *Christ*, forced to giue place to the name of *Saint Thomas*. The Timber worke of this Shrine was covered with plates of gold, damasked and embossed with wires of gold, garnished with broches, images, angels, precious stones, and chert Orient Pearles: all these defaced filled two Chests and were for price of an vntimable value. But in steede of these *Dagons*, the Bible in English was commanded to be read in all Churches, and Register Bookes of weddings, Christenings and Burials in euery of them to be kept.

(101) The yearly reuenues of these, as they were valued by the Commissioners, at their subuersions amounted to an vntimable summe, as appeareth by the Original Booke it selfe presented to the King, whereof more shall be spoken in the end of this chapter, and yet most of them rated at *Robins-hoods* penny-worthes, what their rents were, a libell scattered abroad, and read to the king, by demonstration did proue, wherein was accounted, that vnto the sixe Orders of Friars, (euery householder paying them sixe pence the Quarter) the summe of fourey three thousand, three hundred, thirty three pound, sixe shillings and eight pence sterling, was paid them by yeere, besides the reuenues of their owne lands, which was not a little, so that not without cause many entred into a Monasticall life, rather to liue at full, and without cares of this world, then to feede the flocke of *Christ*, or to winne them, and not theirs, after the example of the Apostle. For the Testament of *Christ*, was vnto most of these, as a booke sealed with seauen seales, and their mouths vnmuzzled they did deuoure, but not tread out the Corne, so that the Sunne by their doctrine seemed to be darkened, as with smoke, and themselves to be the *Locusts* that ouerspread the superficies of the Earth, whose faces were like men, pretending humanity, their haire like women in shew of modesty, their Crownes of counterfeited gould, signifying their vntimely authoritie, their teeth like Lyons shewing their Tyrannie, their force like horses prepared for battell, their habergions of Iron betokening their strength, the found of their wings, the thundering out their mandates like to the rumbling of Chariots in warre, their Tailles (the false Prophets) having stings like vnto Scorpions, and their King the bad *Abaddon*, even the Angell of the Bottomlesse pit. All those allusions most aptly fitting these Cloistered Friars, who now grown to the height of their sinnes, their skirts were discovered, that their shame might appeare; being the only men then laid open to the world.

(102) Against whose doctrine, (besides many others

Cambd. Brit. 441. Monasteries in England 120. Colledges 120. Hospitalls 2374. Chauntries and free Chapels.

Erasm. Dialog. W. Lamb. Peram.

The state and portion of the Becketts Shrine.

John Stow.

The greatnes of Becketts Shrine.

The great reuenues of the monasteries.

Supplication Beggars.

Id. Brit.

The greatnes of the Friars.

Id. Marquess's Letters be- vol. D. 1539.

Id. 9.

2. Co. 12. 16.

D. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

Id. 15. 14.

thers in other forreine parts) two in the daies of *K. Henry* the fourth, the first English King that put anie to death for the doctrine of *Rome*; (omitting *Sir John Oldcastle* and others, that died for the Gospels defence, in the daies of *King Henry* the fifth) foure in the raigne of innocent *Henric* the sixth. One in the daies of *King Edward* the fourth, and tenne in the time of *King Henry* the seventh, sealed the doctrine against the papall religion with their blood; all of them being martyred before that *Martin Luther* wrote. And in the raigne of this King twenty sixe suffered the fire, before the flames thereof could be quenched, which a while was done by the means of good *Queene Anne*, till afterwards they mounted higher, when the six Articles were made: but because this Ecclesiastick text is handled elsewhere, and seemeth vnforcible to our begunne Subiect, we will referre the Reader for these matters vnto the industrious paines of that worthy and euer venerable man *M. Fox*, taken in his Acts & Monuments of Ecclesiasticall history.

(103) The Monasteries thus dissolved, and the Reuenues thereof conuerted to temporall vses, *King Henry* ranne in great obloquie of many forraigne Potentates, but most especially of the Pope; who with *Cardinall Pole* instituted diuers Princes in Christendom to inuade *England* thus fallen from his faith: Yea, & home-borne Subiects disliking the courie for Papisticall subuersion, by secret working sought to depriue *King Henry*, and to raise vp *Reynold Pole* vnto the Regall dignity, as by their indentments appeareth. The persons conuicted, were *Lord Henry Courtney* Marquess of *Excester*, & Earle of *Deuonshire*, the sonne of Lady *Katherine*, the sixteenth daughter of *King Edward* the fourth: *Henric Poole* Lord *Montacute*, with *Sir Geoffrey* his brother, and *Sir Edward Neuill* brother to the Lord of *Abergauenny*. These *Poles* were the sonnes of Lady *Margaret* Countesse of *Salisbury*, the onely daughter of *George Duke of Clarence*: and of these *Reynold Poole* once Deane of *Excester*, and now *Cardinall at Rome* was accounted the onely man.

(104) And this foresaid Lord Marquess had formerly bene in such fauour with *King Henry*, that at his going into *France* he ordained him his Heire apparant, though at his returne vpon graue deliberation, hee saw it better policy to plucke him downe then was vsed in setting him vp, left in acting his part vpon that infectiue stage, hee put the land to as much trouble as the arraigned Duke *Richard of York* had done, after hee was ordained heire apparant, which Title produced the Tragedy of his raier *King Henry* the sixth, and now hauing him and his Abettors vpon the aduantage, the better to secure his owne Estate, hee caused the heades of this Lord Marquess with the Lord *Montacute*, and *Sir Edward Neuill* to be cut off vpon Tower-hill.

(105) The King then a Widower, since the death of *Queene Jane*, who departed this life two yeeres before, meant to maintaine what hee had done, maugre all opposites: which the better to effect, by the Counsell of Lord *Cromwell*, he sought and obtained the alliance of the Princes of *Germany*, and heard the motion for marriage with the Lady *Anne* sister to *William Duke of Cleue*, whose other sister *Fredericke Duke of Saxony* had espoused a great fauourer of the Gospel, and maintainer of *Martin Luther* the zealous Preacher and professor thereof. But whether for the death of *Anne Bullen*, or that hee would haue his wifes sister bestowed neerer at home (which thing hee pretended) a great hinderer hee was of that match. But the Lady sent into *England*, and married vnto *King Henry*, seemed nothing pleasing in his eye; which *Stephen Gardiner* then Bishoppe of *Winchester* perceiving, thought it a fite subiect for him to worke vpon, against the Lord *Cromwell* the maker of the match; hee therefore instigated ieaousies dayly into the Kings care, first exasperating the hatred of the Princes of *Germa-*

ny to him-wards, and especially of Duke *Fredericke* his compulsiue brother in Law, the Emperor, French Kings, Scots and the Pope, all seeking at once to raise their powers against *England*. The ciuill tumults lately passed, and new commotions greatly to be feared, hee letted not to remember, and all to nip the spring of the new spreading Gospel, whereby this wife Politician in the end got fix such Articles against it, as the Consistory of *Hell* could deuise no worse. Whose cruelties were such that not long after, and in the daies of this King, some of those Acts were againe repealed, and some of them qualified, as too sharpe and searching into the blood of the Kings best Subiects.

(106) The fruite of these bloud-thirsty instigators, the Lord *Cromwell*, and Lady *Anne* of *Cleue* soon tasted of, he by imprisonment and death, and she by disgrace and diuorce; hauing been his wife from Ianuary to Iune, in all which time the King refrained the mutual knowledge of her body, for the dislike hee had of her person, euen at the first sight, as himselfe called to witness the Lord *Cromwell* then Prisoner in the Tower, for whose report hee wrote a Letter with his owne hand; and these good Lady no other cause alleadged, was diuorced by Parliament, when also it was enacted that shee should no longer bee styled *Queene*. The Lord *Cromwell* was charged by the Lord *Rich*, and *Sir George Throgmorton* with speaking of certaine generall words, not excepting therein the Kings person, which neuerthelesse were thought so sleight and insufficient to take away his life, that his enemies feared to put it to the trial of his Peeres, lest he should be acquitted by them, as the Lord *Dacres* of the North not many yeeres before had bene; wherefore there was a Bill drawne to attaine him of heresie and Treason, in generall words, rather then in particular proofes, which when hee was dead, passed in both houses of Parliament with the Kings assent.

(107) Howbeit *Saunders* that seldome speaks well of the Gospels professors, will haue him to die for the breach of a Law made by himselfe, which was, that one appeached of treason, should not come in the Kings presence, till hee had tried himselfe not guilty; but besides that wee find no such Act by him made: his inditement doth not charge him with treason, but with setting at liberty certain persons committed for misprision of treason and heresie, for fauouring and maintaining the translation of hereticall bookes into English; for bearing out *Barnes* and other hereticall Preachers; that himselfe was an heretike, and had spoken words, great words for the vpholding of his said religion, which were, that the King should not change it if hee would: for these things hee was attained by Parliament of high Treason, and that grounded either vpon a Statute made in the five and twenty of *Edward* the third, or else by the explanation of that Act which referreth the exposition of Treasons to the Parliament, and so no way did *Cromwell* deuise or make any law of treason, which himselfe first fell into, as that partiall Romanist hath said.

(108) But most sure it is, that the Kings affection, altogether guided by the fairest obiect, found no other point in the Compass to fixe his variable eye, besides that onely, which by his seeming was touched by the Loadstone of nature, and the same to bee the Lady *Katherine Howard*, daughter to *Edward* the brother of *Thomas Duke of Norfolk*, against whom *Cromwell* standing in the defence of *Queene Anne*, and vying words of dislike in the Lady *Katherine*, distastfull vnto the King, was thereupon apprehended (his enemy so working) and vpon the twenty eight of Iuly suffered death with the stroke of the Axe vpon Tower-hill, with whom was beheaded the Lord *Hungerford* of *Hillesbery*, neither lo Christianly suffering, nor lo quietly dying for his offence committed against nature.

B b b b b a (109) The

The six Articles deuised.

3. H. 8. chap. 12. 35. H. 8. cap. 5.

Lord *Cromwell* imprisoned.

In a letter written by himselfe. Ex. 105. Anno 32. H. 8. cap. 25.

Queene *Anne* diuorced by Parliament.

Cromwell affect his death attainted by Parliament. Ex. 105.

D. *Saunders*.

No such things as *Saunders* sup- putheth against *Cromwell*.

No act by *Cromwell* which hee caused his owne death.

Cromwell's dislike of the Lady *Katherine* was the cause of his death.

A.D. 1540.

Buggery.

A.D. 1541.
May 17.

Margaret Countesse of Salisbury beheaded.

Lord Dacre hanged.

Stat. in 33. of H. 8. cap. 21.

Since the eight of August proceeding.

Queene Katherine and the Lady Jane Rochford beheaded.

The oath of supremacy enacted.

Stat. H. 8. a. 8. c. 10.

Stat. H. 8. 31. c. 4.

The six bloody Articles enacted.

(109) The sword thus vntheathed vpon the necks of the Nobility, stricke off the head of *Margaret Countesse of Salisbury*, daughter and here vnto *George Duke of Clarence*, and mother vnto *Reynald Poole* Cardinall, being neither arraigned nor tried, but condemned by Parliament as *Cromwell* had bin. And the Lord *Leonard Gray* in this present yeere lost his head for treason, the twenty eight of June. And the next day following *Thomas Eines Lord Dacres* of the South, died at *Tyburne* for killing a priuate man in a fray. Neither was it put vntill that the heades of *Queen Katherine Howard*, and the Lady *Jane Rochford* were stricken off, the one for Adultery, the other for concealment, as was alleaged, the parties offending were *Francis Dereham*, and *Thomas Culpepper*, *Dereham* before thee was Queene, and *Culpepper* after, who both were executed at *Tyburne*, the tenth of December, and the twelfth of February following, *Mistresse Katherine Howard* (for so in the Act of her Attainure shee is called) who had bene titled and receiued Queene for the space of fixe months, and foure dayes, with the Lady *Jane* then widow, and late wife vnto *George Bullen*, Lord *Rochford*, were both of them brought vnto a Scaffold raised vpon the hill within the Tower, wherethey in lamentable passions suffered death.

(110) Howsoever those times afforded such Queene to the Kings bed, or himselfe vnfourunate in making his choise: yet many of no meane iudgement haue rather accused King *Henry* for his changing and variable affections, then thinke them guilty in the breach of Matrimony. Of *Anne* wee haue seene what hath bene said, and of this Queene let vs heare what shee protested after her condemnation to Doctor *White Bishoppe of Winchester* her last Confessor, and by him deliuered to a noble young Lord of her name, and neere alliance: Her words were these: *As to the Act my reuerend Lord for which I stand condemned, God and his holy Angels I take to witnesse vpon my soules saluation, that I die guiltlesse, neuer hauing so abused my Soueraignes bed: what other finnes and follies of youth I haue committed, I will not excuse; but am assured that for these, God hath brought this punishment vpon me, and will in his mercy remit them, for which I pray you, pray with me, vnto his sonne and my sauour Christ.*

(111) As these then in case of Treasons eyther acted or intended, ended their liues; so others in case of conscience (though diuersly affected) came to their deaths, and that by force of the Statutes enacted vnder this King; whereof one was the abolishing of the Pope, and the oath of Supremacy, the refusers of either made offenders in state of high Treason, and the other in case of religion, when the sixe Articles enacted by Parliament, was made Hereticke and death, to such as held or taught the contrary, which Articles were thus concluded in both the houses of Parliament with consent of the King.

1 That after the words of consecration spoken by the Priest, the reall and naturall body and blood of Christ, as hee was conceived and crucified, was in the Sacrament, and no other substance consisting, in the forme of bread and wine, besides the substance of Christ God and man.

2 That the communion in both kinds was not necessarie vnto saluation, the flesh onely in forme of bread, sufficient for the Laity.

3 That Priests after they haue receiued orders might not marry by the law of God.

4 That the vowes of chastity either in man or woman, ought by Gods law to be obserued, and by which they are exempted from other liberties of Christian people.

5 That priuate Masses was necessary for the people, and agreeable to the law of God.

6 That a iurial confession was expedient to be retained, and continued in the Church of God.

These Statutes I lay aswell the one as the other, brought many to their ends, which otherwise were very good Subiects, and worthy instruments in the common weale: for offending in the first, there died *Bishoppe Fisher*, and *Sir Thomas More*, besides many Abbots, Priors, and Friars, and among them, in *Smithfield* the Welsh rode set *Frier Forrest* on fire, according to the prophesy very rife in their mouths, that this holy rode should set a whole forest on fire. For the other suffered in flames, many godly Christians, whereof *Robert Barnes* a reuerend Doctor, and worthy minister of Christ, the first reducer (as *M. Fox* reporteth) of the Vniuersity of *Cambridge* from rudenesse and barbarity vnto good literature and learning, was with the first: And *Anne Askew* a Gentlewoman of an incomparable dexterity one of the last, who, about the weaknesse of her sexe most valiantly stood against the violence of the time.

(112) Her birth was worshipfull, and education accordingly, bestowed in marriage, vnto *John Kyme* a Gentleman in *Lincolne*shire, and commended by *Bale* for her rare wit, and elegant beauty; which her parts the penfull of *X. D.* with his vniuersal hand (euer ouerhard to shadow the truth,) hath slanderously blurred and measured those graces in her, by his owne loose affections, and those wanton Votaries, which in the height of sinne haue changed the naturall vye of women against nature.

This young heifer (saith hee) abiding no yoke, a coy dame, and of very euill fame, left the company of *Maister Kyme*, to gadde vp and downe a Gospelling, and Gosipping where shee might, and ought not, but especially in *London*, and neere the Court, now shee being faire and but twenty five yeeres old at her death, doth easily shew what may be suspected of her life, and the mystrical speeches and demands of the Kings Council touching her departure from her husband, were grounded vpon somewhat.

Thus farre this scandalizing man hath accused this holy *Anne* by the outward appearance of her youth and beauty: as holy *Anna* by *Elis* was accused of drunkennesse when her heart was most feruent, in supplications to her God, and his partiall pen made her fanne to sift the wheate of her holy conuerlation to finde out some chaffe, whereof none is free, nor is shee to be condemned vpon the imagerie of his suspicious head (who vndoubtedly would haue told all if any thing could haue bene found) whereas thee in the vigour of beauty and weaknesse of her Sexe, resistest the gaine-saiers of the truth with her dearest blood: testifying from the Prisons her faith and constancy, and from the Racke preached Christ, whereon most vnhumanely and against kind, shee was twice tormented; and lastly sealed her testimonie in *Smithfield* through the flames of fire: being borne to the place of her death in a Chaire, her bones so disioynted by the Racke that shee could not goe.

(113) The irreuerend *X. D.* whose affection to Christs Gospell and loyalty to the English Crowne hath sufficiently shewed it selfe, to make her no Martyr, and that her life did deserue the Racke, saith that the King himselfe commanded that torture to be inflicted, for infecting with her erroneous doctrine, his Court, his Nieces, *Suffolkes* daughters, and his Queene. Whereas the truth tels vs that the Lieutenant refusing to racke her the second time was threatened by *Wriothesley* Lord Chancellor (who did it himselfe) to bee complained of to the King, who immediately tooke Boate and told the whole Tragedy; whereof King *Henrie* seemed to be fore offended, for vsing a woman with such inhumane tortures. But such fauours had the Popes Chickens vnder the shroud of the Church and wing of this Monarch, that they feared not to follow the appeale of death, euen vpon her that slept in his owne bosome, which was *Queene Katherine Parre*, espoused vnto him some three yeeres before, and whom (as this

John Fisher, Sir Thomas More beheaded.

Fox. Mem. pap. 136.

Anne Askew story. Fox. Mem. pap. 166.

Rom. 1. 26.

Three comedies by X. D. 495.

Anne accused no rule of Christianity.

Anne and Anne compared.

The Countess Newgate and the Tower.

Perform as before supposed.

See. A. B. 8. 4.

Queene Katherine Parre beheaded.

Chap. 21. p. 494.

Under three commissions.

The Lord Chancellor lost his commission.

The Queene with the fence of her faith.

Queene Katherine Parre, who falleth in conference with her about religion.

Anne and Mon. Katherine Parre wife answer.

The Lord Chancellor purpose to apprehend the Queene.

Perform as before supposed.

See. A. B. 8. 4.

Queene Katherine Parre beheaded.

this States intelligencer doth confesse) he meant to haue burned had he longer liued. For the truth is (saith hee) that the Kings sickness and death shortly ensuing was the chiefe cause of her escape, and the error of the Lord Chancellor *Wriothesley*, who let fall out of his bosome, the Kings hand and commission for carrying her to the Tower gave occasion (the paper found and brought her) to goe and humble her selfe to the King; the principal occasion against her was Heretical Books found in her closet, both brought forth by *Anne Askew*, whereof the twain were the Lady *Herbert*, Lady *Jane*, Lady *Tyavitt*, and others. Indeed it is true that by Gods providence such papers were let fall out of the Lord Chancellors bosome containing certain Articles against her, with a warrant to commit her to the Tower, whereunto the Kings hand was subscribed: which being found was presently brought vnto the Queene, whereof the vnexpected content so deeply touched her tender heart, that forthwith shee fell into great feares, laments, and a most heavy melancholy, and was in such danger of death, that the King came to visit her, hauing not gone forth of his Chamber of many dayes before; whereat shee so reioiced, as shee began to amend: and to acknowledge her like loue and duty, the next night following, repaired to the Kings Bed-chamber, accompanied onely with the Lady *Herbert* her sister, and the Lady *Jane* the Kings niece, carrying the Candle before her, of whose presence the King seemed to be most desirous; and presently falling in talke of Religion, began to debate some question thereof with the Queene, demanding to haue her resolutions therein, but shee knowing that his nature was not to be croft, and the forensell of his legge to encrease his choller, made him answer that she was a woman, accompanied with many imperfections, but his Maiestie wife and iudicious, of whom shee must learne as of her Lord and Head, for so God hath appointed her (saith shee) the Supreme Head of vs all, of whom next vnto him I will euer learne. Not so, by *Saint Mary*, said the King, you are become a Doctor Kate to instruct vs, and not to be instructed by vs as often heretofore we haue seene. Indeede (saith shee) if your Maiestie haue so concerned, I haue bene mistaken in my meaning, who haue euer held it preposterous for a woman to instruct her Lord. And whereas I haue heretofore held talke with your highnes touching Religion, it was to learne of your Maiestie some excellent point which my selfe stood in doubt of: and sometimes to the end that you might with lesse griefe passe ouer this painful time of your infirmity, wherein if by my ouermuch boldnesse I haue failed in the latter, yet haue I not done in the former, to my no small benefit and comfort. And is it euen so sweet heart? (quoth the King) why then, are we friends, and so kissing her, gaue her leaue to depart. But the day drawne on for her apprehension, and the King disposed to take the ayre, sent for the Queene to walke in the Garden, himselfe accompanied onely with two Gentlemen, and thee with the three foresaid Ladies. Whenas suddenly the Lord Chancellor with forty of the Guard, came into the Garden, with purpose to haue apprehended and carried the Queene to the Tower; whose malpert approach the King greatly misliked, and sternely beholding him, stepe aside, saluting him with the names of knaue, foole, and beast, bidding auant out of presence. The Queene seeing the King chased, but knew not the cause, indeauoured by all means to pacifie his Maiestie, and intreated for the Lord Chancellor, whose fault shee thought and alleaged, was rather through misimpression then will, and therefore, said shee, I will become a humble suiter for him vnto your Highnesse. Ah poore soule (quoth the King) thou little knowest Kate how euill the deserveth this grace at thy hands: of my word (sweet heart) hee hath bene towards thee a verie knaue. But in following this tract of blood, flowed from the fountaine of the sixe Articles, wee haue stepped ouer some other occurrences that happened somewhat before this time, vnto which with thy patience, good Reader, we

will returne againe.

(114) King *Henrie* by order of Parliament hauing assumed the Stile and Title of King of Ireland, with the submission of most of the Irish Nobility, *James* his Nephew, King of Scotland, tooke it not well, for that, as *Lisle* saith, a great part of Ireland, especially in the North, had been in possession of the Scottishmen for many hundred of yeeres before. These discontentes conceiued, King *Henrie* well perceived; and because hee would haue no ill will, so neere him, that had so many enuiers abroad, he sent vnto King *James* that it would please him to repaire vnto the City of *Torke*, where he would meet him, to conferre for the wealth of both the Realmes, which at first was granted, but vpon better aduise, vnaccomplished, his Counsellors mouing the dangers; and his Clergy the feares, left their Religion should be changed to the offence of his confederates the Pope, the Emperour, and the French King.

(115) The vnkindnes growing from this small sparke, was presently kindled into great flames, for Commissioners being sent from both Kings, to view the limits of either Kingdome, they fell at odds about a small peece of ground, and from that tooke occasion of emulation and warres: to prosecute which King *Henry* prepared an Armie, and sent them into Scotland vnder the Conduct of the Duke of *Norfolke*, accompanied with the Earles of *Shrewsbury*, *Darby*, *Cumberland*, *Surrey*, *Hertford*, *Angus*, and *Rutland*. These passing the English Marches, did much hurt in the Kingdome of Scotland. To witte whom King *James* gathered a power, of five and thirty strong, and at *Fallowmore* meant to haue bidden the Duke battell, which as that writer related, was not then minded to doe, but made againe into England, and passing the water *Tweed*, sustained great losse by the courageous pursuit of the Lord *Huntly*. King *James* vpon a lusty courage meaning to repaire the Scots losses with the English spoiles, was very forward to follow the Duke into their Borders, but the Scottish Nobility wifely waying the danger of warre, by no means would either assent, or assist him out of his owne kingdome, affirming it honour sufficient, to haue forced the English backe with no little losse.

(116) King *James* discontented at his Nobles denials, made towards the Borders himselfe, where, mouing the Lord *Maxwell*, Lord Warden of the West Borders, with many other men of special fauour and account, to invade England, whereunto they gaue their consents. These passing the River *Eske*, did some small damage vpon the Westerne Borderers, whereof *Thomas* *Baltard Dacres*, and *Lacke of Musgrave*, as *Hollinshed* calls them, sent word to *Thomas Wharton*, Lord Warden for the King vpon the West Marches: But the Scots coming forward, they were forced to prepare for fight before the Lord *Wharton* could come, and out of their smal company left a stand vpon the side of a hill.

(117) The Scots aduanced forward with no little hope, were presently danted with the sight of these men, and verily thought that the Lord *Wharton* had assembled his Charge, or that the Duke of *Norfolke* with a great Army were come to their rescue, whereupon they began to consult what was best to be done, and demanding who was deputed Lieutenant by the King, *Oliuer Sinclair* of no great parts nor honorable parentage, being lifted vp vpon the Shoulders of two Souldiers, shewed forth the Kings Commission, wherein himselfe was appointed their Generall, and whereat howsoever it was written or read, the Lords tooke no little disdain that so many more worthy, honourable, and approued Captaines of the Field, should be lead by this his Minion, but no Seruant of Mars. In whole contempt, and for the indirection of their King, they suffered themselves to be taken Prisoners, and willingly lost the daye.

(118) This victory was wonne vpon the twenty fourth

Henry assumeth the Name of King of Ireland. A. 1541 confirmed by Parli. 35. Hen. 8. John Lisle

The Kings of England and Scotland appoint to meet at Torke

A. D. 1542

An expedition into Scotland.

The Scottish noblemen refuse to invade England.

The Lord Warden of the West Borders yield to the Kings perfwasions.

William Musgrave saith Stow.

The mistaking of the Scots.

Oliuer Sinclair the Kings Lieutenant General.

The Scottish Nobility in disdain of their generall lost the field.

John Lisle.

Solem-moffe.
Grafton faith
four and twen-
tie.

The death of K.
James of Scotland.

A marriage in-
tended betwixt
Prince Edward,
and the young
Queene of Scot-
land.

The Scottish pri-
soners honoura-
bly entertained.

The Scottish pri-
soners releas'd
without ran-
some.

John Lefty.

The marriage
of Prince Ed-
ward and Queen
Mary concluded
by Parliament.

Cardinall Beton
against the mar-
riage with Eng-
land.

The French King
lets factions in
Scotland.

The Queene,
and Queene
mother contri-
ue to cd Strutting.

fourth of November, at a place beyond Carliel, called *Solem-moffe*, where were taken Prisoners the Earles of *Caillis* and *Glencarne*, the Lords *Maxwell*, *Flemming*, *Summerwell*, *Oliphant*, and *Grey*, *Sir Oliver Sinclair*, and others, the number of one and twenty men of account, who were conveyed to *London*, and committed to the Tower. For griefe of which losse, and suspicion of his Nobility, King *James* fell into a melancholy Passion, which the birth of his new borne Prince rather increased, then gaue him any comfort, so as he deceased the fourteenth day of December following, forebiewing (faith *Lejue*) great troubles to follow in Scotland.

(119) Neves brought neere at one instant, of the death of King *James*, & birth of the Princesse his daughter, King *Henry* intended to doe that by the match of a marriage, which long had bene assayed by the sword of *Mars*: all things so confornting as it did, he hauing one onely sonne, then aboute fve yeres of age, and Scotland no heire beside this new borne daughter; their yeeres suiting a consent for marriage, the whole land offering both the ioynter and dowry, and that which most moued, their chiefe Nobility in his owne hands, to be moulded for this designe, as if heaven it selfe had bid the banes.

(120) Those Prisoners therefore which had remained in the Tower only two daies, vpon the twenty one of December, he sent for to *Westminster*, the Earles and Lords all suited in Gownes of blacke damaske, furred with Cunny, whereafter some words of friendly reproofe, they were bestowed among the English Nobility, who vsed them according to their estates: and the third day in *Christmas* were inuited to the Court at *Greenwich*, where they went before the King to his Chappell, were royally feasted, and the motion then made for the establishing of peace, by the Coniunction of the two Princes, whereunto the Scottish were as willing as the English, & proffered all forward assistance to haue it accomplished. So that these Nobles were deliuered without other ranfome, and richly rewarded at their departure from Court.

(121) These returned into Scotland, declared what they had done, and so effectually followed the busines, that in a Parliament assembled of the three Estates, the marriage was confirmed, and a peace proclaimed to continue betwixt the two Realmes the space of tenne yeeres, which agreements were sent into England by honourable Ambassadors, and there interchangeably sealed betwixt these Potent Estates. But Cardinall *Beaton* Archbishop of Saint *Andrewes*, fearing least Scotland would change the Church Orders, as England had done (the Bible already read in their owne language, and the Popes vsurped power called in Question, as then it began to be, by the feruent preaching of Frier *Guiliam*, to the great liking of most of the Lords) made some exceptions against the Earle *Arraine* the new chosen Gouvernour, and second person in the Land, being neere in blood to the young Queene. And the French King not liking this vnion with England, sought by all meanes to breake the same match: to effect which, he sent the Earle of *Lennox* to perswade with the Gouvernour, with great proffers and promises of assistance, but finding him faithfull vnto King *Henry*, presently made faction for the French, wherein he drew the Queene mother, the Earles *Huntly*, *Argile*, *Montrose*, *Menteith*, and many more Peeres, the Cardinall amongst them cuer the chiefe.

(122) Earle *Lennox* thus growne into credite with the Queene mother, and made strong by her adherents that fauoured the French, presently claimed to be Gouvernour of Scotland, being the second person of degree in the Realme, and withall to haue the custody of the young Queene, who with her mother were forthwith taken from *Linlithgow* vnder the charge of the Gouvernour *Arraine*, and brought vnto *Strineling* strongly guarded, with the continuall presence of the Lords, *Lenningston*, *Erskein*, *Flemming*,

and *Ruthwen*, least Queene *Mary* should be conveyed into England vnto King *Henry*. These violent courtes, caused great Emulations among the Scottish Nobility, each of them sinding as their affections were seded, but lastly agree to let the Crowne on their young Queenes head: prepared for the solemnity, whereunto all the Lords came, excepting those that stood for England, and from them the Gouvernour with much ado, was drawne to be present at the Coronation: but that accomplished, and the state affaires consulted vpon, it was agreed that the French Kings suite should be fauoured, and that the Earle *Arrain* should be Gouvernour still, whereas Earle *Lennox* conceived such displeasure, as he became wholly for King *Henry*, & ioined himselfe with the Earles of *Angus*, *Glencarne*, and *Caillis*, the Lords, *Maxwell*, *Summerwell*, *Gray*, and others that stood with the English for the match with Prince *Edward*.

(123) King *Henry* then hearing what was done, and intended, sent presently into Scotland to demand the Custody of the young Queene, and that certaine Scottish Noblemen might be appointed to guard her in England, vntill she came to yeeres of consent, according to Covenants formerly concluded; which no waies would be granted, and thereupon he prepared an Army thitherward, vnder the Conduct of Lord *Edward Seimer* Earle of *Hertford* Lieutenant General by Land, accompanied with the Earle of *Shrewsbury*, and a Fleece of two hundred saile by Sea, whereof Sir *Iohn Dudley*, Vicount *Lisle* was Admiral.

(124) To the aide of the Scots the Popes holiness was very forward, who sent them the Patriarch of *Venice* as his Legate, & Orator, to perswade their Resolutions, with whom the French King sent *Monsieur la Broche*, and *Monsieur Menager*, to lead them to fight, and fifty thousand Crownes of the Sun, to sustaine the Charge; with munition worth ten thousand Crownes more. It seemeth by *Lefty* that part of this siluer fell into the Earle *Lennox* his hand, and that therewith he made head against the Gouvernour, but not able to match him, sent vnto King *Henry* for aide, with proffer of his seruice against the French side, which so well was accepted of *Henry*, as he made him his Nephew, by giuing the Lady *Margaret* his sisters daughter to be his wife.

(125) The English thus seconded with this vnlooked for Alliance, Cardinall *Beaton* thought good to binde all to the Gouvernour, who with the Authority of the Queene Dowager proclaimed *Lennox* an Enemy to the State. But in the meane while the Admirall of England was entred the *Frith*, and at new Hauen landed his men, where ioining his, to the land Service, they altogether marched thence towards *Lieth*, himselfe leading the Vaward, *Shrewsbury* the Rereward, and the Lord Lieutenant the maine Battell. These coming to *Lieth*, spoiled the Town, and thence to *Edenbrough*, burnt the City, and wasted the Country for fawen miles about, this done they set fire vpon *Haddington*, and *Dunbarre*, and then the whole Army returned vnto *Barwicke*.

(126) Whilst things thus passed in Scotland, and the maine purpose resting in suspence, King *Henry* well knew where the greatest rub did lie in his way, which was the French King, the chiefe Abetter of the Scots, whom he euer upheld, to hold him tacked at home, least otherwise he should tug with France for his owne right. And therefore hauing ioined with the Emperour against the French, sent his Herald, *Garter*, King at Armes, to demand certaine covenants, which if he refused, to proclaim defiance vnto open warres, but he not suffered to doe his message to the King, returned, and *Henry* prepared an expedition into France, wherein he imploied the Dukes of *Norfolke* and *Suffolke*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Oxford* and *Surrey*, the Lords, *Russell*, *Grey*, *Ferrers*, *Moutjoy*, and *Saint-Iohn*, besides many other seruicable Knights, and Sir *Iohn Dudley* appointed high Admirall for the Seas. Of these some ioined with

Queene Mary of Scotland con-
ced.

The Earle of
Lennox fallen
from the Que-
mothers.

King Henry
mandeth the
young Scott
Queene.

An Army sa-
into Scotlan.

John Lefty.

John Lefty.
The Popes
French King
aide into Scot-
land.

Math. Enit
Lennox made
Lady Marg.

Earle Lennox
proclaimeth
enemie to the
state.

The English
see Scotland.

A.D. 1546.

A.D. 1547.

Great losse of
English in France.

Defiance sent
into France.

John Stow.

with the Emperials, and shewed their value in the
siege of *Mattrel*.
(127) The Duke of *Suffolke* in the meane while
strucke downe his Standards on the East side of *Bol-
loigne*, and with many sharpe skirmishes, entred the
bale Towne, which siege King *Henry* himselfe in
person seconded, who hauing passed the Seas from
England, vpon the sixte & twentieth of Iuly, encamped
before *Bolloigne* on the East side, whence his Canons
rent the Walls and Bulwarke, as their mounted
tops lay vpon the Ground, and his great mortar
peeces were discharged with so skillfull a Compasse,
that their bullets falling downe right, beate all build-
ings downe vpon the Enemies heads. Whereby
(faith *Seidane*) in short time he got that, which neither
his father, nor the Kings in former times could neuer
winne. For thereupon the Town was surrendered and
cleared of the French souldiers, women and children.
(128) The King like a Conquerour with his
sword borne before him entred the Gate, where the
Duke of *Suffolke* presented him with the keys of
the Towne, the Trumpets still sounding, and no-
thing wanting that might applaud his fame. The
Towne thus wonne, the English meant still to keep;
for the strengthening whereof, the King command-
ed the faire Church of Saint *Maries* to be taken
downe, and in the same place, a mount to be raised
for the planting of Ordinance, to annoy any siege.
But being thus busied in *Bolloignes* affaires, the Em-
perour without his knowledge or consent, came to a
peace with the French King, whereas King *Henrie*
was fore displeased, and the sooner left France, lea-
uing Sir *Iohn Dudley* Lord *Lisle*, his deputy in *Bol-
loigne*, and landed at *Douer* the first day of *October*,
to his great honor and ioy of his Subiects.
(129) The French King chafed with this late
and great losse, sought to trie fortune in further at-
tempts, and that not only for the recovery of *Bol-
loigne* (which with twenty thousand well appointed
hee assaied) but also in assaying the English domi-
nions, as the Ile of *Wight* and those parts of *Suffes*
that lay vpon the Seas, though with losse of many
Captaines and thousands of Souldiers, that neuer re-
turned to tell him what entertainment they had;
as likewise in sending aide vnto Scotland, where *Mon-
sieur Montgomery* of the Order of France, with 5000
strong, entred to maintaine the breach betwixt them
and *K. Henry*, which was so followed on both parts,
as the English making a Roade towards *Gedwarth*,
got praise for their valour, but reproch for their
spoiles, and the Scots renoune for killing the Lord
Eure, Lord warden of the East-Marches, with many
other Captaines in defence of their Country.
(130) Hereupon an Army of twelue thousand
strong was sent into Scotland, whereof the Earle of
Hertford was General: with these he forraged the
Borders before him, and burnt many Townes in the
Middle-Marches, with *Kelsey* & *Coldingham* Abbey,
the French not halfe to stay the incursion, lay still,
and let them (vnfought with) depart for England.
(131) But the warres renoued againe into
France, the *Reingraue* with a great power came to vi-
tuall a Fort built neere vnto *Bolloigne*; to impeach
which, the Earle of *Surrey*, then Lieutenant of
the Towne made forth, but was discomfited in the en-
terprize, and Sir *Edward Poyning* Captaine of a Band
slaue, with fiftene other Captaines, besides many
Officers and Common Souldiers. These Princes
wars in these violent proceedings, became very fear-
full least they would grow to the Common hurt of
Christendome, and therefore many other potent-
ates, whereof the Emperour was first, solicited these
Kings vnto a peace, which the sooner was heard and
embraced, for that they were both of them old, and
King *Henry* diseased in body, Commissioners there-
fore appointed certaine articles were agreed vpon:
the first thereof was, that the French King should
pay vnto King *Henry*, eight hundred thousand
Crownes in eight yeeres space, and then to reenter

vpon *Bolloigne*, but in the meane time it to remaine
vnder the English; to accomplish which peace *Monsieur
Danchals* high Admirall of France, was sent into
England; and Sir *Thomas Chyngis* Lord Warden of the
Cinque Ports, to be the Kings Agent at the Foit, for
the Baptisme of the Dolphins new borne daughter.
(132) Notwithstanding these Compliments,
the sight of *Bolloigne* was a great sore in the French
mens eyes, inasmuch that *Monsieur Chatillon* Captain
of *Montplaisier*, begaine to make a new *Bastillon*
neere vnto the Towne, even in the very mouth of
the Riuer, which the Lord *Grey of Wilton* perceiuing
certified the King, what inconuenience would hap-
pen if that were made strong, and the same disful-
led at the Counsell-Table, it passed with one voice
that the Peace with France was not to be infringed,
notwithstanding this French attempt: to which end
a prohibition drawne, whereunto King *Henry* also set
his hand, that no let should be made against *Chatillon*
in his Fort. Howbeit the King commanded Sir
Thomas Palmer (imploied in this busines) to bid the
Lord *Grey* to impeach the new worke, and to flat
so much as was raised thereof vnto the Earth. This
commission read with the report of Command to
the Contrary; the Counsell of State; thought it
most meete to follow their instructions in writing,
least the words might either be mis-delivered or mil-
taken. But the Lord *Grey* causing the messengers
words to be writ, and subscribed with all their hands
that were present at the report, suddainly and vn-
looked for, came to the Fort, and in foure houres
space cast downe, what had bene in raising three
moneths before, which when the King heard off, he
asked his Counsellors what they thought of this;
that *Chatillon-garden* was cast downe amongst whom
one of them answered, the dea thereof was worthy to
loose his head, I had rather (said the King) loose a
dozen of such heades as thine is, then his that had
done the deed, and immediately sent the Lord *Grey*
his pardon with many great thanks.
(133) But now the date of his time almost run,
and he preparing towards the way of all flesh, the
great and faire Church of the *Gray Friars* London,
lately suppressed by himselfe, he caused againe to be
opened, and to be made a Parish Church, giuing the
reuenues thereof vnto the Cite of London to-
wards the reliefe of their poore, whereunto he gaue
fue hundred Markes yeerely of Lands for euer to
maintaine Gods diuine seruice and the laid Chur-
ches reparations, within whose walles we finde this
often written, This is *Christs Church* founded by King
Henrie the eight.
(134) And his sicknes increasing to the great dan-
ger of life he prepared himselfe to make his Will,
wherein howeuer titles had bene vnhabled in Par-
liaments, he ordained his three children to succede
each after others, for want of other Issue; One
thousand markes he commanded to be giuen to the
poore, and to twelue poore Knights at *Winstre* each
of them twelue pence a day for euer, euery yeere a
long Gowne of white cloth, the Garter imbroidered
vpon the breast, wherein was placed the Croffe of
Saint *George*, and a Mantle of red cloth to bee worne
thereupon, ordaining for his Executors in the ni-
nority of Prince *Edward*, these heere vnder named.

- 1 Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury.
- 2 Thomas Wriothesley Lord Chancellor.
- 3 William Paulet Knight of the Order.
- 4 Lord Saint-Iohn Great Master of the Household
- 5 John Russell Lord priue Secre.
- 6 Edward Seimer Earle of *Hertford* Lord great Chamberlaine.
- 7 John Dudley Vicount *Lisle* Lord high Admirall
- 8 *Cuthbert Tunstall* B. of *Durham*.
- 9 *Anthony Browne* Knight Mof the Horse.
- 10 William Paget Knight of the Order.
- 11 Edmund Mountacute Chiefe Iustice of the Common-pleas.

Peace concluded
betwixt *Henrie*
and France.

Hertford.
Chatillon raiseth
a fort neere vnto
Bolloigne.

King Henrie
command against
his owne writing.

The Lord Grey
surrenders *Chatillon*
fort.

A.D. 1547.

King Henrie sick-
nes.

John Stow
in Suruey Em-
don.

Dated the 10. of
December and 39.
of his reign.

- 12 Thomas Bromley Lord Chiefe Iustice.
- 13 Anthony Dery Knight.
- 14 Edward North Knight.
- 15 Edward Weston Knight.
- 16 Doctor Weston Deane of Canterbury.

And for their aide and assistance in Counsell
he appointed the following.

- 1 Henry Fitz-Alan Earle of Arundel.
- 2 William Parre Earle of Essex.
- 3 Thomas Cheney Knight, Treasurer of the Household.
- 4 John Gage Knight, Cōtroller of the Household.
- 5 Anthony Winkefeld Knight, Vice-Chamberlain.
- 6 William Peter Knight, principall Secretary.
- 7 Richard Rich Knight.
- 8 John Baker Knight.
- 9 Ralph Sadler Knight.
- 10 Thomas Seimer Knight.
- 11 Richard Southwell Knight.
- 12 Edmund Peckham Knight.

King Henries
death.

And in great penitency for his sinnes, died vpon Thursday the twenty eight day of January, in the yeere of Christ Iesus 1546. when hee had reigned thirty seuen yeere, nine moneths, and fūe daies, & had liued fifty fūe yeeres, fūe monthes, & fūe daies, whose body with great solemnity was buried at Windfore vnder a most costly and stately Tombe begunne in Copper and gūilt, but neuer finished, in the inclosures of whose Grates is curiously cast this inscription, HENRICVS OCTAVVS REX ANGLIAE, FRANCIAE, DOMINVS HIBERNIAE, FIDELI DEFENSOR with what cost and state this his Monument was intended, is manifested by a Manuscript taken from the true modell thereof, which I receiued from that industrious Herauld, Master Nicholas Charles Lancaster, and for the great magnificence is worthy here to be inferted.

The manner of the Tombe to be made
for the Kings Grace at Windfore.

First, the pauement wherevpon the Tombe shall stand, shall be of Orientall stone: That is to say, of Alabaster, Porfido, Serpentine, and other stones of diuers colours, as in the patterne sheweth.

Item, vpon the same Pauement shall be two great steps vnder all the worke of like Orientall stones.

Item, the Basement of the Pillers shall be of white Marble with Angels holding betwene them Crownes or Garlands gūilt, and white Marble as more plainly sheweth in the Patterne.

Item, about the said Basement and Angels, shall be all the old Testament, that is to say, xliiij. Images in the xliiij. Casements of the same two Pillers of the Prophets, and all the Pillers which shall be xvi. shall be of stones Serpentine, Porfido and Alabaster, and other fine Orientall stones, of such colours as is shewed in the Patterne; and the foote of euery pillar, and also the head shall be of Brasse. And euery Prophet shall haue an Angell sit at his foote, with Scripture of the name of his Prophet, and aboute ouer the head of the same shall be the story of his Prophet: in euery of which Story shall be at least viij. or xi. figures.

Item, aboute all the same Pillers shall be another Basement of white Marble, with a partition being made of such fine Orientall stones as the Pillers be, wherein shall be writen such Scriptare as please you.

Item, aboute the same Basement shall be the Story of the new Testament, that is to wit, with the Images of the Apostles, the Euangelists and the foure Doctours of the Church, and euery Image shall haue sitting at his foote a little child with a Scripture of the name of his Image, and a little Basket full of

red and white Roses, which they shall shew to take in their hands, and cast them downe off the Tombe and ouer the Pauement, and the Roses that they shall cast ouer the Tombe shall be enamelled and gūilt, and the roses that they cast ouer the Pauements shall be of fine Orientall stones of white and red.

Item, behind all the same Images of the new Testament round shall be made in brasse and gūilt all the life of Iesus Christ from the nativity to his ascension, and it shall be so clearly and perfectly made, that the Mytery of Christs life to his ascension shall plainly appeare.

Item, aboute the said new Testament and Images thereof, and aboute the said life of Christ, shall be a Quire of xx. Angels standing vpon a Basement of white Marble, with great Candlestickes in their hands hauing lightes in them shewing to honour and reuerence the same Tombe.

Item, all these foresaid figures, stories and ornaments shall be made to garnish and ornate the two Pillers of the Church betwene which the Tombe shall be set.

Item, betwene the said two great Pillers of the Church thus garnished, shall be a Basement of white Marble of the height of the Basement of the Pillers, and therein the Epitaph of the King and Queene, with letters of gold, of such Scriptures as yee desire.

Item, vpon the same Basement shall be made two Tombes of blacke touch, that is to say, on either side one, and vpon the said Tombes of blacke Touch shall be made the Image of the King and Queene on both sides, not as death, but as persons sleeping, because to shew that famous Princes leauing behind them great fame, their names neuer doe die, and shall lie in roiall Apparels after the antique manner.

Item, ouer the right hand, ouer both the sides of the same Tombe shall be an Angell which shall hold the Kings Armes, with a great Candlestick, hauing as it were light on it as a Lampe, and in like manner shall be an other Angell holding the Queenes Armes on the left hand with a like Candlestick.

Item, on the right hand and left hand on both the sides ouer the said Images of the King and Queene, shall be two Angels shewing to the people the bodies of the King and Queene holding aboute their Heades voiles of gold, and the Crownes of the King and Queene on their hands.

Item, betwene the said two Tombes of blacke Touch and the said Angell ouer the King & Queene shall stand an high Basement like a Sepulchre, and on the sides whereof shall be made the story of Saint George, and ouer height of the Basement shall be made an Image of the King on Horsebacke, liue in Armor like a King after the Antique manner shewing in countenance and looking on the said two Images lying on the said Tombes.

Item, on the right hand and left hand of the said two Tombes shall be foure Pillers of the foresaid Orientall stones, that is to say, on either side two Pillers, and vpon euery Pillar shall be a like Basement of white Marble with partitions for Scriptures as shall be aboute the other Pillers. And on the same foure Basements of the said Pillers shall be made foure Images, two of Saint Iohn Baptiste, and two of Saint George, with foure little children by them carrying roses, as is aforesaid.

Item, ouer the said Image of the King on Horsebacke shall be made an Arch triumphall, of white Marble wrought within, and about it, and vpon the same Arch, in manner of a Casement of white Marble garnished with like Orientall Stones of diuers colours, as the pattern sheweth, and on the two sides of the said Casement shall be made and set of brasse gūilt, the story of the life of Saint Iohn Baptiste, and one height of the said Casement shall be made fūe steps, euery one more then other downward, of like Orientall stones, as the said Pillers shall shew.

Item, on the foure corners of the said Casement shall

shall be made the Images of the foure Cardinal vertues hauing such Candlestickes in their hands as is above said.

Item, on the toppe of the highest step of the said fūe steps on the one side shall be an Image of the Father, hauing in his left hand the Soule of the King and blessing with his right hand, with two Angels holding abroad the Mantle of the Father on either side.

Item, in like wise shall be made on the other side the said Image of the Father, hauing the soule of the Queene in his left hand, blessing with his right hand with like Angels.

The height of the same worke from the Father vnto the Pauement shall be xxviij. foot.

Item, the breadth and largenes of the said worke shall be xv. foote, and the Pillers of the Church in greatnes, v. foote: and so the largenes of the said worke, from the vntermost part of the two great Pillars shall be xx. foote.

Item, euery of the Images of the xliij. Prophets, shall containe euery Image 7. foote in length, and the Angels shall containe two foote and a halfe in length.

Item, euery of the xx. Pillers shall containe in length 8. foot.

Item, euery of the Images of the Apostles, Euangelists and Doctours shall containe in length 7. foote and the Angels as is above said.

Item, in likewise euery of the xx. Angels of the quire shall containe in length two foot and a halfe, and in likewise the Images of the Children two foot and a halfe.

Item, the foure Images of St. Iohn Baptiste and St. George and all the figures of the father and Angels on the 7. steps shall be 7. foote.

Item, the foure Images of the King and the Queen shall be of the Statute of a man and woman, and the foure Angels by them of the stature of a man euery one.

Item, the Image of the King on Horseback with his Horse shall be of the whole stature of a goodly man and large Horse.

Item, there shall be a Cxxxij. figures, xliij. Stories, and all of Brasse gūilt, as in the patterne appeareth.

(135) This magnificent Monarch was of presence Maiestical, and of Personage more then ordinarily tall, faire of Complexion and Corpulent of body, very wise and very well learned, of a sudden and ready speech, in youth very prodigall, and in his age very liberal, pleasant and affable, but not to be dallyed with, bolde in attempting, and euer thirstie of potent glory: an expert Souldier, and fauouring such as were actiue or feruicable, according to the then vsual saying, *King Henrie loues a man*: and indeed somewhat too wel the delights with women, as by his many wiues heere ensuing, may well appeare,

His Wives.

(136) Katherine the first wife to King Henry was the daughter of Ferdinand the sixt King of Spaine, and widow dowager of Prince Arthur his elder brother, as hath bene said: he was married vnto this King the third of Iune: and first of his Raigne, the yeere of saluation 1509. being solemnly crowned with him vpon the twenty fourth day of the same, and was his wife about twenty yeeres, and then diuorced from him by the sentence of the Archbishop of Canterbury: liued three yeeres after by the name of Katherine Dowager. Shee deceased at Kimbalton in the County of Huntington the eight of January, and yeere of Christ 1535. and lieth interred on the North-side of the quire in the Cathedral Church of Peterborow vnder a hearse of Blacke Saye, hauing a white Crosse in the midst.

(137) Anne, the second wife of King Henry, was the second daughter of Sir Thomas Bullen, Earle of Wiltshire and Ormond. Shee was solemnly at Wind-

fore created Marchionesse of Pembroke, the first of September and twenty foure of his Raigne, hauing one thousand pound giuen her by yeere, to maintaine her estate. Shee was married vnto King Henry in his Closet at White-Hall, vpon the twenty fifth day of January, and yeere of Christ Iesus, 1533. being the foure and twentieth of his Raigne, and was Crowned with all due obseruances, at Westminster vpon Whitsunday the first of Iune, where the Crowne of Saint Edward was set vpon her head, the scepter of Gould deliuered into her right hand, and the Ivory rodde with the Doue into her left. Shee was his wife three yeeres, three monethes and twenty fūe daies, when being cut off by the sword the nineteenth of May, her body was buried in the Quire of the Chappell in the Tower, leauing her accursed fame to be censured as affections best pleased the vncharitable minded, and her bed to be posselt of a vertuous Lady.

(138) Jane, the third wife of King Henry, was the daughter of Iohn Seimer Knight, and sister to Lord Edward Seimer, Earle of Hertford, and Duke of Somerset. Shee was married vnto him the twientieth of May, euen the next day after the beheading of Eugene Anne, and the twenty eight of his Raigne. Shee was his wife one yeere, fūe monthes and twenty foure daies, and died in Child-bed the fourteenth of October, to the great griefe of the King, who not onely removed from the place, but kept himselfe priuate, and wore the Garment of mourning euen in the Festiual time of Christmas, her body was solemnly conueied to Windfore the eight of Nouember following, where he was interred in the midst of the Quire of the Church within the Castell.

(139) Anne the fourth wife of King Henry and sister to William Duke of Cleue was married vnto him the sixth of January in the thirty one yeere of his Raigne, the yeere of Grace, 1540. there was his wife sixe moneths, after which time certaine Lords of the vpper House of Parliament came into the netheer, and alleged cause for which that marriage was vnlawfull, whereupon shee was diuorced, and by Statute enacted, that shee should no more be taken for Queene, but should be called the Lady Anne of Cleue. See remained in England long after the Kings death, though small mention is made of her by any of our Writers, only we finde that she accompanied the Lady Elizabeth through London at the solemnizing of Queene Marias Coronation.

(140) Katherine the fifth wife of King Henry the eight, was the daughter of Edmund, and Neece vnto Thomas Howard his brother, Duke of Norfolk: Shee was married vnto him the eight of August and yeere of Grace 1540. being the thirtieth two of his Raigne, at Hampton Court, and continued his Queene the space of one yeere, sixe moneths and foure daies, and for her vnchaste life was attained by Parliament, and for the same beheaded within the Tower of London the twelfth of February and her body buried in the Chauncell of the Chappell by Queene Anne Bullen.

(141) Katherine the sixth and last wife of King Henry was the daughter of Sir Thomas Parre of Kendall and sister to Lord William Parre Marquess of Northampton, shee was first married to Iohn Neuill, Lord Lauder, and after his decease, vpon the twelfth of Iuly married vnto the King at Hampton Court, the yeere of Saluation, 1543. and thirtieth five of his Raigne: Shee was his wife three yeeres, sixe months and fūe daies, and suruiuing him, was againe married vnto Thomas Seimer Lord Admirall of England, vnto whom she bare a daughter, but died in the same Child-bed, the yeere of Grace, 1548.

His Issue.

(142) Henrie the first sonne of King Henry by Queene Katherine his first wife, was borne at Richmond in Surrey vpon the first of January, and the first

A.D. 1532.

A.D. 1536.

A.D. 1540.

D. 1533

of his fathers Raigne, whose Godfathers at Font were the Lord Crammer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Earle of Surrey: his Godmother, Lady Katherine Countesse of Devonshire, daughter to King Edward the fourth. This Prince lived not fully two months but died in the same place wherein he was borne, vpon the two and twentieth of February, and his body with all due obsequies buried in *Westminster*.

(143) A Sonne not named was borne vnto King Henrie by Lady Katherine his first Queene in the month of Nouember, and the sixth yeere of his Raigne, who lived not long, and therefore no further mention of him can be made: the deathes of these Princes King Henrie tooke as a punishment from God, for so he alleged it in the public Court held in Blacke-friers London, they being begot on his owne brothers wife.

(144) Marie the third childe and first daughter of King Henrie by Queene Katherine his first wife, was borne at Greenwich in Kent, the eighteenth of February in the yeere of Christs humanity, 1518 and the eighth of his Raigne. Shee was by the direction of her mother brought vp in her Childe-hood by the Countesse of Salisbury her neere kinswoman, for that as some thought, the Queene wished a marriage betwixt some of her sons and the Princesses, to strengthen her Title by that Alliance into *Torke*, if the King should die without issue Male. In her young yeeres shee was fued to be married with the Emperour, the King of *Scots*, and the Duke of *Orleans* in *France*, but all these failing, and shee succeeding her brother K Edward in the Crowne, at the age of thirte fixe yeeres, matched with Philip King of *Spain*, to the great dislike of many, and small content to her selfe, hee being imploied for the most part beyond the Seas, for griefe whereof and the losse of *Calce*, shee lastly fell into a burning feauer, that cost her her life.

(145) Elizabeth the second daughter of King Henrie, and first childe by Queene Anne his second wife, was borne at Greenwich, vpon Sunday the seuenth of September, the yeere of Christ Iesus, 1534 and twenty five of her Fathers Raigne, who with due solemnities was baptized the Wednesday following, Archbishop Crammer, the old Dutches of *Norfolke*, and the old Marchionesse of *Dorset* being the witnesses at the Font, and the Marchionesse of *Excester* at the confirmation: Shee succeeded her sister Queene Marie in the Monarchy of *England*, and was for wisdom, vertue, piety, and Iustice, not one-

lie the Mirroure of her Sexe, but a patterne for Government to al the princes in Christendome: whose name I may not mention without a dutiful remembrance, and whose memory vnto me is most deare, amongst the many thousands that receiued extraordinary fauours at her gracious and most liberrall hand.

(146) Another man-childe Queene Anne bare vnto King Henrie, though without life vpon the nine and twentieth of January, and twenty seuen of his Raigne, to the no little griefe of the mother, some dislike of the King, as the sequel of her accusation and death did shortly confirme.

(147) Edward the last childe of King Henrie, and first of Queene Iane his third wife, was borne at Hampton Court, the twelfth of October, the yeere of Grace, 1537, and twenty nine of the Kings Raigne, being cut out of his mothers wombe as is constantly affirmed, like as *Julius Cæsar* is said to haue been: his Godfathers at the Font, was Thomas Crammer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Duke of Norfolk, his sister Lady Mary being Godmother, faith Grafton: Sixe daies after his birth he was created Prince of *Wales*, and at the death of his Father, succeeded him in all his Dominions, of whom more followeth hereafter.

His Natwall Issue.

(148) Henrie Fitz-Rois the naturall sonne of King Henrie the eight was begotten of the Lady Talboise called Elizabeth Blunt, and borne in the Mannor of *Blackmore* in *Essex* about the tenth yeere of his Raigne; at the age of sixe yeeres he was created Earle of *Nottingham* and in the five and twentieth of his Fathers Raigne vpon the eighteenth of Iune in the Kings Pallace of *Bridewell* was made Duke of *Richmond* and *Somerset*, Lord Warden of the East, West, and Middle-Marches against *Scotland*, and Lieutenant General of all the parts of *England* Northward, he was a Prince very forward in Marhal Activities, of Good literature and knowledge in the tongues, vnto whom the learned Antiquary *Leland* dedicated a Booke; He married Marie daughter of Thomas Howard Duke of *Norfolke*, Earle Marshall and Lord high Treasurer of *England*, with whom he liued not long, but died at *Saint Iames* by *Westminster* the two and twentieth of Iuly in the yeere of Christ Iesus, 1536, and was buried at *Framingham* in *Suffolke*.

A.D. 1518

John Stow.

Thomas Wilson
Halshead
Theford in
Folke. p. 137.

THe tempestuous stormes in the Raigne of this King Henrie the eight, and the violent deluge raised against the Church-state of his times; bare downe so many religious strong foundations, and were the destruction of so many beautifull Monasteries, as the onely relation of their numbers and names, would haue much interrupted the narration of his history. Wherefore to reiteine their memorials (though their wallies are laid waste) aswell for the reuerence we owe vnto venerable Antiquity, as for the example of their Founders holy zeale, we haue inserted a Catalogue of their names, orders, and true valuations, as in the originall Booke thereof taken by Commission, and giuen vnto the King, we finde them downe, though at their dissolutions their values were fauourably and farre vnder rated. Some Founders, and times of foundations wee want, the rest, Tablwise, to auoid prolixity wee haue set downe in this present following

CHAPTER.



A CATALOGVE OF THE RELIGIOUS HOUSES VVITHIN THE REALME OF ENGLAND AND VVales, with many their Orders, Founders, and Values, most of them being suppressed by King Henrie the eight. Together with such other sacred places, as either then were by him left standing, or since haue been erected.

BAR KESHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Reedings.	Saint Iacob	By Queene Alfrith.	First Nunnes, after Blacke Monks, <i>Cluniacenses</i> .	2116 03 09 00 q
Abingdon.	Saint Mary.	By King Henrie the first.	Blacke Monks.	2042 02 08 00 q
Bromhall in Windsor Forest.	S. Mary Magd.	Edward the Blacke Prince.	Blacke Nunnes.	
Bitcham now Bisham.	Christ Iesus & our Lady	William Montacute the first Earle of Salisbury, A. 13. E. 3.	Canons.	0327 04 06 00 0
Donington.		Richard de Abberbury Knight.	Ordinis Sancte Crucis.	0020 16 06 00 0
Donington.		Richard de Abberbury Chualier.	Blacke Nunnes.	
Hamme.	S. Mary Magd.		Blacke Monks, <i>Westmonast.</i>	0134 10 08 00 0
Hurley.	Saint Mary.			0014 03 01 00 0
Murrelsey.				0071 10 07 00 0
Poghley.		The Predecessors or Ancestors of the Abbesse of <i>Almesburie</i> .		0033 18 08 00 0
Shortesbroke.				
Wallingford.	Saint Trinity.	Edmund sonne of Richard, King of the Romans, and Earle of <i>Cornwall</i> .	Blacke Monks of Saint Albans.	
Wallingford castle.		Edward the Blacke Prince.		
Wallingford.	Saint Iohn.			0006 00 00 00 0

BEDFORDSHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founders and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Bedfor d.		Lady Margaret de Pasteshall.	Friers Minors, <i>alij</i> Grey Friers.	0005 00 00 00 0
Bedford.	Saint Iohn.			0021 00 08 00 0
Bedford.	Saint Leonard.			0015 06 08 00 0
Biggleswade.	Sainte Trin. in Ecc. 54. Andrea.			0007 08 00 0 0
Bosco.				0141 18 03 00 0
Bulhemede alias Biffemede.		Hugo de Bello Campo, and Roger his brother.	Canons Augustines.	0081 13 07 00 0
Caldewel.	S. Iohn Baptiste.	The Lord Latimer, <i>Alij</i> Iohn de Byddesley.	Blacke Canons.	0148 15 10 00 0
Chickland.	Saint Mary.	Paine de Beauchamp.	White Canons, Nunnes.	0130 03 04 00 0
Eaton.	Corporis Christi.		Blacke Canons.	0007 16 00 00 0
Dunstable.	Saint Peter.	King Henrie the first.	Friers Preachers.	0402 14 07 00 0
Dunstable.				0004 18 04 00 0
Fraternitas ibidem.				0009 08 07 00 0
Elneftowe alias Helenftow, now Elftow.		Inditha wife to Waltheof E. of Huntingdon.	Blacke Nunnes.	0325 03 01 00 q
Harwold alias Harewood.	Saint Peter	Samson surnamed Fortis.	Blacke Nunnes.	0047 03 03 00 0
Markeyate.	Saint Giles	Gilbert de Clare Earle of Gloucester and Hertford, Anno G. E. 1.	Nunnes.	
Newenham.		Rosse the wife of Paine de Beauchamp.	Canons Augustines.	0343 15 05 00 0
Northyle.				0061 05 08 00 0
Sanctingfield iuxta Whitland.		King Henrie the second.		
Wardon.	Saint Marie.	King Henrie the first, and Walter Espee.	White Monks.	0442 11 11 00 0
Woburne.	Saint Mary	Hugo de Bolbick, <i>Alij</i> Robert de Vere, Earle of Oxford by licence of King Richard 2.	White Monks.	0439 13 11 00 0

CCCCC Alesbury

BUCKINGHAMSHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Ailesburie.	—	Edith daughter of Frewald.	Friers Minors, alias Grey Friers.	0003 02 05 0 0
Ankerwicke.	—	—	Nunnes.	0045 14 04 0 0
Atheridge.	Saint Augustine.	Edmund Earle of Cornwall sonne to Richard King of the Romans.	Black Monks.	0447 18 08 05 0
Bordesley.	Saint Marie.	Mande the Empreffe.	Cisteria white Monks.	0091 05 11 05 0
Bradewell.	Saint Marie.	Manefelms.	Præfatus Socy 8. & Catores Scolares. 60.	0142 01 03 0 0
Burnham.	Saint Marie.	Arnald de Bosco, A.D. 1127	White Canons.	0091 08 03 05 0
Byttselden.	—	King Henrie 6.	—	—
Eaton.	—	—	—	—
Laueden.	Saint Marie.	John de Bedon.	—	—
Luffeld.	Saint Marie.	Robert Earle of Leicester.	—	—
Medmenham.	—	The Ancestors of the Earls of Suffolk.	—	—
Merlowe parva.	—	—	Black Nunnes.	0037 06 11 0 0
Myssenden.	Saint Marie.	D'Oiler sine Dolly.	Black Canons.	0285 15 09 0 0
Newport painel.	Saint Leonard.	John Peynton of Newport.	—	—
Notely.	Saint Marie.	Walter Giffard Earle of Buckingham. A. 1122	Black Canons.	0006 06 08 0 0
Parcetreduene.	—	—	Black Canons.	0495 18 05 05 0
Raueneston.	—	Domini Regis Progenitor.	—	—
Sandewell.	—	The Ancestors of Thomas Stanley of Safford.	—	—
Snellhall.	—	—	—	—
Stoke-Pogeis.	—	Edward Baron Hastings of Loughborow.	Poore people.	0038 08 04 0 0
Tekford.	Saint Marie.	Fulco Paganell, Alij, Domini Regis progenitor.	Black Monks.	0024 00 00 0 0
Wicombe, or high Wickham.	—	—	—	—
	S. Margaret.	—	—	0126 17 00 0 0
	—	—	—	0007 15 03 05 0
	—	—	—	0022 06 07 0 0

CAMBRIDGESHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Cambridge.	—	St. Edward the first, and Sir Guy Mortimer.	White Friers.	—
Cambridge.	—	Thomas de Herford a great Benefactor.	—	—
Cambridge.	—	King Edward 1.	Friers Minors, alias Grey Friers.	—
Cambridge.	—	—	Friers Augustines.	—
Cambridge.	—	—	Black Friers.	—
Cambridge.	Saint Radegund.	—	Black Nunnes.	—
Cambridge.	—	—	Canons.	—

The Colledges in Cambridge.

Peterhouse.	—	Hugh Balham Bishop of Ely. An. Dom. 1284.	—	—
Clare-hall.	—	Rich. Badew and Eliza. Clara Countesse of Vlfster. Anno Dom. 1340.	—	—
Pembroke-hall.	—	Maria de S. Paulo Countesse of Pembroke. A. 1347.	—	—
Corpus Christi or Bennet Colledge.	—	Societas fratrum Corporis Christi. A.D. 1346.	—	—
Trinity-hall.	—	William Bateman Bishop of Norwich. 1353.	—	—
Gonville and Caius Colledge.	—	Edmund Gonemile and John Caius. A. 1348.	—	—
King's Colledge & Chappel.	—	King Henry the sixth. A.D. 1441.	—	—
Queene's Colledge.	—	Queene Margaret wife of H. 6. A.D. 1448.	—	—
Katherine-hall.	—	Robert Woodlarke. A.D. 1459.	—	—
Iesus Colledge.	—	John Alcocke Bishop of Ely. A.D. 1497.	—	—
Christ's Colledge.	—	Lady Margaret Countesse of Richmond.	—	—
St. Johns Colledge.	—	mother to K. Henry the seventh. A. 1506.	—	—
	—	Thomas Audley Chancellor of England. A.D. 1542.	—	—
Magdalen Colledge.	—	Christopher Wray Lord Chief Justice of England.	—	—
Trinity Colledge.	—	King Henrie the eight. Anno Dom. 1546.	—	—
Emmanuel Colledge.	—	Tho. Neill Deane of Canterbury, the Mother of hath most magnificently enlarged.	—	—
Sydney-Sussex Colledge.	—	Sir Walter Mildmay Knight, a Councellor to Queene Elizabeth.	—	—
	—	Lady Frances Countesse of Suffex gave five thousand pound to build it.	—	—
Ely.	St. Peter and S. Ethelred Eccles. Cath.	Audrey wife to King Egfrid, placed Priests in it. Ethelwold Bishop of Winchester stored it with Monks: King Henry 1. made it a Bishop's See: King Henry 8. in steed of the Monks placed a Dean, Prebends, and a Grammar Schoole, with maintenance and teaching for 24. Schollers.	Blacke Monks.	1301 08 02 0 0

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Ely.	S. John & S. Mary Magd.	Thomas Bishop of Ely.	—	0025 05 03 05 0
Anglesey.	—	Richard de Clare.	—	0149 18 06 05 0
Barnewell.	S. Andrew. S. Egidius.	Sir Paine Penwell, Standard-Bearer to Robert Duke of Normandy, in the Holy Warres against Infidels, in the time of Henry the first.	Blacke Canons.	0351 15 04 00 0
Chatters.	Saint Mary.	Alfwen a deuout woman, and her brother Ednoth Abbot of Ramsey.	Blacke Nunnes.	0112 03 06 00 0
Denny.	Saint Clare.	Maria de S. Paulo, wife of Adomar Earle of Pembroke. Anno Domini 1341.	Nunnes.	0218 00 01 05 0
Saint Edmunds.	—	King Canute.	White Canons.	0016 16 00 00 0
Fordham.	—	Henry Den, or Dew.	De ordine Simpplingham.	0046 03 08 00 0
Iklington.	—	—	Canons.	0080 01 10 05 0
Marmound.	—	—	Blacke Nunnes.	0046 10 03 00 0
Soffam Bulbecke.	—	—	—	—
Shengaye.	A Comidon & Præceptorio to S. John of Ierusalem.	Sybil daughter of Roger Montgomery, Earle of Shrewsbury, and wife of I. de Paines. A.D. 1130.	Knights Templers.	0175 04 06 00 0
Swauefey.	—	Alan la Zouch brother to the Vicount Rohan in the lesser Britaine.	Blacke Canons.	—
Thorney.	Saint Mary and Saint Boniph.	Securwip a deuout man for Eremites, & Ethelwold B. of Winchester for Monks, and King Edgar.	—	0508 02 05 00 0

CARLIOL.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Apelby in Westmorland.	—	Lord Vesty, Lord Percy, and Lord Clifford. A.D. 1281.	White Friers.	—
Armetwait in Cumberland.	—	King William the Conquerour, Anno Regis 2.	Nunnes.	0018 18 08 00 0
Carlolin in Cumberland.	Saint Mary.	Domini Regis Progenitor.	—	—
Holme Coltreyn in Cumberland.	Saint Mary.	David King of Scots, and Henry Earle of Huntingdon his sonne.	—	0482 08 01 00 0
Lanercost in Cumberland.	Saint Mary Magd.	Robert de Vaulx, Lord of Gilleland.	—	0535 03 07 05 0
Sharpe in Westmorland.	—	Thomas the sonne of Gospatrick, sonne of Orms.	—	0079 19 00 00 0
	—	—	—	0166 10 06 05 0

CHESHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Chester.	Saint John, Eccles. Cath.	King Henry the eight.	Secular Canons.	—
Chester.	—	Thomas Stadham Gentleman. A.D. 1279.	White Friers.	—
Chester.	—	King John.	Gray Friers.	—
Chester.	Saint Werburg.	Hugh the first of the Norman bloud that was Earle of Chester.	Blacke Friers.	—
Chester.	The virgin Mary M.	Founder Domini Regis Progenitor.	Blacke Monks.	1073 17 07 05 0
Chester.	Beate Marie.	—	Blacke Canons.	0099 16 02 00 0
Chester.	Saint John C.	—	Nunnes.	—
Birkehead.	S. Baptist, ali H.	Founder Domini Regis Progenitor.	—	—
Bunbury, alias Boniface-bury.	S. James.	Founder Comitib. Derbie. Antecessor.	Blacke Canons.	0013 07 10 00 0
Combermeire.	—	Hugh Calneley and the Egertons.	Priests.	0102 16 10 00 0
Maclefield.	—	William de Malbedeng. A.D. 1134.	White Monks.	0258 06 06 00 0
Norton.	Saint Mary.	Thomas Savage first Bishoppe of London, and afterwards Archbishoppe of York.	—	—
Stanlaw.	—	William Fitz-Nigell a Norman.	—	—
Valle Regalis.	—	John Lacy Constable of Chester. A.D. 1173.	Monkes.	0258 11 08 00 0
	—	King Edward the first.	—	0540 06 02 00 0

CORNWALL.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Saint Anthony.	—	—	Blacke Monks of the Angels.	—
Bodmin.	Saint Peter.	First by K. Adelfan, after William Warwast Bishop of Excester, & confirmed by king John.	Blacke Canons after Grey Friers.	0289 11 11 00 0
Bonury.	Saint Petros.	King Adelfan.	Blacke Canons.	—

Places	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
Crantocke.	C			l. s. d. ob. q.
Saint German.	M			0089 15 08 00 0
Glaffoney.	Saint Thomas.	Walter Brunescome B. of Oxford. A. D. 1288.		0243 08 00 00 0
Helfton.	S. John Bapt. P			0205 10 06 00 0
Launceston.	Saint Stephen.	Reginald Earle of Cornwall, A. D. 1150.		0014 07 02 00 0
Saint Mary de val.	M			0392 11 2 00 0
Saint Michael de Monte.	M		Blacke Canons, Aug.	
Saint Michael de magno monte.	M		Black Monks of the Angels.	
Sullis Ile.	Saint Nicholas.	William Earle of Cornwall and Morton.	Black Monks of the Angels.	
Saint Syriace.	M		Black Monks.	
Talcarn.	Saint Andrew.		Black Monks.	
Trury.	F		Black Monks of the Angels.	
Tywardreth.	Saint Andrew.		Black Friars.	0151 16 01 00 0

DARBY-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
Darby.	Omnium San- ctorum, Eccl. Collegiat.			l. s. d. ob. q.
Incta Darby.	Beata Ma- ria de Pratis.			0038 14 00 0 0
Darby.	Saint James.	Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.	Blacke Canons.	0018 06 02 0 0
Darby.	Saint Marie.		Black Monks.	
Darby.	Beata Maria.	Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.	Nunnes.	
Darby.	H	The Countesse of Shrewsbury.	Eight poore men, four women.	
Bello-Capite.	Saint Thomas.	Robert the son of Rannulph L. of Alfreton, a Canon there.		0157 10 02 00 0
Bredfall or Brifol Park.	M	Fundator Antecessor Iohannis Diricke, alias Duthik Armigeri.		0010 17 09 00 0
Blend in the Peake	M	Sir Robert Duin Knight.		
Chesterfeild.	Saint Croffe Saint Mary			0019 00 00 00 0
Dala.	Beata Maria or S. Mary.	William Fitz-Ralph Antecessor Gernusij Kingston.		0144 12 00 0
Derelege or Darleigh.	Beata Maria.		Blacke Canons.	0258 14 05 00 0
Fauerwell.	Saint Marie.		Blacke Nunnes.	
Gresly.	Saint George.	William de Lyons called Fitz-Nigel of Gresley.		0039 13 08 0
Pollwerke.	Saint Edith.		Blacke Nunnes.	
Repingdon, alias Repton.	Saint Marie.	Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor. Alij Aimer de Valence & Randalph E. of Chester.	Blacke Canons.	0167 18 02 0
Yeucley or Iue- lay.	P			0107 03 08 00
Yeucley or Iue- lay, and Bar- row.	Præceptorin.			0093 03 04 00 0

DEVON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
Excester.	S. Peter, Episcop.	King Athelfian.	Secular Canons.	l. s. d. ob. q.
Excester.	Saint James.		Blacke Monks.	
Excester.	Saint Nicholas.		Black Monks Benedic.	0154 12 00 00 0
Excester.	Saint John		Grey Friars.	0102 12 09 0
Excester.	S. Nicholas.			0147 21 00 0
Barnstaple.	Saint Mary	Isabel, sonne of Ailred.	Black Monks Bene- dictines Cluniacens.	0129 15 03 00 0
Berdeston.	Magd.		Blacke Canons.	
Buckland.	Saint Mary.	Amice Countesse of Devonshire, Isabel de Fortibus, & Lady of the Isle a benefactor.	Cisterians.	0241 16 09 00 0
Buckfaster.	Saint Marie.		White Monks.	
Canonleigh.	Beata Maria.		Cisterians.	02 2 15 03 0
Clive.	S. Mary Magd.	Almar Earle of Cornwall.	Blacke Canons.	0063 03 10
Cornworthy.	N		Nunnes.	
Cowkyke.	Saint Andrew.	Thomas Earle of Devonshire.	Blacke Monks.	0140 14 5
Crediton.	S. Crucis.		Cisterians.	0298 11 10 00
Cuich.	Saint Andrew.		White Monks.	0381 10 06 00
Dunkifwel.	M			
Ford.	Saint Mary.	Adelise daughter to Baldwin of Oke- hampton, A. D. 1140.		0127 03 04 00 0
Frethelstoke.	Saint Gregory.			

Places	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
Hartland.	S. Nektan the Martyr.	Githa Earle Goodwins wife, Richard Piffa- nensis Archieb. and Geoffrey de Dynan Senior, & Oliver his brother benefactors.	Blacke Canons.	l. s. d. ob. q.
Saint Michael de Monte.	P		Blacke Monks	0306 13 02 00 0
Molery.	Saint Gregory.		Black Monks.	
Newham, alias Newenham.	M	Reginald Mohun, Earle of Dunster, Anno Domini, 1246		0231 14 04 00 0
Othery.	Saint Marie.	John Grandison B. of Excester, tempore Ed. 3.	Blacke Monks.	0303 02 09 0 0
Pilton.	Saint Mary the Virgin.	King Adelfon.	Blacke Monks Benedictines.	0056 12 08 00 0
Plimouth.	P		Grey Friars.	
Plimpton.	Saint Peter	Baldwyn de Reduers, Earle of Devonshire, & Dominus de Insula, in Henry 3. time.	Blacke Canons Augustines.	0212 12 08 00 0
Polloo.	Saint Paul.		Blacke Nunnes.	0170 02 03 00 0
Syon.	Saint Katharine.			
Taustocke.	Saint Mary	Ordolph the son of Ordarg, Earle of De- vonshire, Anno Dom. 961.	Blacke Monks Augustines.	0902 05 07 00 0
Torre.	Saint Burion.	William de Bricever.	White Canons Augustines.	0396 00 11 00 0
Tottenes.	Saint Mary Aliens.	Roger Newman.	Blacke Monks Benedictines.	0124 10 02 00 0
Twynham or Christ Church Twynham.	M	Isabel de Fortibus sometime Countesse of Albemarle and Devonshire, and Lady of the Isle founded it for William de Forti- bus Earle of Albemarle, and Richard de Reduers Earle of Devonshire. A. D. 1161	This is placed also in Hampshire.	

DORSET-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
Dorset.	M	The Ancestors of Sir John Chediok Knight. A Bishops See vnder Adelmu the first Bi- shoppe thereof, A. D. 704. Sunning, another See translated to it by Hermannus Bishophe, tempore Ethelredi Regis. After that by the said Hermannus translated to Salisbury, left for a retiring place to them, tempore Gulielmi Conque- storis, the Church where the Bishops seat was, became a Monastery. Robert Neuill Bishop of Salisbury, a chief founder.	Franciscan Friars.	l. s. d. ob. q.
Shirburne.	Saint Peter.	Orking King of Denmark.	Black Monks Bene- dictines.	0682 14 07 00 0
Abbotesbury.	Saint Peter.		Blacke Monks.	0485 03 05 00 0
Bindon.	Saint Mary.		White Monks. Cisterians.	0229 02 01 00 0
Brydport, alias Birport.	P			0006 00 00 00 0
Brydport, alias Birport.	Saint John Bap.			0008 06 01 00 0
Camestrum.	S. Mary Magd.		White Nunnes.	
Cerne.	Saint Peter S. Adelwold.	M. Camden, saith, Augustin the English Apo- stle. Others, Agelwaldus a rich man. Som say, Almarus E. of Dorset, or rather of Cornwall Aelward a noble Gentleman. A. D. 930.	Blacke Monks.	0623 13 02 00 0
Cranborne.	M			0051 10 04 00 0
S. John Baptif.	H			0119 18 08 0
Kalendarum.	D			0321 11 03 00 0
Beata Maria Magdalen.				
Saint Marke alias Le Gaunts.	H			0112 09 09 00 0
Melcombe.			Blacke Friars.	
Middleton alias Milton.	Saint Mary. S. Saniour.	Athelfannus Rex.	Blacke Monks.	0720 04 01 0
Shafton.				1329 01 03 0 0
Shaftesbury.	Saint Edward Martyr.	Elfguna wife to Edmund King Aelfrids ne- phewes sonne.	Blacke Nunnes Benedictines.	
Tarent.	A Cel.	Richard Peer Bishophe of Sarisbury.	Virgins Votaries.	0239 11 10 0
Warham.	S. Peter. S. Adelwold		Blacke Monks	
Winburn Minster.	N	Cuthburga sister to Ina King of the West- Saxons, and husband to the King of Northumberland, A. D. 713.	Nunnes.	

DURHAM DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
Durham.	S. Cuthbert.	Bishop Aldwin the first builder. William de Carelep B. gathered against the dispersed Monks. Ralph his Successor finished what he had begun. N. Fernham Bishop Thomas Mallescom Prior enlarged it. A. D. 741. William Skirlaw Bishop builded that part called Galilee.	Blacke Monks.	l. s. d. ob. q.
				1615 14 10 00 0

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Durham in Oxonia.	—	! <i>Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.</i>	—	0115 04 04 0 0
Chelster in the Street.	—	C { <i>Anthony Bec Bishop and Patriarke of Jerusalem.</i>	{ <i>SA Deane and</i>	—
Egleston.	—	M { <i>Couan Earle of Brittainne, and Richmond, & after by Ralph de Molton.</i>	{ <i>7. Prebends.</i>	—
Fincheale.	—	Cella { <i>R. brother vnto that rich Bishop, Hugh Pudsey.</i>	—	0146 19 02 00
Gateshead.	Saint Edmund.	H <i>Robert Bishoppe of Durham.</i>	—	0109 00 04 00 0
Graham.	—	H <i>Hieu, a religious woman.</i>	—	0097 06 03 ob 0
Hartlepoole.	—	M <i>Hieu, a religious woman.</i>	—	—
Iarrow.	—	Cella { <i>Abbot Ceolfrið, in the 16. year of K. Eefrið</i>	—	0040 07 08 0 0
Kepey.	Saint Fgidius.	H { <i>Antecessor Episcop. Dunelm.</i>	—	0167 02 11 00 0
Lanchester.	—	C <i>Anthony Bec Bishop of Durham.</i>	Dean & Prebends.	—
Latham.	—	Cella	—	0053 15 10 00 0
Monkes Were-mouth.	Saint Peters.	— M <i>Benedictus Biscop.</i>	—	—
Monkes Were-mouth.	Saint Paul.	— M <i>Benedictus Biscop.</i>	—	—
Nessham.	—	N <i>Fundator Domini Dagres Antecessor.</i>	Nunnes.	0026 09 09 0 0
Sherborne.	—	H <i>Hugh Pudsey, B. and E. of Northumberland.</i>	—	0135 07 0 0 0
Standedrop.	—	C <i>Fundator Domini Neuill Antecessor.</i>	—	0126 05 10 0 0
Stampford or Sampford.	—	Cella	—	0036 17 0 0 0
Warmouth.	—	Cella	—	0026 0 0 0 0

ESSEX.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.			
				L	s.	d.	ob q
Colchester.	S. John Baptist. — M	Eudo Dapifer Henriciprimi.	Blacke Monkes.	0008	01	08	0 0
Colchester.	Saint Botolph. — P	—	—	0113	12	08	0 0
Colchester.	Santia Crucis. — F	—	Fratres Sancta Crucis.	0007	07	08	0 0
Colchester.	S. Mary Magd. H	Eudo Dapifer.	Lepröf.	—	—	—	—
Barking.	Saint Mary. } M & S. Eudburg.	—	Blacke Nunnes.	1084	06	02	ob q
Barking.	— H	The Ancestors of Sibel de Felton Abbess of Barking.	—	—	—	—	—
Bierdon.	— P	—	—	0031	05	01	ob 0
Bileigh.	— M	First by Robert Moruile, after by Hervey de Monte-Merenciano.	—	0196	06	05	0 0
Blakamore.	Saint Lawrence. — M	Jordan de Samford.	—	0085	04	07	0 0
Brenthwood.	S. Thomas chap	Isabel Countesse of Bedford.	—	—	—	—	—
Chelmsford.	the martir } pell. Domus	—	Friers Preachers.	0009	06	05	0 0
Chich.	Saint Peter } M Saint Oth.	Richard B. of London, Anno Dom. 1120.	Blacke Canons.	0758	05	08	0 0
Coggeshall.	Saint Marie. — M	K. Stephen, Nephew to William the Conqueror	White Monkes.	0298	08	0 0	0 0
Dunmowe.	Saint Marie. — P	Inga a Noble Lady, A. D. 1111.	Blacke Canons.	0173	02	04	0 0
Earles-colne.	Saint Marie. — P	Albericus de Vere.	Blacke Monkes of Abingdon.	0175	14	08	ob 0
Ginge-attefione.	— P	—	Blacke Canons.	—	—	—	—
Halldide fuec	— C	Robert Bourchier.	—	0023	16	05	ob
Halldide.	— P	Robert de Vere Earle of Oxford, tempore Henrici tertii.	Blacke Monkes.	0157	03	02	ob 0
Hatfield Regis.	— P	John Haukewood Knight, John Oliuer Esquier, and Thomas Newenton, Esquier.	—	0029	12	10	0 0
Heueningha castel.	— P	The Ancestors of Sir Roger Wentworth, in the right of his Wife.	—	0027	07	11	0 0
Horkisleghe.	— M	—	—	0016	13	04	0 0
Ilford.	— H	—	—	0141	14	08	0 0
Lyghes.	— P	Richard Grauefend, Bishop of London, and Richard Iselham Priest, Anno Dom. 1292.	Carmelites or White Friers.	0026	00	08	0 0
Maldon.	— F	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mercy	This is also placed in Hertfordshire, because it is doubtfull in which of these 2 it is.	Saint Helen. } P Alien.	—	—	—	—	—
Newport.	— H	Roger Fitz-Ranulph.	—	—	—	—	—
Saint Olfre.	— M	Richard B. of London, A.D. 1520.	Regular Canons.	0023	10	08	0 0
Pipewell or Pritwell.	Saint Mary. — P	—	Blacke Monkes.	0758	05	08	0 0
Plecy.	— C	—	—	0194	14	03	ob 0
Staneigate.	— P	The Predecessors of the Prior of Lewis.	Blacke Monkes.	0139	03	10	0 0
				0043	08	06	0 0

Pla ces.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob q
Stratford Langthorne.	Saint Mary. — M	Gulielmus Mountfitchet primus Fundator, & postea Richardus secundus Rex Anglie, regni 20.	—	0573 15 06 ob q
Thoby, —	— P	Michael de Capra Knight: the ancestors of John Mounteny, Fitzherbert and Iermyn.	—	0075 06 10 ob 0
Tiptree. —	— M	The Ancestors of Anthony Darcy.	—	0022 16 04 0 0
Tillic. —	Saint Marie. — M	Maurice the sonne of Gilberri.	White Monks Cl. 2 Heretians.	0177 09 04 0 0
Trenhale, alias Trenchale. }	— P	—	—	0070 19 03 ob 0
Walden parua. }	Saint Iacob. — M	Galfriduus de Magna-villa.	Blacke Monkes.	0406 15 11 0 0
Waltham. —	Santa Crucis. — M	King Harold the last; after by King Henry the second.	Blacke Canons.	1079 12 01 0 0

GLOUCESTER-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l s. d. ob. q.
Gloucester.	Saint Peter. — M	King <i>Offick</i> of Northumberland first made it a Nunnerie: afterward <i>Aldred</i> Archb. of <i>Torke</i> , and B. of <i>Worcester</i> , A.D. 682.	{ Blacke Monkes 2 Benedictines. }	1550 04 05 ob 0
<i>Juxta</i> Gloucester.	Saint <i>Oswald</i> . — P	<i>Egelfeda</i> Daughter of King <i>Elfred</i> , first Foundresse, Anno Domini, 910.	{ Blacke Canons, ally Friers Preachers. }	0090 10 02 ob 0
Gloucester.	Saint <i>Barth</i> . H	—	—	0044 07 02 ob 0
Gloucester.	Saint <i>Barth</i> . H	—	—	0025 11 02 00 0
Gloucester.	— F	Queen <i>Eleanor</i> wife to King <i>Edward</i> the first, Sir <i>John Giffard</i> , and Sir <i>Thomas Barkley</i> Knights, King <i>Athelstan</i> .	{ Carmelites or white Friers. }	—
Gloucester.	—	—	Canons Augutines	—
Barkley.	— N	—	Nunnes.	—
Bromfield.	— P	—	Canons.	0078 19 04 60 0
Cirencester.	{ S. John & S. Laurence. } H	The Abbot of <i>Cirencester</i> .	—	—
Cirencester.	Saint <i>Marie</i> . M	{ First the Saxons, afterward King <i>Henry</i> 2 the first.	Blacke Canons.	1051 07 01 ob 0
Dierhest <i>sive</i> Derehest.	—	First by King <i>Etheldred</i> , after by <i>Edward Confessor</i> , after made a Cell to S. <i>Dennys</i> in <i>France</i> , by <i>Edward</i> King of <i>England</i> .	Blacke Monkes.	—
Flaxley in the forrest of Dean.	— M	<i>Roger</i> Earle of <i>Hereford</i> in King <i>Henry</i> 2 the seconds time.	Cisterrians.	0112 03 01 60 0
Hailes.	— M	<i>Richard</i> Earle of <i>Cornwall</i> , and King of <i>Romans</i> , A.D. 1246.	—	0357 07 07 ob 0
Kingswood.	Saint <i>Marie</i> M	<i>Barkley</i> of <i>Durley</i> .	White Monkes.	0254 05 10 0 0
Lanthonie nere.	Saint <i>Marie</i> . P	<i>Milo</i> Earle of <i>Hereford</i> .	{ Blacke Canons 2 Augutines }	0748 19 11 ob 0
Lanthonie parva in the Marches of Wales.	— P	—	—	0112 00 05 0 0
Minching-hamptō	— N	—	Nunnes.	—
Niwetton.	— H	—	Blacke Monks	—
Quinnington.	—	—	—	—
Stanley.	Saint <i>Leonard</i> , M	{ <i>Mandevil</i> Earle of <i>Essex</i> , King <i>Henry</i> the 2 second.	—	0137 07 01 ob 0
Stow.	— H	<i>Almar</i> Earle of <i>Cornwall</i> .	—	0126 0 08 0 0
Teuxbury.	Saint <i>Mary</i> . M	<i>Odo</i> & <i>Dado</i> , men of great power in <i>Mercia</i> founded it at <i>Cranborne</i> , a fieward removed by <i>Robert Fitzhamon</i> to <i>Teuxbury</i> , A.D. 717, made first a Priory, after an Abbey, A.D. 1102.	{ Blacke Monkes 2 2 Benedictines. }	0025 14 08 0 0
Teuxbury.	—	—	—	1598 01 03 0 0
Westbury.	— C	For <i>Richard</i> Duke of <i>Torke</i> , and <i>Edmund</i> Earle of <i>Rutland</i> : <i>K. Edward</i> gaue them the Hospitall of S. <i>Laurence</i> by <i>Bristow</i> .	Deane and Canons.	1232 14 0 0 0
Winchelcombe.	Saint <i>Mary</i> . M	<i>Kennulph</i> the Mercian King.	Blacke Monkes.	0756 11 09 00 0

HAMP-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Winchester.	{ S. <i>Swithin</i> , } M	<i>Lucius</i> the first Christian King, after by <i>Kenelwalch</i> , King of the West Saxons,	Blacke Monkes.	1507 17 02 00 q
Winchester.	{ S. <i>Peter</i> , } N	<i>Aelfred</i> and <i>Edgar circa annum, 670</i> , <i>Aelfrid</i> the wife of King <i>Aelfred</i> , after } by King <i>Edward</i> the first.	Blacke Nunnes.	0179 07 02 • 0
Winchester.	{ S. <i>Edm^g</i> . } F	<i>Peter of Winchester</i> Parson of Saint <i>Hel-</i> <i>lens</i> in Winchester, A.D. 1278.	{ Carmelites or White Friars. }	
Winchester.	— F	—	Austine Friars.	
Winchester.	— F	<i>K. Henry</i> the third,	Grey-Friars.	
Winchester.	— F	<i>Peter of Rochu</i> .	Blacke Friars.	

Inter

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
<i>Iuxta</i> Winchester.	<i>Beata Maria.</i> —C	<i>William Wickham</i> Bishop of Winchester.		0639 08 07 00
<i>Iuxta</i> Winchester.	—H	<i>Henry Beauford</i> Cardinal of Winchester founded it, and gave it lands to the value of £58. l. x s. 4. d. And <i>S. John de Fodering</i> bridge an Hospital was given to it.	Two Chaplens. 35 Poore Men. 3 Women.	
<i>Iuxta</i> Southampton, Leterley, alias <i>Leto loco.</i>	<i>S. Edward</i> } M	<i>Henry the third, and Peter de Rupibus.</i>	Augustine Eriens.	0160 02 09 0b 0
<i>Iuxta</i> Southampton.	<i>S. Maria.</i> } P	<i>K. Richard the first, called Corde-Lion,</i> Anno Dom. 1179.	Blacke Canons.	0091 09 00 0
Southampton.	<i>Beata Maria.</i> } H	Confirmed by Pope <i>Alexander,</i> Anno Dom. 1179.		0016 16 02 0b 0
Apple-durwell, in the Isle of Wight.	—P	<i>Nicholas Spenser, and Margerie</i> his wife.		
Badi illey.	Præceptoria.	—M.		0118 16 7 00
Bello-loco.	—M.	King <i>John.</i>		0428 06 08 00 0
Bromere.	<i>S. Trinity.</i> } P	<i>Baldwin Earle of Rivers, and Devonshire.</i>	Blacke Canons.	0200 05 01 0b 0
	<i>S. Michael.</i> }			
Chritwynhams, the Christ-church of Twynham.	—P	<i>Isabel de Fortibus,</i> sometime Countesse of <i>Albemarle</i> and <i>Devonshire,</i> and Lady of the Isle founded it for <i>William de Fortibus</i> Earle of <i>Albemarle,</i> and <i>Richard de Redners</i> Earle of <i>Devonshire,</i> A.D. 1161.	This is placed also in <i>Devonshire.</i>	0544 06 00 00 0
Caresbroc in the Isle of Wight.	<i>S. Mary Magd.</i> —P		Blacke Monks.	
Deretford in the Isle of Wight.	<i>S. Elizabetha.</i> —P	King <i>Edward the third.</i>		
Hamele.	<i>Saint Andrew.</i> —P		Grey Monks.	
Hide.	<i>Saint Peter.</i> } M	First King <i>Alfride,</i> after performed by <i>K. Edward Senior,</i> and lastly the Monks themselves removed from the old, temple <i>Henrici primi.</i>	Blacke Monks.	0865 01 06 0b q.
	<i>S. Grimbald.</i> }			
Mottifount.	<i>S. Anne Trinitatis.</i> —P	<i>Remolph Flammar</i> Bishop of <i>Durham,</i> <i>Richard de Riparys</i> Earle of <i>Devonshire,</i> and <i>William de Bruere,</i> tempore <i>Gulielmi Ruff.</i>	Blacke Canons or Augustines of <i>Berton.</i>	0167 15 08 0b 0
Portsmouth.	A Church and Hospital.	<i>Peter de Rupibus.</i>		0033 19 05 0b 0
Quarrer in the Isle of Wight.	<i>S. Mary Magd.</i> —M	<i>Baldwine</i> Earle of <i>Devonshire,</i> and <i>Richard</i> his sonne. About the time of King <i>Stephen.</i>	White Monks.	0184 01 10 0 0
Redford or Red-bridge.	—M			
Romsey.	—N	King <i>Edgar,</i> and Earle <i>Alwyn.</i>	Nunnes.	0528 08 10 0b 0
Southwyke.	<i>Saint Mary.</i> —P	<i>William Pontifarge,</i> sue <i>Pont-le-arch,</i> and <i>William Dany</i> Normans. Also <i>William de Pontey</i> a Benefactor.	Regular Canons.	0314 17 10 0b 0
Tychefield.	<i>Saint Anne.</i> —M	<i>Peter de Rupibus</i> Bishop of <i>Winchester.</i>		0280 19 10 0b 0
Whorwell.	<i>S. Anne Crucis.</i> —N	Queen <i>Alfrith.</i>	Blacke Nunnes.	0403 12 10 0 0
Wyntney.	<i>Saint Peter.</i> —P			0059 01 00 00 0
	<i>S. Elizabetha.</i> —H	<i>Henry Blois</i> brother to King <i>Stephen.</i>		0112 17 04 0b 0
	<i>S. Anne Crucis.</i> —H			0084 04 02 0 0

HEREFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Hereford.	<i>S. Mary</i> } Epā	<i>Atifrid</i> a petty King of the Country.	Secular Canons.	
	<i>S. Ethelbert.</i> } tus.	<i>Reineim</i> Bishop, tempore <i>Henrici primi.</i>		
Hereford.	<i>S. Juliac.</i> —P	<i>Henry Penbrigg.</i>	Grey Friars.	0121 03 03 0b 0
Hereford.	<i>S. Peter S. Paul.</i> —P	<i>John Penbrigg.</i>	Blacke Monks.	0075 07 05 0b 0
Acornbury.	<i>S. Katherine.</i> —N		VWhite Nunnes.	
Barrone.			Blacke Monks	0065 11 11 00 0
Clyfford.	<i>Saint Marie.</i> —P		Blacke Monks.	0118 00 02 0 0
Dore.	<i>Saint Mary.</i> —M	<i>Robert Lord of Ewias.</i>	White Monks.	0015 08 09 00 0
Flancford.	—M	<i>Richard Talbot.</i>	Regular Canons.	
Kilpeke.	—P			0022 05 00 00 0
Ledbury.	<i>S. Katherine.</i> —H	<i>John</i> Bishop of <i>Hereford.</i>	Blacke Monks of <i>Roding.</i>	
Leomenstre.	<i>Saint Jacob.</i> —P	<i>Merewald</i> a King of the Mercians, and <i>K. Henry</i> the first.	VWhite Nunnes.	0023 17 08 0
Lymbroke.	—N		Blacke Canons.	0083 10 02
Wiggemore.	<i>S. Iacobo.</i> —P			0086 14 8
Wormestly.	—P		Blacke Monks.	
Hertford, a Cell to <i>S. Albans.</i>	—P			
<i>Saint Albans.</i>	<i>S. Alban</i> } M	<i>Offa</i> King of the Mercians, Anno Dom. 795.	Blacke Monks.	2510 06 01 0b q.
	<i>Martyr.</i> }			

Beluero

HERTFORD-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Beluero, a Cell to <i>S. Albans.</i>	<i>S. Saint Mary.</i> } P		Blacke Monks.	0135 05 10 00 0
Bolco, neere <i>Flamsted.</i>	<i>S. Egidius.</i> —N		Nunnes.	0046 16 01 0b 0
Burton.	<i>Saint Marie.</i> —P		Monks.	
Binham, in Com. <i>Norff.</i> A Cell to <i>S. Albans.</i>	—P			0160 01 00 00 0
Cheffhunte.	—N	<i>Henr. Rex Anglia, Dominus Hibernie, Dux Norm. Aquitan. Comes Anged.</i> confirmed <i>Sheffrehunt Moniales totam terram Dom. ten. cum pertinentiis suis qua Canonicis de Cathala, quos amoveri fecimus. Act. Westm. 11. Aug. 124 Regni nostri.</i>	Nunnes.	0027 06 8
Chille.	—N		Blacke Nunnes.	
Chiltece.	—N		Blacke Nunnes.	
Hatfeild Peucere, in Com. <i>Essex.</i> A Cell to <i>Saint Albans.</i>	<i>Saint Mary.</i> —P	Daughter of <i>Ingelrick,</i> and wife to <i>Pencerel,</i> in <i>K. William</i> the Conquerors time.	Blacke Monks of <i>Saint Albans.</i>	0083 19 07 0 0
Hychin.	—F	<i>K. Edward</i> the second; <i>John Blunnil,</i> and <i>Adam Rouse,</i> and <i>John Cobham.</i>	Carmelites or White Friars.	0004 09 04
Langley Regis.	—F	<i>Robert,</i> sonne of <i>Roger Helle Baron.</i>	Prenching Friars.	0150 14 08 0 0
Langley, vide <i>Leicester-shire.</i>	—N	<i>Founder Antecessor uxoris Francis Bigot Militis, & eiusdem uxoris Sororum.</i>	Nunnes.	
Mersey.	<i>S. Helen.</i> } Alien	<i>Roger Fitz-Rannph.</i>		
Mirdiall.	<i>Saint Mary.</i> —P		Blacke Canons.	
Monkerton, in Dioc. <i>S. David.</i> A Cell to <i>S. Albans.</i>	—P			0113 02 06 0b q.
New-biggings infra <i>william de Huchyn.</i>	—P			0015 01 11 00 0
Roylton, alias <i>Crox Rabayfa.</i>	<i>S. John Baptif.</i> } P	<i>Eustach de Marc</i> Knight, Lord of <i>Nucels,</i> and <i>Radulphus de Rancester,</i> and others renewed it.	Canons.	0106 03 01 00 0
	<i>S. Thom. Martyr.</i> }			
Roylton.	<i>S. John.</i> } H			0005 06 10 00 0
	<i>S. James Apostles.</i> }			
Roweney.	A Free Chappel or Hospital.			0013 10 09 0 0
Sopewell.	<i>Saint Mary.</i> —N	The Abbots of <i>Saint Albans.</i>	Blacke Nunnes.	0068 08 00 00 0
Thele.	—C	<i>William</i> Bishop of <i>London.</i>	A Master, 4 Chaplens.	
Tynmouth, in com. <i>Norbb.</i> a Cell to <i>S. Albans.</i>	—P	<i>Founder Antecessor Ducis Norfolcia.</i>		0511 04 01 0b 0
Ware.	—P	The Progenitors of King <i>Richards</i> mother.		
Wymondley.	—P	<i>Richard Argenten.</i>	Canons.	0037 10 06 0b 0

HUNTINGDON-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Huntingdon.	<i>Saint Mary.</i> —P	<i>Eustachius Louetot.</i>	Blacke Canons Augustines.	0232 0 00 0b
Huntingdon.	<i>S. John Baptif.</i> —H	Founded by <i>David</i> Earle of <i>Huntingdon,</i> Lord of <i>Connington,</i> tempore <i>H. 2.</i>		0006 07 08 00 0
Hinchingbroke.	—N	<i>William</i> Conqueror, in place of <i>Elstefy</i> by him suppressed.	Nunnes.	0019 09 02 00 0
<i>S. Neot,</i> A Cell to <i>Becco</i> in <i>Nor-mandy.</i>	—P	<i>E. Aelfric</i> first Rofia de <i>Claster.</i> A.D. 1113.	Blacke Monks.	0256 01 03 0b 0
Ramsey.	<i>Saint Mary</i> } M	Earle <i>Aylwin,</i> Anno Dom. 969.	Blacke Monks of <i>Benedictines.</i>	1983 15 03 00 q.
	<i>S. Benedict.</i> }	<i>Simon 2.</i> Earle of <i>Huntingdon:</i> Kings of <i>Scots,</i> and Lords of <i>Connington,</i> in the raigne of King <i>Stephen.</i>	White Monks of <i>Cisterians.</i>	0199 11 08 00 0
Saltry.	<i>Saint Mary.</i> —M		Blacke Canons Augustines.	0046 00 05 0b 0
Stoneley.	—P	<i>Mandenite</i> Earle of <i>Essex.</i>	Blacke Monks of <i>Benedictines.</i>	
<i>S. Yvo,</i> A Cell to <i>Ramsey.</i>	—P	<i>Earle Adelmus</i> in the raigne of <i>Edmund Ironside.</i>		

KENT.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Canterbury. Christ-Church.	<i>Saint Trinity.</i> —P	<i>Faithfull</i> beleaving Romans, after <i>Ethelred</i> King of <i>Kent.</i>	Blacke Monks	1489 04 09 00 0

Hunt.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob q
Intra Canter-	Saint Angu-	King Ethelbert, and after King Edward	Blacke Monkes.	1412 04 07 ob q
bury.	line.	the second.		
Intra Canter-	S. Gregory, or	Lowfran Archbishop there.	Blacke Canons.	0166 04 05 ob 0
bury.	S. George.		Black Nunnes.	0038 19 07 ob 0
Intra Canter-	Saint Sepul-		Grey-Friers.	0010 13 08 ob 0
bury.	chers.	King Henry the third.	Poorc Priests.	0031 07 10 0 0
Canterbury.				0032 11 01 ob q
Intra Canter-	Saint Laurence.			
bury.	H			
Canterbury extra	Saint Jacob.			
Muros.	H			
Aileford.		Richard Lord Grey of Codnor, in the	Carmelites or	
	F	time of King Henry the third, Anno	White Friers.	
Alford.		Dom. 1240.	Priests.	
Beigham.	Saint Marie.	Sir R. Fogge Knight.	White Canons.	0152 19 04 ob
	P	The Ancestors of Thomas Sakgile, Alij		
Belfon or		Sir Robert Thornham.	Blacke Canons.	0081 01 06 0 0
Bislington.	Saint Mary.	John Mansfell Prapostum Beuerlacen-		
	P	for King Henry the third, and Elea-		
		nor his wife.		
Bradgate.		Robert de Bradgate, T. Iselin Cleric. and	White Canons.	0142 08 09 0 0
	C	John at Orfe.		
Bradefoke.	S. Radegundis.	Hugh the first Abbot	White Monkes.	0218 19 10 0 0
	M			
Boxley.	Saint Marie	William de Ipres a Fleming, Earle of Kent,	Blacke Canons.	0128 01 09 ob 0
	M	tempore Regis Stephani.		
Cobham.		John Baron Cobham.		0400 08 00 0 0
Combewell.	S. Mary Magd.		Nunnes.	
	N	King Edward the third, Anno Regni Ang-	Blacke Nunnes.	0232 01 05 ob 0
Dareford.		the 30. Francis vero 17.		
Daunton.			Blacke Monkes.	0159 18 06 ob q
Douer.	Saint Marie.	King Henry the first.		
	P			
Douer, Domus	Saint Martin	Henricus tertius Rex Anglie.	Knights Templers.	0023 18 09 ob q
Dei.	H			
Eastbridge.		King Henry the first gave for William		
	H	his Father, quicquid Robertus Briu		
		dederat Ecclesie de Efteburch, &		
		fratribus ibidem Regularibus.		
Elftet.		Domneua.	Nunnes.	
Feuertham.	S. Sanctoris.	King Stephen and Mand his wife.	Blacke Monkes	0286 12 06 ob 0
	M		Cluniacenses.	
Folkestone.	S. Eanfwide.	Eanfwide daughter to Eadbald King of	Blacke Nunnes.	0063 00 07 0 0
	N	Kent: After Roger Segrove and Iulian		
		his wife, and John Clinton Baron.		
Greenwich.		King Henry the seventh.	Observant Friers.	
	F		Queen Elizabeths	
Greenwich.		William Lambard.	poore people.	
	C		Frier Minors.	
Greenwich.		K. Edward the third, Anno Regni 55.		
	F			
Harballdowne.	Alien	John Norbury.		
	H	John Stratford, or Stafford, Archbishop		
		of Canterbury.		0109 07 02 00 0
Heyham.			Blacke Nunnes.	
Horton.	Saint John		Blacke Monkes	
	P		Cluniacenses.	0111 16 07 ob 0
Langdon.	S. Thom. Martyr		White Canons.	0056 06 09 0 0
	M		Blacke Canons	0362 07 07 0 0
Leedes.	Saint Nicholus.	Robert Crenetqueur.	Auguftines.	
	P			0186 09 00 0 0
Leffes upon	S. Angulin or	Richard de Lucie, Chiefe Justice of Eng-	Blacke Canons.	
Thames.	S. Th. Martyr.	land. Anno Dom. 1179.		
	P			
Lewefham.	Alien	John Norburie.	Blacke Monkes.	
	P			
Maidstone.	Omnis S. infor.	Boniface of Satoy.		0159 07 10 00 0
	C		Blacke Nunnes.	0245 10 02 ob 0
Malling.	Saint Marie.	Gundulph Bishophe of Rochester.		0060 13 00 ob 0
	N		Carmelites or	
Mortynden.			White Friers.	
	M			
Newenden.		Built at the charges of Sir Thomas Al-		0091 16 08 ob 0
	F	lenger Knight, A.D. 1241.		
Northgate.	Saint Iohn			0063 06 08 0 0
	H			
West Peccam.	Preceptoris	Iohannes Culpepper, Iustic. de communi		
		Banco, Anno 10. H. 4.		
Reculer.		Buffan an English Saxon.		
Rochester.	Saint Andrew.	Bishop Gundulph a Norman, A.D. 1080.	Blacke Canons.	0486 11 05 0 0
	M	King Henry the third confirmed it, and		
		Edward the third discharged them of	Lepros.	
		all Taxes, Tallages, &c.		
Rumney.				
	P			
Sandwich.	Alien	Henry Cowfeld an Almane, Anno Dom.	Carmelites or	
	F	1272.	White Friers.	
		Thomas Ralyng Clerke, William Swanne		
		Clerke, Iohn Goddard and Richard		
		Long.		
Strode or Strowde.		Robert Glanville.		0052 19 10 ob 0
	H			0087 03 03 ob 0
Swingfield.	Preceptoris			
		Sexburga wife of Ercombert King of Kent	Nunnes.	0129 07 10 ob 0
	N	or East-Angles, Anno Dom. 710.		
Shepey.	S. Sexburg.			

Shepey

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob q
Shepey.	Saint Marie.	William de-la-Poole Marquess of Suffolke,		
		by the name of William de-la-Poole		
Tunbridge.	S. Mary Magd.	Earle of Suffolke.	Blacke Canons.	0169 10 03 0 0
Wingham.		Richard Clare Earle of Gloucester.	Canons.	
		Founded by Archbishop Peccham.		
Wye.		John Kempe Archbischoppe of Canterbu-	Priests.	0093 02 0 0b 0
		rie.		
	Saint Mary			
	S. Swithin.	Sir Iohn Segraue.		

LANCA SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
LANCASTER.	Saint Marie.	John Earle of Morton, and confirmed by	Monkes.	
		him afterward when hee was King of		
LANCASTER.		England.	Monkes Aliens.	
Burrough.	A Cell	Roger of Poitiers.	Canons.	0129 01 00 0 0
Calder.				
Cartmelle.		Founder Antecessor Domini de Copeland.		
		William Marshall the elder, Earle of Pem-		
		broke for King Henry the second, Anno		
		Dom. 1188.		0113 19 07 00 0
Cokerland.		Ranulph de Meschines.	Monks Cluniacks.	0228 05 04 ob 0
Conyfhed.		Founder Antecessor Gualtmi Pennington.		0124 02 01 0 0
Furnes.		Stephen Earle of Bullen, afterward King	Monks Cisterians.	
		of England.		
Holland.		Robert Holland and Mand his wife. Alij		
	P	Antecessores Comitiss Derbie.		0061 03 04 0 0
Horneby.		Founder Antecessor Domini Mounteagle.		
Ieruaux.	Cella			
Manchester.		The Gresleyes Ancestors to Thomas West		
	C	Lord La Ware, tempore H. 5.		
Penwortham.				
	M			0114 16 09 00 0
Whalley.		The Ancestors of the Lacyes Earles of	White Monkes.	0551 04 06 00 0
	M	Lincolne, Anno Dom. 1296.		

LEICESTER-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Leicester.	Saint Mary.	Robert de Bosu, Earle of Leicester.	Blacke Canons or	1062 00 04 ob q
	M		Friers Preachers.	
Intra Leicester	Saint Mary.	Henry Duke of Lancaster.		0023 12 11 0 0
Castle.	C			
Bredon, A Cell		Founder Domini Regis Progenitor Alij	Blacke Canons.	0025 08 01 0 0
S Oswald.		Almar Earle of Cornwall.		0020 15 07 00 0
Bradley.			Lepros.	0265 10 02 0 q
Burton.		Mowbrayer Sandby a common contributi-		
		on ouer all England.		
Canwell.		The Ancestors of the Lord Lisle.		0025 10 03 00 0
Croxton.		The Lord Barkleyes Ancestors.	Præmonstratenses.	0458 19 11 ob q
Castledonington.	S. Iohn Baptif.		White Monkes.	0003 13 04 0 0
Cumbe.	Saint Mary.		Blacke Canons.	
Cale.				
Dalby-Rothley	Preceptoris.			
Heyther.				0231 07 10 00 0
Garradon.		Founder Antecessor nunc Comitiss Oxford.		0186 15 02 ob 0
Gracedew, neere				
Donington.		Roisia wife of Bertram de Verdon.	Nunnes.	0101 08 02 ob 0
Gerewerden.	Saint Mary.		White Monkes.	
Hinkley.	P Alien			
Kirkby Bellers.		Roger Belers, and Auschis wife.		0178 07 10 00 q
Launda.		Richard Basset Dioc. Lincoln.	Blacke Canons.	0510 16 05 ob q
		Founder Antecessor uxoris Frane.		
		Rigot Mil. & eiusdem uxoris Sora-	Nunnes.	0034 06 02 0 0
		rum.		
Litterworth.	Saint Iohn.			0 26 09 5 0 0
Noui-Operis.				0595 7 04 0 0
Olnefton, or				0173 18 09 00 q
Ofelnefton.		Robert Grimald.		
Staue.			Blacke Nunnes.	
Vinecroft.				0101 03 10 ob 0
Werewerden.		Roger Quincy Earle of Winton.	Blacke Canons.	
	Saint Ursula.			0008 00 00 00 0

LIN.

LINCOLNE SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Lincoln Episcopium.	Saint Marie. — M	M. Odo de Kilkeny, a Scottishman, A.D. 1269.	Secular Canons.	
Lincolne.	— F		5 Carmelites or 2 White Friars.	
Lincolne.	Saint August. — F		Friars Eremites.	
Lincolne.	— F	John Pickering of Stampwike.	Friars Minors.	
Intra Lincolne.	S. Katherine. — P	Robert de Caneto Bishop of Lincolne.	5 White Canons and 2 Nuns Gilbertines.	0270 01 03 00 0
Aluingham.	Saint Mary. — P	Anthony de Bec Bishop of Durham and Patriarch of Jerusalem.		0141 15 00 00 0
Balwatus Aquile.	—			0124 02 00 00 0
Bello-vero, sine Beauvoir.	Saint Marie. —	Ralph de Todeney.	5 Blacke Monkes of S. Albans.	0129 17 06 00 0
Berlinges.	— M	Radulphus de Haya.		0307 16 06 00 0
Bolyngton.	Saint Marie — M		5 White Canons and 2 Nuns Gilbertines.	0187 07 09 00 0
Boston.	— M	S. Botolph in the Saxons time.		
Boston.	— F	Sir Orby, A.D. 1300.	5 Carmelites or white Friars.	
Boston Intra Mare.	Saint Mary. — P	T. Morley Knight, John Bacon Esquier, John Hagon, Thomas Hoke de Shynham, and John Hyrd of Boston.		
Boston.	Beata Maria. — C			0024 00 00 00 0
Boston.	Corpus Christi. — C			0032 00 00 00 0
Boston.	Saint Peter. — C			0010 13 04 00 0
Bradney.	Saint Oswald. — M	Confirmed by William de Gaunt, sonne and heire of Gilbert de Gaunt, Anno Dom. 1115.		429 07 00 00 0
Brunne.	Blacke Canons. —			0101 11 00 00 0
Byggerd.	— P			0038 13 08 00 0
Cateley, or Catlin.	Saint Marie. — M	John Spaule Esquier.	5 White Canons & 2 Nuns Gilbertines.	
Croyland or Crowland.	— M	Aethelbald King of the Mercians, Anno Dom. 716. It was new built at the benivolence of the whole land, given vpon pardon for their finnes.	Blacke Monkes.	1217 05 11 00 0
Elsham.	— P	William Dyne.	Blacke Canons.	0083 17 10 00 0
Eppworth in the Isle of Ashholme.	5 A Conuental Houfe. — N	Thomas Mowbray Earle of Nottingham & Marshall of England.	Carthusians.	0290 14 07 00 0
Fosse.	— N	Mauritius de Creon Baron.	Nunnes.	0008 05 04 00 0
Frisetun.	—		Blacke Monkes.	
Glamfordbridge in Parochia de Wrayby.	— H	William Tirwhit.		
Goykewell.	— N		Nunnes.	0019 18 06 00 0
Greenfeld.	Saint Mary. — N	Dudon de Gronerby.	Blacke Nunnes.	0079 15 01 00 0
Grimmysby.	Saint Leonard. — N	Robert Grested Bishoppe of Lincolne, and Thomas Hesterton Knight.	Blacke Nunnes.	0012 03 07 00 0
Grimmesby.	5 S. Augustine, & S. T. cloff. — M	Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.	Blacke Canons.	0098 08 04 00 0
Hagneby.	— M	Herbert of Orbea or Orreby.	5 White Canons, & 2 Nuns Gilbertines.	0088 05 05 00 0
Hauerholin.	Saint Mary. — M	Alexander Bishoppe of Lincolne.		0058 13 04 00 0
Hauings.	— N			0042 11 03 00 0
Hunston or Humberton.	5 Our Lady & S. Peter. — M	Fundator Domini Regis Progenitor.		014 13 04 00 0
Irford.	— M		White Monkes.	0038 13 11 00 0
Kirksted.	Saint Marie. — M	Hugh Britay, Philip de Palisby, John Gifford Clerke.		0138 04 09 00 0
Kyme.	— M			
Letherstoke.	— M			
Leyborne.	Our Lady — M	Robert Fitz Gilbert.	White Monkes.	0057 13 05 00 0
Louthparke.	Saint Mary. — M			0169 05 06 00 0
Markeby.	— P			0163 17 06 00 0
Newebo.	— M			0115 11 08 00 0
Newhouse.	S. Marciall. —	Peter de Gaulia.	5 White Canons, the first house of the Order Premonstratenses in England.	
Newnersby, or Nun-ormesby.	— P		5 White Canons & 2 Nuns Gilbertines.	0098 08 00 00 0
Newsom.	— M			0114 01 04 00 0
Newsted neere Stansford.	— M		Gilbertines.	0042 01 03 00 0
Newsted neere Ashholme.	— P			0055 11 08 00 0
Noton, or Noton-Park.	S. Mary Magd. — M	Robert D'Arcie.	Blacke Canons.	0052 19 02 00 0
Nun-Cotton.	Saint Mary. — P		5 White Canons and 2 Nunnes.	0046 17 07 00 0
Oxeneyes.	—		Blacke Canons.	
Raueston.	Saint Augustin. — C			

Reusesby

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Reusesby, or Reuyfwy.	— M	William Romare.	Nunnes.	0349 04 10 00 0
Sempringham.	Saint Gilbert. — M	Saint Gilbert beginner of the said Order.	5 White Canons & 2 Nuns Gilbertines.	0359 12 07 00 0
Sixle.	Saint Marie. —		White Canons & Nunnes.	
Spalding.	Saint Mary, and S. Nicholas. — M	Ino Talbois comes Andegauensis, and William de Romara, and Lucy Countesse of Chester and Lincolne.	5 Andegauensis Monachi.	0878 18 03 00 0
Intra Stansford.	Saint Michael. — M		Blacke Monkes.	0072 18 10 00 0
Stanford.	Saint Mary & Saint Nicholas. —		Blacke Monkes.	0065 19 09 00 0
Stanford.	— F	King Edward the third.	5 Carmelites or 2 White Friars.	
Stanford.	— H	William Browne Citizen there.		
Stanford.	— H	The L. Burghley L. Treasurer of England.		
Staynfield.	— P	Confirmed by K. John for his Father Henry the second.	Blacke Nunnes.	0112 05 00 00 0
Stixwold or Stixwell.	Saint Marie. — M	Lucie first Countesse of Perch.	5 White Canons and Nunnes.	0163 01 02 00 0
Swinthed in Holland.	Saint Marie. — M	Sir Robert Grisley.	White Monkes.	0175 19 10 00 0
Syxbill.	— P		Gilbertines.	0170 08 09 00 0
Tatfelhall.	— C	Sir Ralph Cromwell Knight.		0348 05 11 00 0
Temple-Bruer.	Præceptoris. —			0184 06 08 00 0
Thornholme.	— P			0155 19 06 00 0
Thornton.	— M			0730 17 02 00 0
Torington.	Saint Marie. —	William de Arundell.	Blacke Canons.	
Torkely.	— P		Blacke Canons.	0027 02 08 00 0
Tupholme.	Saint Mary. — M	Alain Neuill.	White Canons.	0119 02 08 00 0
Valla Dei.	Saint Mary. — M	Gilbert Gaunt Earle of Lincolne.	White Monkes & Gilbertines.	0177 15 07 00 0
Wello.	— M			0152 07 04 00 0
Willoughton.	Præceptoris. —			0174 11 01 00 0
	Saint Peter. — M			0197 17 05 00 0
	Saint Paul & Omnium Salutorum. —			0018 16 00 00 0

MIDDLESEX.

London within the VVals.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Eccles Cath.	Saint Paul. —	Ethelbert King of Kent, Anno Dom. 610.	Secular Canons.	
Intra Ludgate. — F	—	K. Edward the first, and Aelionora his wife, Robert Kilmarby Archbisshop of Canterbury, & the Citizens of London, A.D. 1276.	Blacke Friars.	0104 15 04 00 0
Intra Newgate. — F	—	Queene Margaret second wife to K. Edward the first, and John of Britain, Earle of Richmond, with diuers other Citizens of London, A.D. 1225. & 1306.	5 Friars Minor, or 2 Grey Friars.	0032 19 10 00 0
Intra Alderf. — C	Saint Martins. —	Ingelricus and Edward his brother, Anno Dom. 1056.	Secular Clerks.	
Guild-hall.	—	Peter Strambarr, Adam Frances, Henry de lens, A.D. 1299.	5 A Chappell and 4 Chaplaines.	0012 18 09 00 0
In Cheap-fide. — H	S. Thom. of Acon. —	Thomas Fitz-the bld de Heily, & Agnes his wife, sister to Thomas Becket, in the reign of Henry the second.		0277 03 04 00 0
In Candleweek street.	Corpus Christi. —	John Poulney Maior of London, Anno 20. Edward 3.		0079 17 11 00 0
S. Lawrence Pountney.	—			
VWhittingdon. — C	—	Richard Whittingdon a Citizen of London, An. 3. H. 6.		0020 01 10 00 0
In Gay spur lane. Elsing Spittle.	— H	William Elsing Citizen of London, Anno Dom. 1329, Anno 3. Ed. 3.	5 Canons Regular, A 2 City 100 blind men.	0239 13 11 00 0
In Lothburie.	—	Anno Dom. 1257.	Friars de Sacra.	
In Broadstreet. — F	S. Augustin. —	Humphrey Bohun Earle of Hereford and Essex, A.D. 1253.	Ansline Friars.	0057 00 04 00 0
13. Needle street, A Cell to S. Anthony of Vienna.	— H	King Henry the third.		
In Billhopgate street.	Saint Helens. —	William Basing Deane of Pauls, in the second year of Edward the second.	Blacke Nunnes.	0376 06 00 00 0
In Fleeten-hall. — H	S. Trinitatis. —	William Rouse, John Risby, and Thomas Abby Priests. A.D. 1466.	60 Priests.	
Intra Aldgate. — P	The holy Trinity. —	Queene Matilda wife to K. Henry the first Anno Dom. 1108.	5 Blacke Canons or 2 Canons Regular.	
In Hartstreet.	—	Ralph Hofiar, & William Sabernes, A.D. 1298.	Frates Sancta Crucis.	0052 13 02 00 0

Barking

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob q
Barking Chappel.	Our Lady.	John Earle of Worcester, made it a fraternity. King Richard the third made it a Colledge of Priettes, and reedified it.		

London without the VValls, in the Suburbes.

Westminster.	M	Saint Peter.	Sebert King of the East-Saxons, Dunstan B. of London, K. Edward Confessor.	Backe Monkes.	3977	06	04	ob	q
Westminster.	C	Saint Stephen.	King Stephen: after by King Edward the third.	Secular Canons.	1085	10	05	00	0
Westminster in Tote-hill street.	H		The Lady Anne Dacre.		0100	00	00	00	0
Westminster.	H	Saint James.	The Citizens of London.						
Westminster near Charing Croffe, A Cell to our Lady of Rouncell in Nanarve.	H	Saint Marie.	Anno 15, Edward 4.						
Westminster, S. Giles in the fields.	H		Queene Matilde, wife to King H. 1. A.D. 1117						
Westminster, The Sauoy.	H	Saint John Bap.	King Henry the seventh. A.D. 1509.		0529	15	07	ob	0
In Fleetstreet New Temple.		Our Lady.	Founded by themselves in the raigne of Henry the second.	Knights Templers.					
In Fleetstreet.			Richard Grey of Codnor. A.D. 1241.	VVWhite Friars.	0063	11	04	0	0
In Smithfield.	M	S. Bartholmew.	Henricus Rex Anglia primus fundavit Ecclesiam. After by Rahere first Prior of the same, Anno Dom. 1102.	Blacke Canons or Canons Regular.	0757	08	04	ob	q
In Smithfield. The Charter-houfe in Saint Johns street.	H	S. Bartholmew.	Rahere a Prior. A.D. 1102.		0305	06	07	00	0
In Saint Johns street.	P	S. Saint John of Jerusalem.	Sir Walter Maury of Cambrey Knight, A.D. 1340. or 1371.	Carthusians.	0736	02	07	00	0
Clerken-well.	N	Saint Mary.	Jorden Brifet Baron, and Muriel his wife. A.D. 1100.		2385	19	08	00	0
Extra Creplef-gate, Corpus Christi.	H	Our Lady, Saint Giles.	Jorden Brifet Baron, the sonne of Ralph, Anno Domini 1100. and Muriel his wife.	Black Nunnes.	0282	16	05	00	0
In White Croffe street.	H	Saint Giles.	Matildis Regina, Henrici secundus A. uia. After by John Belanor, 35. Edw. 3.						
Halywell.	N	S. John Baptif.	King Henry the fifth.	Of the French Order.	0347	01	03	00	0
Extra Bishops gate, New-Hospital.	P	Beata Maria.	A Bishope of London.	Blacke Nunnes.	0557	14	10	ob	
Extra Algate.	N	Saint Clare.	Walter Brunne and Reifia his wife, A.D. 1235.	Canons Regular.	0557	14	10	ob	
In East Smith-field nere the Tower. New Abbey.	M	S. Marie Gracie.	Blanch Queene of Nanarve, and her husband Edmund E. of Lancaster, Leicester, & Darby, brother to K. E. 1. 1292. 21. E. 1.	Nunnes Minors.	0342	05	10	ob	0
Near the Tower.	H	S. Katherine.	King Edward the third, Anno regni eius 25. A.D. 1359.	White Monkes Cisterians.	0602	11	10	ob	0
			Matilda wife to King Stephen, and after by Aclioner, wife to King Edward the first.	A Custos. 3. Chaplens. 3. Sisters. 18. poore women. 6. poore Clerks.	0315	14	02	0	0

Middlese.

Intra Brainford.	F	Ecclesia sancto-rym Anglorum.	John Sommerfet Chancellor of the Exche- quor, and the Kings Chaplane.						
Kylborne.	N	Saint Mary.		Nunnes.	0086	07	6	0	0
Hownow, Demu.			The Earle of Derby.	Captiues.	0080	15	00	ob	0
Langley.									
Okeburn. P. Alien Stances.	P		Ralph Stafford.						
Stratford Bow.	M	Sancti Leonardi.	King Henry the second.	Nuns or white Monkes.	0121	16	00	00	0
Syon.	M		King Henry the fifth, Anno 2. of his 2. raigne.	Nuns & Priests Augustines.	1944	11	08	0	q
Vzbridge.	M	Saint Mary.	Hugh Rowle.						

NOR-

NORFOLKE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob q
Norwich produced from the Abbey of Epscham in Normandy.	Etc. Cas.	Elbert de Lufing. Bishop Herbert of Thesford, Anno Dom. 1096. in the raigo of King William Rufus.	Black Monkes, Benedictines.	1061 14 03 ob 0
Norwich.	F	Philip Cowgate Citizen & Maior of Norwich, A.D. 1268.	Carmelites or White Friars.	
Norwich.	F	John Hestynford.	Grey Friars.	
Norwich.	F		Blacke Friars.	
Norwich.	H	Remigie, or the King.	Augustine Friars.	
Linne.	F	Lord Bardolf, Lord Seales, and Sir John Wighall, Anno Dom. 1269.	Carmelites or white Friars.	0090 12 00 00 0
Linne.	F	Thomas Gedney.	Blacke Friars.	0001 15 08 00 0
Linne.	H	T. de Feltham.	White Friars.	
Attilburgh.	C	Robert Mortimer.		0007 06 11 0 0
Beeston.	P			0021 16 00 00 0
Blakburgh.	N			0050 06 04 00 0
Blakeny.	F	Lord Rosse, Sir Robert Bacon, and S. John Bret Knights, A.D. 1321.	Nunnes.	0076 03 09 00 0
Bokenham, alias Bokenham.	P		Carmelites or White Friars.	
Bromhall in Windfor Forrest.	P	Edward the Blacke Prince.	Blacke Canons.	0131 11 00 00 0
Bromholme.	P	S. Sepulchers.		
Bromholme.		G. Glanville.	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses.	0144 19 00 00 0
Brunham.		Williams Glanville.	Benedictines.	
Budham.		Sir Ralph Hempnall, and Sir William Calshrop, Anno Dom. 1241.	Carmelites or white Friars.	0003 05 04 00 0
Carow.	N	King Stephen.	Blacke Canons.	0084 12 01 00 0
Carbroke.	C		Blacke Nunnes.	0065 02 09 00 0
Castell-acre.	M		Black Monks Clunice.	0324 17 05 00 0
Crobbhoufe.	N		Nunnes.	0031 16 07 00 0
Flytham, A Cell to Walsingham.	N		Nunnes.	0062 10 06 00 0
Hempton or Hompton.	P	Our Lady and Saint Stephen.		0039 00 09 00 0
Heringby.	C			0023 06 05 00 0
Hilderlands.	H			0000 14 00 0 0
Horscham.	P	Saint Fidis.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	0193 02 03 00 0
Hulme.	M	Saint Benedict.	Blacke Monkes.	0677 09 08 00 0
Hyckelyng.	P			0137 00 01 00 0
Kockeforth, or Cokelford.	M		Blacke Canons.	0153 07 01 00 0
Langley.	M			
Marmound.	N		Nunnes.	0128 19 09 00 0
Markham Bar- bara.	M		White Nuns Gilbert.	0013 06 01 00 0
Pentney and Wormegay.	M			0042 04 07 00 0
Ruthworth.	C	S. Mary Magd.	Blacke Canons.	0215 18 08 00 0
Shuldeham.	P	Sancta Crucis & S. Marie.	White Nunnes Gilbertines.	0085 15 00 00 0
Thetford.	F	Sancta Trinitatis.		0171 06 08 00 0
Thetford.	F		Friers Preachers.	
Thetford.	F	S. Sepulchre.		
Thetford.	P	S. Mary & S. John.	Augustine Friars.	
Thetford.	N	Saint Gregory.	Blacke Friars.	0049 18 01 00 0
Thetford.	M	Saint Andrew.	Blacke Canons.	0050 09 08 0 0
Thetford.	C	Beata Maria.	Blacke Nunnes.	
Thetford.		S. Mary Magd. & S. John Bap.	Black Monkes Clunice.	0418 06 03 00 0
Tomcton.	C			0109 00 07 00 0
Wabburne.	P			
Walsingham.	M	Saint Marie.	6. Chaplens.	0052 15 07 00 0
Wendling.	F		Blacke Canons Friers Minors.	0028 07 02 00 0
Westacre.	P	S. Mary & al Saints.	Augustine Friars.	0446 14 04 00 0
			Blacke Canons.	0055 18 04 00 0
				0308 19 11 00 0

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Westderham, M	—	—	V White Canons.	0252 12 11 ob 0
Weybridge or Vexbridge, P	Saint Margaret.	Robert Oliver, Thomas Munday, John Palmer and John Barford.	—	0007 13 04 00 0
Wilham, P	V Vinewald.	—	Black Canons de martial	—
Wymondham, —	Saint Marie	William D'Albiny, Butler to King Henry the first.	Black Monks of S. Albans.	0072 05 04 00 0
Yarmouth, — F	—	King Edward the first, Anno Domini, 1278	Carmelites or white Friars.	—
Yarmouth, — F	—	Galfridus Pilgrim, and Thomas Fastolfe	Blacke Friars.	—
Yarmouth, — F	—	Sir William Gevridge.	Grey Friars.	—
Yarmouth in Cefireleg, C	S. Iohn Baptift.	First Robert de Cefire, after by Iohn Fastolfe Elquier, father to Sir Iohn Fastolfe.	—	—
Yngham, P	Saint Marie.	—	Blacke Monkes of Saint Albans.	0074 02 07 ob 0
— F	—	—	Friars Preachers.	0000 18 00 0 0
— F	—	—	Aufline Friars.	0001 04 06 00 0

NORTHAMPTON-SHIRE.

Places	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Northampton, M	Saint Jacob.	—	Blacke Canons.	0213 17 02 ob 0
Northampton, P	Saint Andrew.	Simon de Sancto Licio, first E. of Northampton.	Blacke Monkes.	0334 13 07 00 0
Northampton, N	S. Marye de prae- teritis, or de la preys	Simon de Sancto Licio second Earle of Northampton.	Nunnes.	0119 09 07 00 q
Northampton, F	—	—	Friars Minors or Grey Friars.	0006 17 04 0 0
Northampton, F	—	—	Friars Preachers.	0005 07 10 00 0
Northampton, F	—	Simon Mountfort, and Sir T. Chirwood Knights, A.D. 1271.	Carmelites or white Friars.	0010 10 00 00 0
Northampton, N	Saint Mary.	—	Blacke Nunnes.	—
Northampton, F	—	Iohn de Glanville.	Augustine Friars.	0127 19 00 00 0
Asheby, P	—	—	Nuns of Sempringham.	0145 00 06 00 0
Catesby, N	S. Tho. & S. Mary.	—	Blacke Canons.	0093 06 03 ob 0
Chacum, P	S. Peter. S. Paul.	William Knowles. Sir Hugh Avrsey.	—	—
Cotherstoke, C	—	Iohn Gifford Clerke, A. 22. E. 3.	Blacke Monkes	0136 07 06 00 0
Daintree, P	Saint Anfin.	—	Clunienfes.	—
Fynnesched the Church of Saint Maries of the Castell of Hymell, M	S. Mary the Virgin	Richard Engaigne.	—	0062 16 00 00 0
Foderinghay, C	—	—	—	—
Gare, N	S. Mary Magd.	Edmund de Langley Duke of Yorke. King H. 4. and Queen Ioan his wife, an. 13. lastly, H. 5. and Edward Duke of Yorke.	Blacke Nunnes.	0419 11 10 ob 0
Higham-Ferrars, C	—	—	—	—
Brackley, C	—	Henry Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury.	—	0156 02 07 ob 0
Irelingburgh, C	—	The L. Zouches.	A Dean & 6. Clerks.	0064 12 10 ob 0
Iuxta Kingesthorpe, H	Saint David.	Iohn Pool.	—	0024 06 00 00 0
Peterborough, M	Saint Peter.	—	Blacke Monkes.	1972 07 00 ob q
Pipewell, P	Saint Mary.	Wolperhus. fil. Regis. Refranchi Etheldreda. Ethelwoldi.	White Monkes	0347 08 00 ob 0
Rothewell, N	S. Iohn Baptift.	William Botemillei, & Robert Botemillei, & Rannulph Earle of Chester. A. H. 2.	Cisterians.	0010 10 04 00 0
Saint-Dauby, P	S. Saint Trinity, & Saint Mary.	—	Nunnes.	—
Sewesby or Sewardcley, N	S. Mary Magd.	—	Blacke Canons.	—
Stanford, C	—	—	Black Nunnes.	0018 11 02 00 0
Sully, M	Saint Mary.	—	Nunnes.	0305 08 05 ob 0
Towceter, C	—	—	Blacke Monkes.]	0019 06 08 00 0
Withorpe, M	—	—	Blacke Monkes.	—
H	Saint Leonard.	—	—	0010 00 00 00 0
H	Saint Iohn.	—	—	0025 06 02 ob q
C	Omnium sanctorum	—	—	0001 19 04 00 0
P	S. Michael.	—	Blacke Monkes.	—

NOT.

NOTTINGHAM-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Nottingham, F	—	Sir Reginald Grey of Wilton, and I. Shirley, Anno Dom. 1276.	White Friars.	—
Nottingham, F	—	King Henry the third.	Grey Friars.	—
Nottingham, H	—	Iohn Plomiree.	—	0006 06 08 00 0
Bawtrece, H	—	—	—	—
Bella valla, P	—	Iohn Cantelme, and Nicholus de Cantelme confirmed by Edward the third, Anno 19. Anglia, & 6. Francia.	Cathusians Cisterians.	0227 08 00 00 0
Bingham, C	Beate Maria.	—	—	0040 11 06 00 0
Blythe, P	Saint Mary.	Roger Bafly, and Fonk de Liffenrs.	Blacke Monkes.	0126 08 02 ob 0
Brodham, H	—	—	—	0008 14 00 0 0
Clyfton, P	—	—	—	0016 05 02 00 0
Felley, M	Our Lady.	—	—	0020 02 06 00 0
Lenton, P	Santa Trinitatis.	—	Blacke Monkes.	0061 04 08 00 0
In Marisco, apud Capell, Sancti Thome Ebor.	—	—	Black Monks, Clunienfes.	0417 19 03 00 0
Mattersey, —	—	—	—	—
Newstead, or Nono-Loca in Shirwood, C	Our Lady.	—	—	0063 05 08 0 0
Rufford, M	—	—	—	—
Shelford, P	—	—	—	—
Southwell, C	—	—	—	—
Thurgarton, P	Saint Peter.	—	—	—
Wallingwells, N	—	—	—	—
Welbeck, M	Saint James.	—	—	—
Workefope, M	Saint Mary of Radford.	—	—	—

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Alba-Launda, or Blanche land, M	—	—	—	—
Alnewicke or Holne, F	—	—	—	—
Barwicke, F	—	—	—	—
Breckenbourne, P	—	—	—	—
Frameland, Ferne-Eland, or Flaneland, C	—	—	—	—
Hexham, P	—	—	—	—
Holifcombe, N	—	—	—	—
Infula-faca, Cella Lambley, F	—	—	—	—
Newcastle, F	—	—	—	—
Newcastle, N	—	—	—	—
Newcastle, F	—	—	—	—
Newcastle, H	S. Mary. Magd.	—	—	—
New-Monastery, alias Newminster, M	—	—	—	—
Quingham, Cella de Hexam, Tynmouth, a Cell to Saint Albans in Hertfordshire, N	—	—	—	—

DDDDDD

OXFORD.

OXFORDSHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Oxford, Eccle- siæ Cathedralis.	—	King Henry the eight.	—	—
Oxford.	P S. Frideswid.	Frideswida filia Algar, Ræsarator Ethel- redi Rex & Dom. Regis Progenitores.	Nuns, afterwards Blacke Canons.	0224 04 08 9
Oxford.	— F —	Richard Cary.	Frates Sanctæ Crucis.	—
Oxford.	— F —	Henricus Rex.	Frates Minors, or Grey Friars.	—
Oxford.	— F —	K. Edward the second, Anno 11. Edwardi 2.	Carmelites or White Friars.	—
Oxford.	— F —	King Henry the third.	Blacke Friars.	—
Oxford.	— F —	Rob. the sonne of Niele, brother of Rob.	Augustine Friars.	—
Oxford.	M S. Mary Osey.	D Oily a Norman, A.D. 1129.	Blacke Canons.	0755 18 06 0b
Oxford.	M S. Lucia Regalis, alias Rewley.	Edmund Earle of Cornwall.	Monkes Cisterians.	0174 03 00 00 0
The Colleges in Oxford.				
Vniuersity Colledge.	—	First King Aelfred, after William Archdea- con of Durham.	—	—
Baliol Colledge.	—	John Baliol Father of John Baliol King of Scots, tempore H. 3.	—	—
Merton Colledge.	—	Walter Merton B. of Rochester. Anno D. 1274.	—	—
Excester Colledge.	—	Walter Stapledon Bishop of Excester, tem- pore Edw. 2.	—	—
Harts Hall.	—	Walter Stapledon Bishop of Excester, tem- pore Edw. 2.	—	—
Kings, now O- riall, Colledge.	—	King Edward the second.	—	—
S. Maries Hall.	—	King Edward the second.	—	—
Queens Colledge.	—	Queene Philip wife K. Edward the third.	—	—
S. Edmunds Hall.	—	Edmund Archb. of Canterbury, ex creditur.	—	—
Canterbury now Christ Church Colledge.	—	Simon Ilip Archb. of Canterbury. After Cardinal Wolsey, and K. Hen- ry the eight.	—	—
S. Mary, alias New Colledge.	—	William Wiccam Bishoppe of Winche- ster.	—	—
Gloucester Colledge.	—	Benedictine Monkes.	—	—
Durham, now Trinity Colledge.	—	Thomas de Hatfield, Bishop of Durham.	—	—
Lincolne Colledge.	—	After in our time, Sir Thomas Pope knight Richard Fleming Bishop of Lincolne.	—	—
S. Albans Hall.	—	—	—	—
Bronigate Hall.	—	—	—	—
All-Soules Col- ledge.	—	Henry Chicheley Archb. of Canterbury tempore H. 5.	—	—
New Inne.	—	—	—	—
Bernard now S. John Baptist Colledge.	—	Henry Chicheley, Archb. of Canter- bury, tempore H. 5. After in our time, Sir Thomas White L. Maier of London.	—	—
S. Mari Johannis Hospital, now Mary Magda- len Colledge.	—	Founder Henricus Rex, Afterward Willi- am Wainflet B. of Winchester.	—	—
Magdalen Hal.	—	William Patten, alias Wainflet.	—	—
Brasen Nose Col- ledge.	—	William Smith Bishop of Lincolne, tem- pore H. 7. Doctor Newell Dean of Paulus, Benefactor.	—	—
Corpus Christi Colledge.	—	Richard Fox B. of Winchester, Hugh Ol- dam B. of Excester, Benefactor.	—	—
Iesus Colledge.	—	Hugh Price Doctor of the Lawes.	—	—
Wadham Colledge.	—	Wadham, an Elquier, and his wife.	—	—
Banbury.	H Saint John.	—	—	0015 01 10 0b 0
Banbury.	C Beata Maria.	—	—	0048 06 00 00 0
Brackele.	P Saint Mary.	—	Blacke Canons.	—
Buern.	M Saint Mary.	Nicholas Basset.	White Monkes.	0124 10 10 00 0
Burcester, vulgo Bister.	Saint Eadburgh.	Gilbert Basset, and Egelina Courtney his wife, tempore Henrici Secundi.	—	0167 02 10 00 0
Burford.	—	—	—	0013 06 06 00 0
Chipping Norton in Ecclesia.	—	—	—	0007 14 00 00 0
Clattercote.	M Sancti Leonardi.	—	—	0034 19 11 00 0
Coges.	P —	—	Blacke Monkes.	—
Dorchester.	M {Saint Peter and Saint Paul.	Birinus the Apostle of the West-Saxons, and after by Nicholas Huntercombe, heire of William Huntercombe.	Blacke Canons.	0219 12 00 00 0
Ewelme, or New Elme.	H —	William de la Pole Duke of Suffolk.	—	0030 0 0 0 0
Eynham.	M Saint Marie.	Sei Abelmara Nobleman, King Aethelred confirmed it. A.D. 1005.	Blacke Monkes	0421 16 01 00 0
Godstow by Oxf.	N Saint Mary.	Dame Ida a rich Widow, Repaired by K. John.	Blacke Nunnes.	0319 18 08 00 0

God.

RICHMOND-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Goring.	N Saint Marie.	—	Blacke Nunnes.	0060 05 05 00 0
Lidmore, alias Littlemore.	N —	Founder Domini Regis Progenitor.	Blacke Nunnes.	0033 06 08 00 0
Norton.	P —	Domini Regis Progenitor, Reginald Earle of Boloigne gaue 108 1/2 Acres to it.	Blacke Canons.	—
Saucombe.	P Saint Marie.	Richard Sergeaux.	Blacke Canons.	—
Stodeley.	N Saint Mary.	Peter Corbyzen, and William de Cantelap.	White Monkes.	0102 06 07 00 0
Tame.	M Saint Mary.	Alexander Bishoppe of Lincolne, the great builder of Cattles.	—	0256 13 07 0b 0
Wroxtton.	P Saint Mary.	Maister Michael Bylet, for Herney Bylet his Father, and confirmed by K. John.	Canons.	0078 14 03 0 0
RICHMOND-SHIRE.				
Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Richmond.	M Saint Agath.	Rolandus Constable of Richmond, and Gra- cian his wife. Fundator Antecessor. Dom. Scroope. A.D. 1152.	—	0188 16 02 00 0
Richmond.	H Saint Nicholas.	—	—	0010 00 00 00 0
Couterham, ali- as Somerham.	M —	First founded at Swaynsie by Halwisa daughter of Ralph Glammill, wife to Ralph Lord of Midleham, but remo- ued after to Couterham. A.D. 1182.	Chanons Pre- monstratenses.	0207 14 08 00 0
Cander.	M —	—	—	0064 03 09 00 0
Ellerton.	N Saint Mary.	William Fitz-Pier.	Nunnes.	0015 14 08 00 0
Furnesse.	M Saint Mary.	First. Stephen Earle of Bolleyn. Anno Dom. 1127. After William de Mow- bray gaue lands to it, which lands hee had of Richard Mornill, and Amie his wife. King Henry the 1. confirmed it.	VWhite Monkes.	0966 07 10 00 0
Fountaines.	M Saint Mary.	Thursfin Archb. of York. A.D. 1132.	White Monkes.	1173 00 07 0b 0
Gilling.	N —	—	Nunnes.	—
Ierual.	M Saint Mary.	Stephen Earle of Britaine and Richmond.	White Monkes Cisterians.	0455 10 05 00 0
Juxta Kendall.	H —	—	—	0006 04 03 00 0
Neere Knaref- brough.	F Saint Robert.	Richard King of Romains, Earle of Corn- wall, A.D. 1218.	Friers.	0035 10 11 00 0
Maryke.	—	Arkes.	Nunnes.	0064 16 09 00 0
Middleham, or Barnard Cafle.	—	Richard Duke of Yorke.	—	—
Nun-Munketon.	N —	—	—	—
Rybleston, Com- mendary.	—	Founder Antecessor Gull, Gascoign Militis.	Nunnes.	0085 14 08 00 0
Rypon Ecclef. Collegiat.	—	—	—	0207 09 07 00 0
Rypon.	H S. Mary Magd.	—	—	0035 03 08 00 0
Rypon.	H S. John Baptif.	—	—	0024 00 07 0 0
Seton.	N —	—	—	0010 14 04 00 0
Wellis.	H S. Michael.	Founder Antecessor Henrici Kirkeby. Ralph Lord Neuill. A.D. 1367.	Nunnes.	0013 17 04 00 0
Wellis.	H S. Michael.	—	—	0020 17 11 00 0

RUTLAND-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Oecham, under the custodie of a Prior of Saint Anne Carthu- sians by Conen- tree.	{ Saint John Enangelif. }	William Dalby of Exton.	22 Chaplens, 12 Poore, each 30 s. yearly.	—
Brooke.	S. Mary the Virg. P	—	—	0043 13 04 00 0

SHROPSHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Shrewsbury.	M {Saint Peter, Saint Paul, Saint Melb. }	Roger Earle of Montgomery. Anno Dom. 1081.	Blacke Monkes.	0615 04 02 0b 0
Shrewsbury. Ecclef. Collegiat.	Saint Chadd.	—	—	0014 14 04 00 0
Shrewsbury, Ecc. Colleg.	Saint Mary.	—	—	0013 01 08 00 00

Shrewf.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Shrewsbury.	F		Carmelites or White Friars.	2
Shrewsbury.	F		Black Friars.	
Shrewsbury.	F		Grey Friars.	
Abberbury.				
gines to Al-	P			
Soules in	Ali-			
Oxford by	en.			
the King.				
Battlefield.	C	King Henry the fourth.	Black Monks	0054 01 01 00 0
Bildewas.	M	Roger Bishop of Chester.	Cistercians.	0129 06 10 00 0
Brewood.	M			0031 01 04 00 0
Fridgenorth.	H	John Earle of Shrewsbury, Cosen and Heire to Ralph Strange Originall Founder.	Grey Friars.	0004 00 00 00 0
Bumfeild.	F		Black Monks.	087 07 04 00 0
Chirbury.	P	King John. Peter de Rupibus Bishoppe of Winche- ster.		0337 15 06 00 0
Halifowen.	M			
Haughmond.	M	Saint Mary, & S. John Euang.	White Canons.	0294 12 90 00 0
Ludlow.	F	Sir Lawrence Ludlow Knight, An. Dom. 1349.	Carmelites or White Friars.	2
Ludlow.	F	Edmundus de Pontibus, siue Briggman Benefactor.	Augustine Friars.	
Ludlow.	H	Saint John.	Black Canons.	0017 03 03 00 0
Lylehuill.	M	Beauvais Family.	Black Monks.	0327 10 00 00 0
Stone.	P	Saint Michael.		
Tonge.	C	Saint Barthol- meu.		
Wenlocke.	P	Saint Milburg.	Black Monks.	0022 08 01 00 0
Worcebridge.	P			0434 00 01 00 0
Wygmore.	M			0072 15 08 00 0
			White Canons.	0302 12 03 00 0

STAFFORDSHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Lichefeild				
Ecclef.				
Cath.				
Lichefeild.	S. John Baptis.	Osmy King of Northumberland made it a Bishopps See. Pope Adrian made it an Archbishopps See.	Grey Friars, and lately Canons.	2
Lichefeild.	Saint John.	Roger B. of Coventree and Lichefeild.		0008 15 00 00 0
Stafford.	Saint Thomas	Ralph Earle of Stafford, and Richard Bi- shop of Chester.	Black Canons & Augustines.	0141 13 02 00 0
Stafford.	Saint Marie.		Grey Friars.	0035 13 10 00 0
Brewood.	Saint Marie.		Black Nunnes.	0011 01 06 00 0
Briuerne.	Saint Marie.		Black Monks.	
Briuerne.	Saint Leonard.		White Nunnes.	
Burton upon Trent.	S. Mary, Saint Modwen.	Ulfricke Sprot Earle of Mercia.	Black Monks.	0356 16 03 00 0
Catune.			Black Nunnes.	
Chetwood.		John Chetwood Chidlet. T. Conell, Willi- am Gardiner Parson of Somerton, John Parson of Godington.		
Croxden.		Barons Verdon.	White Monks.	0103 06 07 00 0
Delacresse.		Ranulph the third of that name E. of Chester.		0243 03 06 00 0
Dudley. A Cel- to the Priorie of Wenlocke.		John the sonne and heire of John late Ba- ron de Dudley.	Black Monks.	
Faireweld.	N	Saint Mary.	Black Nunnes.	0050 00 00 00 0
Ferburge.	H			0076 14 10 00 0
Hulton.	M	The Ancestors of the Lord Audley.	Black Monks.	
Lappele.	P			0199 14 10 00 0
Meriuall.				
Penchriche.	C			
Renton.	P	The Noels Ancestors of Sir Simon Harecourt.		0090 01 10 00 0
Roceter.	M			0111 13 07 00 0
Stone.	P	Saint Wolphade.	Black Canons.	0119 14 11 00 0
Tameworth.	N		Veiled virgins or Nuns.	
Tameworth.		Ralph Earle of Stafford.		
Ecclef. Colleg.		Edith King Edgars daughter.		
Inxtra Tame- worth.		Marmions of Normandy.		
Trentham.	H			0003 06 08 00 0
Tricingham.	M	Ralph Earle of Chester.	Canons.	0106 03 10 00 0
Turbury.	P	Saint Mary.	Black Monks.	0244 16 08 00 0
Woller-hampton	C			

SOMER.

SOMERSETSHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Bristol.	M	Saint Augustine.	Black Canons Villorines.	0767 15 03 00 0
Bristol.	P	Saint Jacob or Saint James.	Black Monks Benedictines.	
Bristol.	F	King Edward the first. A.D. 1267. The former by Sir Henry Gannet knight. The other by Thomas Carre a wealthy Citizen.	White Friars.	
Bath.	M	King Edgar, Edwyn, Ethelred and Wulfstan. Afterward John Bishop of Wells made it a Cathedral Church, tempore H. I. Reginaldus Bishop of Bath.	Orphanes.	
Bath.		King Ina built the Church and Colledge. King Kincwolph gave it great posselli- ons. An. 766. King Edward senior made it a Bishopps See. Robert and Jocelinus Bishops, and Ralph of Shrewsbury.	Black Monks.	0695 06 01 00 0
Welles.	M	S. John Bap. or Saint Andrew.	Secular Canons.	0041 03 06 00 0
Welles.	H	Nicholas Bawith Bishop. Joseph of Arimathea, Demi Bishoppe of S. Dawids. Twelve Northerne men. King Ina. Dunstane changed the Monks into Benedictines: this Or- der continued 600. yeeres.	24. Poore.	
Glastenbery.	M	Saint Marie.	Black Monks.	3508 13 04 00 0
Athelme.	M	Saint Peter, S. Athelwin.	Black Monks.	0209 03 00 00 0
Barlynch.	P		Fety-places.	
Beawwe.	N	S. Mary. S. Edwin.	Black Nunnes.	0098 14 08 00 0
Bridgewater.	H		Grey Friars.	0120 19 01 00 0
Bridgewater.	P	Saint John.		
Buckland.	M			0223 07 04 00 0
Bruton.	P	Saint Mary.	The Mobunns there entombd.	0480 17 02 00 0
Cadbury, or North-Cad- bury.	C	Saint Michael.	Elizabeth Botreaux, and her sonne William Botreaux.	7 Chaplains. 24 Clerks.
Cluue.	M		VWhite Monks.	0155 09 05 00 0
Conington.	N	Saint Marie.	Black Nunnes.	0039 15 08 00 0
Dunkewel.	P			
Dunster.	P			0037 04 08 00 0
Fareley.	P	S. Mary. Magd.	Black Monks	
Henton.			Carthusians.	0262 12 00 00 0
Keynham.	M	Saint Mary.	Black Canons.	0450 03 06 00 0
Montague.	M	Saint Peter & Saint Paul.	Black Monks	0524 11 08 00 0
Moundroy.	C		Cluniacenses.	
Muchelney.	M	Saint Peter.	Black Monks.	0011 18 08 00 0
Mynchinbarrow.	P			0498 16 03 00 0
Stoke vnder Hamden.	C	Saint Andrew.	Black Monks.	0029 05 08 00 0
Taunton.	N	Saint Peter and Saint Paul.	Gornays.	
Temple-Combe			William Giffard and Henry de Blois Bishop of Winchester.	Black Nunnes.
Westbury.	C			0438 09 10 00 0
Worspring.	P		William Canings Maior of Bristol.	
Wytham.		Saint Mary. S. John Bapt. All-Saints.	King Henry the third.	0107 16 11 00 0
Yeulecy, or Iuell.	H	Saint Katherine.	Carthusians.	0110 18 04 00 0
				0227 01 08 00 0
				0021 15 08 00 0
			John Woborne Petty Canon of Pauler, and Richard Hever.	

SUFFOLKE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Ipswich.	P	Saint Trinity.	Black Canons.	0088 06 09 00 0
Ipswich.	M	Saint Peter and Saint Paul.	Black Canons.	0088 06 10 00 0
Ipswich.	F	Norman and John de Oxenford. Cardinall Wessel, but before him Thomas de Lucy and Alice his wife. Henry de Manesby, Henry Redred, and Hen- ry de Londham.	Friers Preachers.	
Ipswich.	F	The Lord Bardeley, Sir Geoffrey Hadley, and Sir Rob. Norton knights. A.D. 1279.	Carmelites. or White Friars.	
Ipswich.	F	Robert Tilbot.	Grey Friars.	
Ipswich.	F	John Hares gave ground to build their house (larger.	Black Friars.	
			D d d d d	

Blyburgh

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Blyburgh.	P	King Henry the first. Richard Belouis, or Beauneis Bishop of London.	Blacke Canons.	0048 08 09 00
Briftete.	P	Saint Leonard.	Blacke Canons.	
Bungy	N	Roger Glanuil and Gundreda his Wife. Alij, the Ancestors of Tho. Brotherton, Earle of Norfolk.	Nunnes.	0052 02 01 00 0
Burthyerd or Brusfyed.	M			0056 02 01 0
Butley.	P	Saint Marie.	Blacke Canons.	0318 17 02 0b q
Campsey.	N	Beate Marie Virginis.		0182 09 05 00 0
Clara or Stoke.	P	Saint John Bapt.	Blacke Monkes or Austine Friars.	
Cnobersburg or Burgh-Castell.		Henry Earle of Essex, and Isabel his wife.		
Densfion.	C	Fursey a Scotish man. Also Sigebertus King of the East Angles.		0022 08 09 00 q
Dodnash.	M	Saint Mary.		0042 18 08 0b 0
Dunwich.		The Ancestors of the Duke of Norfolk		
Seder Episcopal.		Felix the Burgundian, that reduced the East-Angles againe vnto the christian faith, Anno Domini, 630.		
S. Edmundsbury.	M	King Canute.	Blacke Monkes.	2336 16 00 00 0
Saint Edwards place, sine Edwards-flow.	M	Peter Bishoppe of Winchester.		
Eye.	M	Saint Peter.	Blacke Monkes.	0184 09 07 0b q
Flyxton.	M			0023 04 01 0b q
Heringflete.	M	Saint Olauer.	Canons Regular.	0049 11 07 00 0
Hoxon.	M			
Leiston.	N	Saint Mary.	White Canons Pramonstratenses	0181 17 01 0b 0
Letheringham.	P	1 Ralph Glanville. 2 Sir Robert Ufford.	Blacke Canons.	0026 18 05 00 0
Litchebur.	P	Saint Mary.		
Mettingham.	C	Beate Marie Virginis.		0202 07 05 0b 0
Rafford.	M	Our Lady.		
Redingfeild.	M	Saint John.		0053 10 00 00 0
Rumbuthe.	P	Saint Mary.	Blacke Monkes.	0081 02 05 0b 0
Snapes.	P	Saint Marie.	Blacke Monkes Roffienfes.	0099 01 00 11 0b
Stoeke.	C	William Martill, Alij, Domini Regis Progenitor.		0324 04 01 0b 0
Suthbery.	P	Saint Bartholm.	Blacke Monks Westm. or Friars Preachers.	0122 18 03 0 0
Sybbeton.	M	Saint Mary.	Blacke Monkes Cisterians.	0250 15 07 0b 0
Walton.	P	S. Felice.	Blacke Monkes Rochefer.	
Wangsford.	P	Saint Marie.	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses.	0030 09 05 00 0
Wingfeild.	C	Ansered of France.		0069 14 05 00 0
Woodbridge.	M	Saint Mary.		0050 03 05 0b 0
Wykes.	M	Domini Regis Progenitor.		0092 12 03 0b 0
Ykefworth or Ixworth.	P	Saint Bennet.		0280 09 05 00 0
		Gilbert Blund.		

SVRREY.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Barmondsey.	M	S. Saviours.	Blacke Monks Cluniacenses.	0548 02 05 0b q
Chartsey.	M	Saint Peter.		0744 13 06 0b q
Guilford.	F	S. Crues.		
Guilford.	F		Preaching Friars. Backe Friars.	
Horsham.	P	S. Fidis.		
Lingfeild.	C	Mary Saint Paul founded it. Alij Robert Fitz-walter and his sonnes.		
Marion.	P	Reginald Cobham Knight, William Cro-mar, John Arderne, and John Bay-hall.		0075 00 00 00 0
Newarke, vel de Neno Loco.	P	Saint Mary. Saint Mary and S. Thom. Martyr.	Blacke Canons.	1039 05 03 00 0
		King Henry the first, An. D. 1117.		0258 11 11 0b 0

Reygate

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Reygate.	P	Santa Crucis.	Augustines.	0078 16 08 00 0
Shene.	P	William Warren first Earle of Surrey, and after John Mowbray. King Henry the fifth.	Carchusian Monks.	0962 11 06 00 0
Southwarke.	M	Santa Maria Virginis, de Ourey. First by Swethen a noble Dame, after by a maiden called Mary, and after converted to a Colledge of Priests, by William Pont-le-Arch. Canons first introduced. 1016.	Blacke Canons.	0656 10 00 0b 0
Southwarke.	H	Saint Thomas.		0266 17 11 00 0
Tanrigge.	M			0078 16 10 0b q
Waucerley.	N	S. Mary.	White Monkes.	0174 08 03 0b 0
		Richard Prior of Bermondsey, Anno Dom. 1213. William Gifford Bishop of Winchester.		

SVSSEX.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Chichester Episc.		Saint Trinity.	Secular Canons.	
Chichester.	M	Saint Peter.	Grey Friars.	
Chichester.	F		Blacke Friars.	
Intra Chichester.	H	S. Saint Jacob. S. Mary Magd.	Lepros.	0004 03 09 00 0
Infra Chichester.	H	Saint Mary.	Paupers.	0011 11 06 0b 0
Arundel.	H	Saint Trinity.	Elemofynary.	0042 03 08 00 0
Arundel.	P	Saint Nicholas.	Blacke Monkes.	0168 00 07 0b 0
Acceseale.	H	Saint Peter.	Blacke Monkes.	
Battell.	M	Saint Martin.	Blacke Monkes.	0987 00 11 0b q
Bidlington.	H	S. Mary Magd.		0001 00 00 00 0
Bosham, or Bosham.	M		Dioclet a Scotish Monke.	
Boxgrau.		Saint Mary.	John Saint John. Alij, Robert de la Hays.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.
Durford.	N	S. John Baptif.	White Canons Pramonstratenses.	0145 10 02 0b 0
Eastborne.	P			0108 13 09 00 0
Haftings.	P	Saint Trinity.		0047 03 00 00 0
Lewis.	P	Saint Pancras.	Blacke Canons.	0057 19 00 0 0
Lullmenster.	N	S. Mary Magd.	Black Monks, Cluniacenses.	1091 09 06 00 q
Michelham.	P	S. Mary Magd.	Blacke Nunnes.	
Oceham.	P	S. Lawrence.	Blacke Canons Aug.	0191 19 03 00 0
Remsted.	N	S. Mary Magd.	White Canons.	
Roberts.	M	Saint Mary.	Blacke Nunnes.	
Briggs.	M	S. Mary Magd.	White Monkes Cisterians.	0232 09 08 00 0
Rupperar.	N	S. Mary Magd.	Blacke Nunnes.	0039 13 07 00 0
Selsey.	M & Episcopal.			
Shulbred.	P			
Southmalling.	C			0079 15 06 00 0
Stenings.		S. Mary Magd.		0045 12 05 0b q
Shoreham.	F		Secular Canons. Carmelites or white Friars.	
Tortyng.	P	S. Mary Magd.		
Winchelsea.	F		Blacke Canons.	0101 04 01 00 0
	M	Our Lady.	Friars Preachers.	
		King Edw. 2. William de Buckingham, confirmed by K. 3. Edward 3.		

VVAR-

WARWICKESHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Warwicke.	P Saint Sepulchers.	Richard Neuill Earle of Warwick.	Blacke Canons.	0049 13 06 00 0
Warwicke.	P F	Peter de Mountford.	Friers Preachers.	0004 18 06 00 0
Warwicke.	P F			0247 13 00 05
Warwicke.	H Saint Michael.			0010 01 10 00 0
Warwicke.	H Sancta Baptista.			0019 03 07 00 0
Warwicke.	Saint George.	Roberts de Deneby, William Russell, and Hugh Cooke for the state of the King and Anne the Queene. Michael de la Poole, and all their Brethren, and Sisters, and for Enne Prince of Wales.	A Fraternity.	
Warwicke.		Thomas Beauchampe Earle of Warwick.		
Warwicke.	H Saint John.	Thomas Beauchampe.	Carthusians.	0251 05 09 0 0
Couentre.	P Saint Anne.	King John of Northbury a Carthusian.	Blacke Monkes.	
Couentre.	P Saint Mary.	King Canute and Leofricke Earle of Mercians, A.D. 1043.	Carmelites or White Friers.	0007 13 04 00 0
Couentre.	F	Sir John Poulney Knight, Anno Domini 1332.	Blacke Monkes.	0083 03 03 00 0
Couentre.	H S. John Baptif.		Deane and Secular Canons.	0039 10 06 00 0
Alcetter, or Alnecefter.	P S. John Baptif.		Augustine Friers.	0001 10 02 00 0
Alteley.	C	Thomas Lord Afley.		
Atherfton.	F			
Auecater.				
A Cell to Malnerne Priore in Worcester-shire.	P			0034 08 00 00 0
Babelacke.	C		White Monkes.	0045 6 008 00 0
Berdelege.	M Beata Maria.			
Cadbury.		The Ancestors of Sir Ralph Boteler knight, Baron, and Lord of Sudley, Treasurer of England.	White Monkes.	0343 00 05 00 0
Combe.	M Saint Mary.	Camulit and Membraies.		0122 08 06 00 0
Erneby, or Erdbury.	P	Richard Earle of Warwick.	Nunnes.	0021 02 00 05 0
Godcliff.	C	Cethelbarne de la Laund.	Blacke Canons.	0643 14 09 05 0
Henwood.	N Saint Margaret.	Geffrey Clinton Chamberlaine vnto King Henry the first.	Blacke Nunnes.	0018 05 06 00 0
Kenelworth.	M	Elizabeth wife to John Lord Clinton.	White Monkes.	0129 11 08 00 0
Kingswood.	N		Nuns.	0303 10 00 00 0
Knolle.	C			0290 15 00 05 0
Maxflocke.	P	Robert Ferrars, A.D. 1122.	Blacke Nunnes.	0023 08 06 00 0
Meriuall.	M Saint Mary.	Amice wife to Robert Bosse Earle of Leicester.	Nuns.	0027 14 07 00 0
Nuneaton.	N	Medvena an Irish Virgin, Repaired by R. Marmion a Nobleman.	White Monkes.	0578 02 05 00 0
Pollefworth.	N Saint Edith.			0123 11 09 00 0
Pynley.	N		Blacke Canons.	0181 03 06 00 0
Stoncle.	M	K. Henry the second.	Poore folke and Pilgrimes.	0023 10 00 00 0
Stratford super Aun.	P	John of Stratford Archbishop of Canterbury.	Blacke Nunnes.	0078 10 01 05 0
Studeley.	P			
Thelford.		The Lucies Knights.		
Wroxhall.	N {God, and Saint Leonard}	Hugh de Hatton.		

VESTMORLAND.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Sharpe.	M	Thomas the sonne of Gospatricks, sonne of Ormes.		0166 10 06 05 0

WILT-SHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Salisbury.	Epatus.	Osmond Bishope of Salisbury, temp. W. R. 1st, Anno Dom. 1091.	Secular Canons.	
Salisbury.	C Saint Edith.			
Salisbury.	F	King Edward the first, and Robert Kilward by Archbishop of Canterbury.	Blacke Friers.	
Salisbury.	F Saint Michael.	Richard B. of Salisbury, A.D. 1382.	Grey Friers.	0025 02 02 00 0
Salisbury.	M	Alfritha King Edgars wife.	White Monkes.	0558 10 02 00 0
Ault.	N	King Etheldred.	Holy Virgins.	0081 08 05 05 0
Bradnestoke.	P Saint Maria.	Walter the eldest sonne of Walter de Eux, Earle of Rosmar in Normandy.	Blacke Monkes.	0270 10 08 00 0
Bromhore, or Bromere.	P {Saint Mary & S. Michael}	Bauldwin Earle of Rivers and Denonshire.	Blacke Canons.	
Brioptrune.	P S. Mary Magd.		Blacke Canons.	0002 02 08 00 0
Calne.	H			0004 10 07 05 0
Crekelade.	H			
Edoros.	P	King Henry the second, and after Henry the third.	Blacke Canons.	0133 00 07 05 0
Edindon.	P All-Saints.	William de Edindon Bishop of Winchester.	Bonif hominibus.	0521 12 05 05 0
Edon.	P Saint Trinity.			0055 14 04 00 0
Farleigh.	P S. Mary Magd.	The Earle of Hereford, or Hertford.	Blacke Monkes	0217 00 04 05 0
Fishhart.	F	Mary Countesse of Norfolk.	Chuniacenes.	
Heatesbury.			Friers Preachers.	
Heatesbury.		Robert Lord Hungerford and Margaret.		
Henton.	N	Dame Ela Countesse of Salisbury.	Nunnes.	
Kynton.	P {Saint Mary, & S. Michael}		Nunnes.	0038 03 10 00 0
Lacocke.	M Saint Mary.	Dame Ela Countesse of Salisbury, A.D. 1232.		0203 12 03 05 0
Malmesbury.	M Saint Adelme.	Madulph an Irish Scot.	Blacke Monkes.	0803 17 07 00 0
Middleton.	P	Adelme his Scholler.		
Marleburgh.	P Saint Margaret.	King Arhelstan.	Canons.	0038 19 02 00 0
Marleburgh.	F	Edmund Earle of Cornwall.	Carmelites or White Friers.	
Juxta Marleburgh.	H S. John Baptif.	John Goodwyn & William Remsbich, A.D. 1316.		0006 18 04 00 0
Maiden-Bradley.	P			0197 18 08 00 0
Maiden Bradeley.		Manasse Bisset. Confirmed by King John.	Leprosi.	
Stanley.	M Saint Mary.	One of the Inheritrices of Manasse Bisset.	White Monkes.	0222 19 04 00 0
Wilton.	N Saint Mary and Saint Edith.	Woolsthan Earle of Ellandunum or Wilton.	Blacke Nunnes.	0652 11 05 00 0
Juxta Wilton.	H Saint Egidius.	Edith wife of S. Edward.		0005 13 04 00 0
Westchurch.	P			

WORCESTERSHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value. l. s. d. ob. q.
Worcester.	M	Seaxwulph Bishope of the Mercians, Anno Domini 680, Oswald Bishop of Worcester.	Blacke Monkes.	1386 12 10 05 0
Worcester.	now Eccl. Cath.	Wolstan Bishope there also Anno Domini 1090. These continued 500. years. K. Henry the eight, in stead of these placed in it a Dean & Prebends, & ordained to it a Grammer Schoole.		
Worcester.	F	William Beauchampe.	Grey Friers.	
Worcester.	F		Blacke Friers.	0063 18 10 00 0
Worcester.	H Saint Wolstan.			0075 07 06 00 0
Alcester.	Cella.	K. Henry the second, and Mand the Empreice.	VVWhite Monkes.	
Bordelege.	P Saint Mary.	Offa king of the Mercians.	White Monkes.	0392 08 06 00 0
Bredon.	M		White Nunnes.	0034 15 11 00 0
Brodecey.	M Saint Mary.		Blacke Canons.	
Cokehill.	N			
Elacester.	P			
Euefham.	M {S. Mary, & S. Edburg.}	Egwin Bishope of Worcester, first Abbot there with King Kenred the sonne of Wolfer king of the Mercians and K. Offa, A.D. 700.	Blacke Monkes	1268 09 09 00 0

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Halefowen. M	—	<i>Peter de Rupibus</i> Bishop of Winchester. <i>Ally, King John.</i>	—	0282 13 04 00 0
Maluerne maior. P	Saint Marie	<i>Alwyn</i> a Monke, first augmented by <i>Edw.</i> the first, A.D. 1085.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	0375 00 06 0b q
Maluerne minor. P	Saint Egidius.	<i>Joceline</i> and <i>Edred</i> , two brothers, both re- ligious men there augmented by <i>Wil-</i> <i>liam Blos</i> B. of Worcester, A.D. 1171.	Blacke Monkes.	0102 10 09 00 0
Penwortham.	—	<i>Dominus Regis</i> Progenitor.	—	0099 05 03 00 0
Perthore. M	Saint Mary, & Saint Edburg.	<i>Egelward</i> Duke of Dorset in King <i>Edgar's</i> dayes: King <i>Ofwald</i> .	Blacke Monkes.	0666 13 00 00 0
Westwood. N	—	—	Blacke Nunnes.	0078 08 00 00 0
Whiston Inxta Worcester. P	—	—	—	0056 03 07 00 0
Wotton-Wauin. P	—	The Countesse of Stafford.	—	—
—	Saint Ofwald.	—	—	0013 14 04 00 0

YORKESHIRE.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Yorke. Ecclesia Cathedralis.	Saint Peter.	<i>Ulphus Toraldi filius: A Constantio</i> <i>Episcopi sede ornatum. Domini Re-</i> <i>gis Progenitor.</i>	—	—
Yorke. M	Saint Trinity.	A house of Canons destroyed by the Con- querour: repayed for Monkes by <i>Ralph Paynell</i> .	Blacke Monkes.	0196 17 02 00 0
Yorke extra muros. M	S. Maries.	<i>William Rufus</i> , and after <i>Alan</i> the third Earle of little Britaine in <i>Armorica</i> , and of <i>Richmond</i> .	Blacke Monkes.	2085 01 05 0b q
Inxta Yorke. P	Saint Andrew the Apollle	—	—	0057 05 09 0 0
Yorke. F	—	<i>Lord Vefey</i> , and <i>Lord Percy</i> , Anno Dom. 1255.	Carmelites or White Friars.	—
Yorke. F	—	The Lord <i>Scroope</i> .	Augustine Friars. (A Matter) 13. Brethren. 4. Seculars Piefis. 8. Sisters. 30. Choristers. 206. Beadmen. 6. Scrutitors.	0362 11 01 0b 0
Yorke. H	Saint Leonard.	King <i>William</i> the second.	—	—
Apulton, or Nunapleton. N	—	Antecessor <i>Comitis Northumbria</i> .	Nunnes	0083 05 09 00 0
Arden. N	—	<i>Dominus Regis</i> Progenitor.	Nunnes.	0013 07 04 00 0
Arthington. N	—	Antecessor <i>Hen. Arthington</i> .	Nunnes.	0019 00 00 00 0
Banburgh, a Cell to Saint Ofwald.	—	King <i>Henry</i> the first.	—	0124 15 07 00 0
Barton, or Burton.	Saint Mary.	<i>Adam Swaynson</i> .	Blacke Monkes	—
Saint Bees in Cumber- land. C	—	<i>Dominus Regis</i> Progenitor.	—	0149 19 06 00 0
Bella-launda, ynlga, Bi- launda. M	Saint Mary.	<i>Acarinus</i> first, & <i>Rob. Mowbray</i> , & <i>Gunnora</i> his mother, founded the Church at <i>Hode</i> , & after remoued it to <i>Bella-launda</i> , 1138.	White Monkes Cisterians.	0295 05 04 00 0
Beuerley. Præceptor. Beuerley, Eccl. Colleg.	Saint John Je- rusalem.	<i>John</i> Bishop of <i>York</i> , and restored by King <i>Atthelstan</i> , A.D. 629.	51 Monkes. 22 Canons.	0164 10 00 00 0
Beuerley. F	—	First, <i>William Lyketon</i> , & <i>Henry Wighthom</i> , and after restored by <i>John Hotom</i> Knight, Anno Dom. 1287.	Friars Augustines.	0109 08 08 0b 0
Beuerley. F	—	<i>John de Hightmede</i> .	Friars Minors. Carmelites or White Friars.	0102 09 03 00 0
Bolton in Craven. F	Saint Inys.	Lord <i>Grey</i> of <i>Codnor</i> .	Canons Regular.	0009 06 08 00 0
Bowthome. H	—	King <i>Atthelstan</i> .	Nunnes.	0682 13 09 00 0
Bridlington. M	Saint Mary.	<i>Walter de Gaunt</i> , and <i>Jordan Paganel</i> , a- bout the Conquerors time.	Canons Regular.	0021 19 04 00 0
Dafedale. N	—	Antecessor <i>Radulphi Eners militis</i> .	Carmelites or White Friars.	—
Doncaster. F	—	<i>John</i> Duke of <i>Lancaster</i> , and <i>I. Nighbro-</i> <i>der</i> , A.D. 1350.	—	0121 18 03 0b 0
Drax. P	—	<i>Sir VVilliam Pamel</i> Ancestor of <i>Marma-</i> <i>duke Constable</i> .	Canons.	—
Ellerton. N	Saint Mary.	<i>William Fitz-Piers</i> , and the Ancestors of <i>William Afelby</i> , <i>William Thurresby</i> and <i>Ralph Spencer</i> .	Nunnes.	0078 00 10 00 0
Efcholt. N	—	The Ancestor of <i>Christopher VVard</i> .	Nunnes.	0019 00 00 00 0
Fereby, or North-Fere- by. P	—	The Ancestors of the Earle of <i>Cumberland</i> .	—	0095 11 07 0b 0

Fossigate

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Fossigate. H	—	<i>Petrus de Malo-lacu</i> , Ancestor of <i>Francis?</i> <i>Bigor</i> , and <i>George Salwayne</i> .	—	0006 13 04 00 0
Gromount, or Grosfont. P	—	<i>Robert de Bru</i> , A.D. 1119.	—	0014 02 08 00 0
Gysborne. M	—	<i>Thomas Holand</i> Earle of <i>Kent</i> . <i>Ally</i> The Ancestors of the Duke of <i>Richmond</i> .	—	0712 06 06 00 0
Haltemprice. M	—	The Ancestor of <i>Gervais Clifton</i> .	Nunnes.	0178 00 10 00 0
Hampall. N	—	The Ancestor of the Earle of <i>Northum-</i> <i>berland</i> .	Nuns.	0085 06 11 00 0
Handale, or Grundale. N	—	—	—	0020 07 08 00 0
Helagh-Parke. P	—	The ancestor of the Earle of <i>Northumberland</i> .	—	0086 05 09 00 0
Henynghburgh. Ecclef. Collegiat.	—	—	—	0036 00 07 00 0
Hull. F	—	First, <i>Edward</i> the first, and after <i>Sir Robert</i> <i>Ongbyred</i> , and <i>Richard de la Poole</i> , Ann. 13. <i>Edw. primi</i> .	Carmelites or White Friars.	—
Hull. F	—	<i>Gulfride de Huthom</i> , A.D. 1330.	Augustine Friars.	—
Hul inxta. M	Saint Michael.	<i>William de la Poole</i> , and <i>Katherine</i> his wife, A.D. 1377.	Carthusian Monkes	0231 17 03 00 0
Hull. H	Saint Trinity.	—	—	0010 00 00 0 0
Hyrt, in the Isle of Ax- holme. N	—	<i>Mowbray</i> Earle of <i>Nottingham</i> .	—	0007 11 08 00 0
Keldon. N	—	The Ancestors of the Earle of <i>Westmorland</i> .	Nunnes.	0029 06 01 00 0
Kelings, or Nunkelynge. N	—	The Kings Ancestors.	Nuns.	0050 17 02 00 0
Kyrkeham. N	—	<i>Walter Esfec</i> , A.D. 1122.	Augustines.	0300 15 06 00 0
Kyrkleys. N	—	—	Nunnes.	0020 07 08 00 0
Kirkhall. M	Saint Mary.	<i>Henry Lacy</i> the first, A.D. 1147.	White Monkes.	0512 13 04 00 0
Inxta Lin- colne. C	S. Mary Magd.	—	—	0026 01 03 00 0
Melfa, or Meaux. M	Saint Mary.	<i>William le Grosse</i> Earle of <i>Albemarle</i> . A- ly King <i>Henry</i> the first, A.D. 1150.	White Monkes Cisterians.	0445 10 05 00 0
Merton, or Marron. P	—	<i>Katherine de Brommere</i> .	—	0183 02 04 00 0
Mollesby, or Mowesby. N	—	The Kings Ancestors. <i>Ally</i> , the Earle of <i>Salisbury</i> .	Nunnes.	0032 06 02 00 0
Montegrace. M	—	<i>Thomas Holand</i> Duke of <i>Surrey</i> , Earle of <i>Kent</i> , and <i>L. of Wake</i> , and <i>le. Tngilby</i> Esquier. 1401.	—	0382 05 11 0b 0
Munckbret- ton, alias Burton. M	S. Mary Magd.	<i>Adam Fitz-Owen</i> .	Monkes.	0323 08 02 00 0
Neder-Aca- ster, or Aulcaster. C	Saint Mary. and S. John Bapt.	<i>Robert</i> Earle of <i>Leicester</i> .	—	0027 13 04 00
Newburgh. Newland. P	—	<i>Robert Mowbray</i> , A.D. 1127.	Canons Augustines.	0437 13 05 00 0
Newton. H	—	—	—	0129 14 11 0b 0
Northallerton. F	—	King <i>Edward</i> the third, and <i>Thomas Hat-</i> <i>field</i> Bishop of <i>Durham</i> , A.D. 1354.	Carmelites or White Friars.	0011 00 02 00 0
Northallerton. H	Saint Jacob.	—	—	0056 02 02 00 0
Noftell. M	Saint Ofwald.	First founded by <i>Robert Lacy</i> Earle of <i>Lin-</i> <i>colne</i> . Afterward <i>A. Confessor</i> to King <i>Henry</i> the first reedified it.	Canons.	0606 09 03 00 0
Nunnerholme. N	—	The Ancestors of the Lord <i>Dacres</i> .	Nunnes.	0010 03 03 00 0
Old-Malton. M	—	<i>Ensfach Fitz-John Monoculi</i> , in the reign of King <i>Stephen</i> .	Blacke Monkes Cluniacenses.	0257 07 00 00 0
Pontefract. M	S. John Euangelist.	<i>Robert Lacy</i> Earle of <i>Lincolne</i> .	—	0472 16 10 0b 0
Pontefract. C	Saint Trinity.	<i>Sir Robert Knolles</i> and <i>Constance</i> his wife.	For poore people.	0182 13 07 00 0
Inxta Rich- mond. C	Saint Martins.	The kings Ancestors.	—	0047 16 00 00 0
Rippon. M	—	<i>Wilsfride</i> Bishop of <i>York</i> .	White Monkes.	0041 13 08 00 0
Rivans. P	Saint Mary.	<i>Walter Esfec</i> .	—	0058 05 09 0b q
Rofedale. P	—	The kings Progenitors.	Schooles. Writing. Grammar. and Musicke.	—
Rotherham. C	—	<i>Thomas Rotherham</i> Archbishop of <i>York</i> .	—	0271 19 04 0 0
Rupe, alias Roche. M	Our Lady.	The Ancestors of the <i>Cliffords</i> Earles of <i>Cumberland</i> .	—	0351 14 05 00 0
Rythall, or Rydall. M	—	—	—	0221 15 08 00 0
Salley. F	Saint Marie.	<i>William</i> the sonne of <i>Henry de Percy</i> .	White Monkes.	—
Scarborough. F	—	King <i>Edward</i> the second, A.D. 1319.	White Friars.	—
Scarborough. F	—	<i>Sir Adam Sage</i> .	Friars Preachers.	—
Scarborough. F	—	<i>Henry Percie</i> Earle of <i>Northumberland</i> .	Blacke Friars.	—
Selby. M	Saint Germans.	King <i>William</i> the first, A.D. 1078.	Blacke Monkes Benedictines.	0819 02 06 00
Sempringham. M	S. Gilbert and S. Mary Magd.	<i>S. Gilbert</i> the beginner of the Order, and <i>Agnes de Chester</i> .	Gilbertines.	0066 13 04 00 0
Smythwaite, or Scanning- thwaite. N	—	The Ancestors of the Earle of <i>Northumbert</i> .	Nunnes.	0062 05 00 00 0

Stoke

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Stokekyrke. Cella				0008 00 00 00
Sutton.				0013 18 08 00 0
Ecclesia Collegiata.				0134 06 09 00 0
Swinley.	N	The Ancestors of Sir <i>Iohn Melton</i> knight.	Nunnes.	0013 12 02 00 0
Thynkehead or Thickenhead.	N	The Ancestors of <i>Iohn Aike</i> .	Nunnes.	
Tickhill.	F	<i>Iohn Clarel</i> Deane of <i>Paulus</i> .	Friers Augustines.	
Warter.	P	<i>Galfridus Trusbur</i> knight, and <i>William Roffe de Hamela</i> . About king <i>Henry</i> the firsts time.	{ Blacke Canons Augustines.	0221 03 10 00 0
Watton.	M	<i>Ensfach</i> the sonne of <i>Fitz-Iohn</i> with one eye, in the raigne of King <i>Stephen</i> .	{ White Canons and Nunnes.	0453 07 08 00 0
Whitby.	M	Saint <i>Hilda</i> : Enriched by <i>Edelfleda</i> , King <i>Oswin</i> 's daughter, and himselfe destroyed by the <i>Danes</i> , it was redeemed by <i>William Perey</i> , about the coming in of the <i>Normans</i> .	Black Monks.	0505 09 01 00 0
Woderhall, Cella Sancte Trinitatis.				0128 05 03 00 0
Woodkirkke, A Cella S. Oswald.		Earle <i>Vvarren</i> .		0047 00 04 00 0
Wychem.	M	The Kinges Ancestors.	{ White Canons and Nunnes.	0025 17 06 00 0
Wylberfosse.	M	The Ancestors of the Archbishop of <i>York</i> .	Nunnes.	0028 08 08 00 0
Yedingham.	N	The Ancestors of the Lord <i>Latimer</i> .	Nunnes.	0026 06 08 00 0
	H		Nunnes.	0055 11 11 00 0
	M			0029 01 04 00 0
	M			0011 18 04 00 0
Montis Sancti Iohannis, Chappell Sepulchris.	Commen-darie.			0102 13 10 00 0
				0138 19 02 00 0



BASING-



S. ASAPH DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Basingwerke in Flintshire.	M			0157 15 02 00 0
Conway, or Aber-conway in Carnarvonshire.	M	Saint <i>Marie</i>	{ <i>Kenelme</i> sonne of <i>Gernaife</i> , once Prince of North-Wales.	0179 10 10 00 0
Hawston Comendarie.				0160 14 10 00 0
Lanllugor or Wanligan, in Montgomeryshire.	N		Nunnes.	0022 13 08 00 0
Strata-Marcella or Strata-marghill, in Montgomeryshire.	M			0073 07 06 00 0
Valla de Cruce in Denbighshire.	M	<i>Owen</i> the sonne of <i>Gryffin</i> , and confirmed by his sonne <i>Wemowen</i> , Anno Dom. 1202.		0214 03 05 00 0

BANGOR DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Bangor.	F		Blacke Friers.	0058 06 02 00 0
Bardeley in Carnarvonshire.	M	Saint <i>Mary</i> .		0069 03 08 00 0
Beaumays in Anglesey.	F		Grey Friers.	0024 00 00 00 0
Bethylherr.	M			
Castr. Cubij, Ecclesia Collegiata.				
Holyhead in Anglesey.	C			
Kynner in Merionethshire.	M	Saint <i>Mary</i> .		0058 15 04 00 0
Penmon.	P	<i>Lewellyne</i> the sonne of <i>Gernaife</i> .		0040 17 09 00 0
Siriolis.	M			0047 15 03 00 0

S. DAVIDS DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob. q.
Aberiguyilly.	C			0042 00 00 00 0
Alba-launda, in Carmarthenshire.	M			0153 17 02 00 0
Brecon.	P	S. Euangelist.		0134 11 04 00 0
Cardigan in Cardigan.	P			0013 04 09 00 0
Carmarden, in Carmarthen.	F		Grey Friers.	0174 00 08 00 0
Combehyre.	M			0024 19 04 00 0
Iuxta S. Davids in Pembroke.	C	Saint <i>Mary</i> .		0106 03 06 00 0
Denbigh in Denbigh.	F	<i>Iohn Duke of Lancaster</i> .		
Saint Dogmaells in Pembroke.	M	<i>Iohn Saintmore</i> , Anno Domini, 1339.	{ Carmelites or White Friers.	0068 01 06 00 0
Hauerford-west in Pembroke.	P	<i>Martinus de Twonibus</i> Lord of <i>Kenny</i> : after by <i>William Valence</i> , tempore H. 3.		0135 06 01 00 0

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Kydwell

Places	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob q
Kydwell in <i>Cel-</i>				0029 10 00 00 0
Carmarthen <i>St. Ia.</i>				0057 05 04 00 0
Llanfyllte in <i>M</i>				
Carmarthen <i>F</i>			Austine Friars.	0052 02 05 00 0
Newport <i>P</i>				0184 10 11 00 0
Pulla <i>Pre-</i>				
Slebach in <i>Bro-</i>				
Brembrock <i>ceptio-</i>				
shire <i>ria.</i>				
Stratford <i>M</i>		Griffith Rhesse and Meredith.		0122 06 08 00 0
or Stratflow-				
er in Card-				0020 00 00 00 0
iganshire <i>M</i>				
Swansey <i>M</i>				0153 01 04 00 0
Gardianatus <i>M</i>	Saint Mary.	Refusus.		
Talleia. <i>M</i>	and			
Tyroncufe. <i>M</i>	S. Iohn Bapt.	Robert Martin, tempore Hen.		

LANDAFFE DIOCES.

Places.	Dedication.	Founder and Time.	Order.	Value.
				l. s. d. ob q
Landaffe <i>M</i>	Saint Telean.	German and Lupus French Bishops.		
Ecclef. Cath.				
Abergueny in <i>P</i>				0059 04 00 00 0
Monmouthshire.				
Brecknocke <i>F</i>	S. Iohn Euang.	Barnard de Newmarch: Miles and Roger?	Blacke Friars.	
a Cell to Bat-		Earles of Hereford, in the raigne of H. I.		
tell Abbey. <i>F</i>			Grey Friars.	
Cardiffe. <i>F</i>			Blacke Friars.	
Cardiffe. <i>F</i>				0032 04 00 00 0
Cheptow, in <i>M</i>				
Monmouthsh.				
Gods-grace <i>M</i>	Beate Maria			0019 04 04 00 0
or Gracia Dei <i>M</i>	Virginis.			
in Monmouth <i>M</i>				
shire. <i>M</i>				
Goldcliffe, in <i>P</i>		Chandos.		
Monmouthsh.				
S. Kynmercy, <i>P</i>				0008 04 08 00 0
with a Chap-				
pell. <i>P</i>				
Lanerna in <i>M</i>				0071 03 02 00 0
Monmouthsh.				
Malpas, by <i>M</i>				
Newport near <i>M</i>				0014 09 11 00 0
the River of <i>M</i>				
Uske. <i>M</i>				
Monmouth in <i>P</i>	S. Katherine &		Blacke Monkes.	0056 01 11 00 0
Monmouthsh.	Saint Florence.			
Morgan in <i>M</i>		William Earle of Gloucester.		0188 14 00 00 0
Glamorgansh.				
Neth in <i>M</i>	Beate Maria	Richard Grannils.		0150 04 09 00 0
Glamorgansh.	Virginis.			
Tintern in <i>M</i>		Walterus filius Richardi, Comitis de Ogi,		0256 11 06 00 0
Monmouthsh.		frater Gilberti Comitis Pembrochia.		
Uske in <i>P</i>				0069 09 08 00 0
Monmouthsh.				

The



The Totall Number and Value of these

and all the Promotions Spirituall certified at the Taxation in King
Henry the eight his time of the first Fruites and Tenthes,
 are by the Record, as followeth.

Promotions.	Nüber particular	Number totall.	Value totall.
Archbishopsricks and Bishopricks.	21.		
Deaneries.	11.		
Archdeaconries.	60.		
Dignities and Prebends in Cathedral Churches.	394.		
Benefices.	8803.	1 2 4 7 4.1.	l. s. 320180. 10.
Religious Houses.	605.		
Hospitals.	110.		
Colleges.	96.		
Chauntries and free Chappels.	2374.		

Taken from the possession of the Clergy by *Henry the eight*, and converted to temporall uses out of the former summe, 161100. l. 9. s. 7. d. q. Since in this precedent Table, wee have laide to the Readers view a great part of this Kings ill, the waste of so much of Gods reueneue (howsoever abused) let him not holde it in curiosity, out of leason, since it may in charity fall well in sequence by setting downe the Churches either erected, or restored by him, or by him (which is the now state of our Clergy) continued to redcem his memory blemished by the former error, from the vulgar asperson of sacrilegious impietie.

This King after the dissolution of the Religious houses, erected these fixe Bishopricks, to witte, *Westminster, Chester, Peterborough, Oxford, Bristol, and Gloucester*, whereof the five last are in esse, and at the same time he erected also these Cathedral Churches hereafter mentioned, wherein he founded a Deane, and the number of Prebends following, viz.

Canterbury.	12	Gloucester.	6
Winchester.	12	Bristol.	6
Worcester.	10	Carloli.	4
Chester.	6	Durham.	12
Peterborough.	6	Rocheester.	6
Oxford.	6	Norwich.	6
Ely.	8		

The yearly value of which Cathedral Churches so newly by him erected, with the Collegiats of *Windsor, Westminster, and Wolwerhampton*, ouer and besides the Petti-Cannons, and other inferiour Ministers amounteth by estimation to 5942. l. 8. s. 2. d.

The Promotions Ecclesiastical, which for the most part, except a little pared, hee preferred entire, are in a generall estimate by the Shires, wherein they stand in the ensuing Table expressed.

The present Number and Value of the Spirituall Promotions in England and Wales.

Counties.	Promotions.	Value.
		l. s. d. ob. q.
Barkeshire.	139.	2053 06 00 00 0
Bedfordshire.	116.	1506 05 05 00 0
Buckinghamshire.	172.	2236 02 06 00 0
Cambridgeshire.	151.	1902 18 07 00 0
The Town of Callis, and the Marches thereof.	26.	0590 06 10 00 0
Cheshire.	68.	1776 12 00 00 0
Cornwall.	161.	2706 16 02 00 0
Cumberland and Westmorland.	63.	1022 06 06 00 0
Darby.	106.	1017 11 10 00 0
Deuonshire.	394.	7466 01 04 00 0
Dorsetshire.	248.	3077 05 08 00 0
The Bishopricks of Durham in the County of Northumberland.	118.	2332 07 05 00 0
Essex.	378.	5347 06 11 00 0
Yorkeshire.	440.	4974 00 00 00 0
Glostershire.	288.	3296 06 04 00 0
		Hunting-

The present Number and Value of the Spirituall promotions in England and Wales.

Counties.	Promotions.	Value.
Huntingtonshire.	79.	1097 02 06 ob q.
Hartfordshire.	120.	1837 16 00 ob o.
Herefordshire.	160.	1364 19 02 ob q.
Kent.	335.	3974 13 00 ob q.
Lancashire.	30.	0789 10 01 ob o.
Leicestershire.	199.	2564 14 08 ob o.
Lincolnshire.	638.	6129 01 04 ob o.
The City of London.	96.	3305 00 10 ob o.
Middlesex.	58.	1074 19 06 ob o.
Northfolke.	668.	6505 15 10 ob o.
Northamptonshire.	271.	3884 08 11 ob q.
Nottinghamshire.	168.	1640 07 09 ob o.
Oxfordshire.	164.	1917 17 07 ob o.
Rutlandshire.	52.	0548 00 10 ob o.
The Archdeaconry of Richmond.	105.	1841 11 08 ob q.
Shropshire.	190.	1530 05 10 ob o.
Staffordshire.	134.	0884 03 11 ob o.
Southamptonshire.	154.	3749 06 07 ob o.
Sommerfetshire.	385.	4910 13 07 ob o.
Suffolke.	428.	4811 08 00 ob o.
Surrey.	113.	1701 08 09 ob o.
Suffex.	322.	3069 16 04 ob o.
Warwickshire.	158.	1732 18 10 ob q.
Worcestershire.	153.	1035 14 00 ob o.
Wiltshire.	305.	3505 02 09 ob q.

Number total of the Benefices in England, 8501. Value total of the Benefices in England, 167721.1.5.2.

The feuerall Dioces of Wales.

	Promotions.	Value.
The Bishopricks of Saint Asaph.	312.	1536 18 07 ob.
The Bishopricks of Bangor.	104.	1225 05 08 ob o.
The Bishopricks of Landaffe.	166.	1204 11 10 ob o.
The Bishopricks of Saint Davids.	323.	2531 12 09 ob o.

Number total of the Benefices in Wales, 905. Value total of the Benefices in Wales, 6498.1.8.11.

Number total of the Benefices both in England and Wales, 9407. Value total of all the Benefices both in England and Wales, 173270.1.14.1.1.

The value of these inferior Promotions in England which haue cure of Soules, & haue suited into feuerall Proportions as they are rated in Record, and distinguished the Vicarages from Parsonages in the Table following.

Liuinges vnder tenne pound.	4543	Perfonages.	—
Liuinges of tenne pound, and vnder	1445.	Vicarages.	905.
twentie Markes.	—	Perfonages.	540.
Liuinges of twenty Markes, and vnder	1634.	Vicarages.	1134.
twenty pound.	—	Perfonages.	0490.
Liuinges of twenty pound, and vnder	0524.	Vicarages.	0414.
twenty fixe pound.	—	Perfonages.	0179.
Liuinges of twenty fixe pound, and	0206.	Vicarages.	0163.
vnder thirty pound.	—	Perfonages.	0043.
Liuinges of thirty pound, and vnder	0248.	Vicarages.	0188.
forty pound.	—	Perfonages.	0060.
Liuinges of forty pound and vp-	0144.	Vicarages.	0115.
wards.	—	Perfonages.	0029.

To preuent any mistaking in the Reader, I haue thought it not vnfitte to conclude this Table with the discouerie of my meaning by certain letters before vsed. viz.

M. Monastery. F. Friarie. C. Colledge.
P. Priorie. N. Nunnery. H. Hospital.

EDVVARD

EDVVARD THE SIXTH OF THAT
NAME, KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE
AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c.
THE FIFTIE NINTH MONARCH OF THE
ENGLISH, HIS LIFE, ACTS,
AND DEATH.

Monarch 59



CHAPTER XXII.

AD. 1547.



Griston.

Edward created
Duke of Wales
on his birth.

EDVVARD the sixt of that Name, and onely sonne liuing vnto King Henry the eight, was borne at his Mannor of Hampton Court in Middlesex, the twelfth of October, and yeere of saluation, 1537. and fixe dayes after being the eighteenth of the same moneth, hee was created Prince of Wales, Duke of Cornwall, and Earle of Chester: his birth was ioyfull vnto the King and Commons; but the death of his mother, the vertuous Queen Iane, brought immediat sorow vnto both, whose womb was cut (as some haue affirmed) to the sauing of his, but losse of her owne life, vpon whose death these elegant verses were writ;

*Phenix Iana sacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Sæcula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas.*

*Here lies the Phenix Lady Iane,
whose death a Phœnix bare,
O grieve, two Phœnixes at one time,
together neuer were.*

(2) Nine yeeres and od monethes hee was veruouly trained vp in the life of his father, and at his death appointed the first of his heires, and for want of Issue (if it so chanced) Mary, and thence failing, Elizabeth to succeed in his throne. for as Henry with Salomon was blame-worthy for women, so left hee but one sonne and two daughters, as the other in Scripture is said to haue done: Salomon had Rehoboam a foole and vnfortunate, his daughters, but obscure, and both of them Subiects; but Henry was

Alluding to the Crest of her Father a Phœnix in flames within a Crowne.

By his will dated the 30. of December, A.D. 1546.

Salomon and Henry compared in their finnes and in their liues.

E e e e e

was

A.D. 1546.

John Stow.

The Duke of
Berford made
Protector by
Parliament.

2. Chron. 34.

Iofiah and King
Edward compar-
ed. 1. Chron. 35.Statutes Ed. 6.
An. 1.John Leflie,
D.R.

Rich. Grafton

The English de-
fire the mari-
age with Scot-
land.An Epistle sent
vnto the Nobil-
ty of Scotland.The ancient
name Britaine
indifferent to
English and Sco-
tish.The Protector
goeth into Scot-
land.

was more happy in Edward his sonne, who proued another young *Salomon* himselfe, and his sisters both Soueraignes of an Imperiall Crowne.

(3) He beganne his raigne the twenty eight of January, in the yeere of *Christ Iesus* 1546, and the last of that moneth was proclaimed King of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith; and supreme Gouvernour of these Churches, with other his rightfull Titles to his Imperiall Stiles belonging. And on the twentieth of February following being Shroue-Sunday, was Crowned at *Westminster* with all due Solemnities.

(4) His Counsellors were appointed by his sickle Father as we haue said, and Protector ouer his Minoritie and Realmes (by consent of the Nobles) was ordained his Vncle *Edward Lord Seymer* Earle of *Herford* and Duke of *Somerset*, brother vnto *Queene Jane*, who thereupon gaue the young King the Order of Knight-hood, and the King immediately did the like vnto the Lord *Maier* of *London*.

(5) His first busines was to establish Gods seruice, who had established him in the Throne, and as another *Iofiah* in godly zeale, destroyed Idolatry, by pulling downe Images in England, as that King in *Iudah* did the Altars of *Baalim*, fought the Saluation of his Subiects, by sending forth Preachers to instruct the people, as *Iofiah* did the *Lewites* the teachers of *Israel* vnto their charges: brought the Bible in a knowne language to be read in the Church, as he did the Arke into the Temple of the Lord, commanded the ancient and true vse of the Sacrament in both kindes, as *Iofiah* commanded the Passouer both to be kild and celebrated in *Jerusalem*, and in all things proued another *Iofiah* indeed.

(6) And as *Edward* was busied in setting forth Gods glorie, so the Protector and Council were careful for the State of the Realme, and especially for their Kings marriage with *Mary* the young Queen of Scotland, vnto which a Parliament at *Edenburgh* had consented in Anno 1543, and for confirmation thereof had sent into England, *William Earle of Glamorgan*, *Sir George Dowglas*, *Sir William Hamilton*, and *Sir James Leirmond*, Scotch Knights, Ambassadors, vnto King *Henry* deceased, betwixt whom the contracts were sealed interchangeably as we haue said.

(7) And now by the Council of England was thought most fit to be fought after, and consummated, for the wealth and peace of the whole Iland: wherefore they published their desires to that end, in an Epistle sent to the Scottish Nobilitie, directed vnto them by the Lord Protector, wherein they were remembered of the many incursions, roades, and spoiles, committed and done, vpon either Kingdome through their continual hostilities, and warres: shewing likewise the necernesse of language, lineaments, and conditions of the Nations; inhabiting the same Iland, and therefore a most sure token (as they tooke it) to be defended from one and the same Originals vrging Gods prouidence, that had taken away all the Male-Princes of Scotland, leaving them only one daughter and in England, onely one sonne vnto King *Henry* among his many wiues. Their Princes themselves for yeeres, qualities, and magnificence, fely ordained to contract the vnion of Peace: alleging that England fought neither the prehemine nor the conquest of Scotland, but rather desired an equality both in state and government; and to that end offered to take the name of *Britaine* indifferent to both, though dishonorable to themselves, in bereauing their Nation of the glorie achieved, in many of their victories. These notwithstanding, the Scottish persisted to bestow their young Queene another way.

(8) Whereupon the Protector in person, vnder-tooke an expedition into Scotland, accompanied with the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Dares*, and *Grey of Wilton*, many Knights, and a most warlike army of Souldiers. *Edward Lord Clinton* Admirall

of the Fleet was appointed to Sea, and *Sir William Woodhouse* made his Vice-admirall: these meeting at *Berwicke* set forth into Scotland, declaring by found of Trumpet the cause of their coming, with profers of peace to all such of that Nation, as would aduance the marriage betwixt their two Princes, according to Couenants already concluded vpon.

(9) The Gouvernour of Scotland hearing newes of many Cattles surrender and surprize, and feares daily increasing by augmented reports, commanded his Herauldes with all possible diligence, to passe through all the parts of the Realme, and the fire Crosse to be borne wherefoeuer they came, a Custome indeed anciently vsed in greatest extremity, and onely then after this manner, two fire Brands set a Crosse were carried vpon the point of a speare, with Proclamation of the eminent danger, calling for aide, assigning the time and place, when and whither they were to resort: yet there be that say, It was a painted red Crosse set vp for certaine daies in the Field of that *Barony*, whereunto the aide should come: and those that refused, being aboute sixteene, and vnder sixty were accounted traitours, and their Land confiscated to the King. This ancient muster the Gouvernour commanded, appointing them a day to be at *Muskillburn* in defence of their liberties and young Princes life: which presently strucke such regard to their hearts, that thither they throng who should bee first, and pitched their Standards euen in the face of the Enemy.

(10) Many warlike enterprises were attempted betwixt them, many prisoners taken, and stout Souldiers slaine, vpon the Scots part the Lord *Hume* by a fall from his horse lost his life, & his sonne with one *Maxwell* and sixe other Gentlemen taken prisoners. Of the English were hurt *Henry Vane*, and *Barteneill*, a French-man: *Bulmer*, *Gower*, and *Crouch*, three Captaines of the light horsemen were taken prisoners: all which so happened before the day of great Battell.

(11) Whilist these things proceeded, and either part plaied vpon the advantage, Earle *Huntly* of Scotland sent a Herauld and Trumpet vnto England Protector, with profers of Combate, either twenty to twenty, ten to ten, or in single fight themselues man to man, which surely was honorable, the Scots hauing aduantage for pumber, and Charitable for the sauing of Christian blood: but their persons vnequall in regard of his place, that demand was denied, and profers made for the battell, which happened euen the next day following, being the tenth of September and the last of the weeke.

(12) The place where the English lay encamped, was vpon the Bankes of *Edenbrough Frith*, wherein their Ships stoted to further the Land seruice, and those seeking the aduantage of a hill called *Pinkincleche*, halted thitherward betimes in the morning; the Scottish thinking they had fled to their Shippes, made the like halt to impeach their March, their Armie they diuided into three Battels, the Vanguard whereof was led by the Earle of *Angus*, the rereguard by the valiant Earle *Huntley*, and in the great Battell, was the Gouvernour with the Earle of *Argile*, and many other of the Scottish Nobilitie.

(13) These eager of spoile, and filled with hope, halted furiously forward, without all feare or any good Order, and breath-leffe, almost passed ouer the *Riuer Eske*, preventing thereby the expectation of the enemy, but being within danger of shot, the English Fleet from the Roade let freely fly among a wing of the Irish Archers, slaying many, with such terror to the rest, as hardly could they be gotten for to goe forward, which indangered them more. The Scottish Armie thereupon remoued somewhat Southward, seeking to get the higher ground with aduantage both of Sunne and winde, the desire whereof caused them little to regard the helpe of horse, but for haste drew their great Ordinance thitherward only by maine strength of men.

(14) The

The English made Proclamation in Scotland.

The name of this hill is not agreed vpon, wee call it *Muskillburn*: the Scots call it *Muskillburn*.

John Leflie.

The manner of the fire-crosse.

The Kings Standard in danger.

The Kings Standard in danger.

The Kings Standard in danger.

The Kings Standard in danger.

The Kings Standard in danger.

The Kings Standard in danger.

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The Kings Standard in danger.

(14) The English Captaines perceiving what the Scottish intended, and that now no skirmish but a Battell must be vndergone fell to Consultation, being mounted in their saddles, where with such resolutions they departed asunder, that *John Earle of Warwicke*, Lord Marshall of the field, desired the Protector to be good vnto his wife and Children, if on his part things went not well with him. By this time the Armies were at point to ioine battell, in the place called *Edmondstone-edge* neere vnto *Muskillburn*, where the Master of the English Ordinance had mounted two Canons neere vnto the top of the hill. The Scottish came forward, faster then an ordinary Marche, their pikemen thicke ranged together, bearing broad Bucklers in their left hands.

(15) At the first encounter Captain *Shelley* Lieutenant of the band of *Bulleners*: Captain *Ratcliffe* brother to the Lord *Fixwater*, with many Gentlemen of name and account, were slaine, and the Lord *Grey of Wilton* General of the Horsemen, dangerously hurt in the mouth with a Pike: and indeed such was the fury of the Scots first encounter, that the English horsemen were forced backe, and in retiring ranne through, and bare downe a part of their owne foote-men, to their great hurt: when their Kings Standard (borne by *Sir Andrew Flammoche*) was laid flat hold on by the Scottish, and had not that *Knight* strength beene the more, and his horse the better, himselfe had beene slaine, and the Standard lost, which notwithstanding was graiped so fast, that the Scots bare away the Nether end of the staffe to the burrell.

(16) The Canons from the hill, plaied fore vpon the Scottish, and so did the Ordinance out of the English Fleet, whose terrible noise and smooke, filled the Armies with furious Cries, and darkened the day as with the Clouds of night: The retreat of the Protectors Horsemen, disordering their fellows (as is said) gaue signes vnto the Scots of a present victory, who now vpon a forward Courage distanked themselues for halt, and fell vpon the disbanded English, who presently by their leaders were brought into Array, and fiercely pressed forward vpon the vangard of the enemy, their aduantage the more, for that the Scots wanted shot to answere their violence; which caused them in hast confusedly to retire towards their great Battell, and those misdeeming the day had beene lost, turned their backs and fled; the chase was followed almost fife miles, wherein the Lord *Fleming* with sundry men of note were slaine: *Bishop Leslie* recorder ninth by name, besides ten thousand of their souldiers that therein lost their liues, and prisoners taken, about a thousand persons, the chiefe whereof was the Earle of *Huntly*, Chancellour of Scotland, the Lord *Resler*, *Hobby*, *Hamilton* Captaine of *Dunbarre*, the Master of *Sampole*, the Lord *Wimmes* and a brother of the Earle of *Caithes*: such was the successe of the English, and losse of the Scottish.

(17) Lieth they sacked and set on fire, tooke the Iland *Saint Colmes*, brought their *Rockesburgh*, *Humes* Castle, and others: so that many Gentlemen in *Tiuidall*, and the *Meres*, came to the Protector and entered into termes and conditions of Peace. In the meane while by the working of the Gouvernour, and Queene *Dowager*, the young Queene was suddenly conveyed from *Striueling*, vnto the *Ile*, and Abbay of *Michmahemo*, as to a place of more security, and shortly after into France to be married vnto the *Dolphine*, thence then being of age betwixt fife and sixe: whereat the English so stormed, as they determined and threatened the Conquest of Scotland. But God who is the disposer of Kingdomes, and hath the hearts of Princes in his owne hand, in his vnsearchable decrees, saw it not time to vntie as yet, the whole Iland vnder one Crowne, to which end he suffered the French to assist the Scots, and England to be burthened with her owne ciuill broyles.

(18) For the Protector returned, and a Parlia-

ment at *London* assembled, all Colledged Free-Chapels, and Chanteries, were given to the King, where in was repealed the Statute formerly made, and commonly called the *fixe articles*, which had beene the cause of many Martyrs deaths, in the daies of King *Henry* his Father, as also other enacted by King *Richard* the second, and *Henry* the first, for the suppression of Scriptures in English, and other points held, in their daies accounted heretical, at which time also iniunctions went forth to cleanse the Church of all Images, and Commissioners sent with authority to pull them downe, who first began at the Cathedral Church of *Saint Paul* in *London*, and thence proceeded casting downe those Idols, in all the Churches throughout England and Wales. Whereof great stirres presently happened and in *Cornwall* the first.

(19) For the Kings Commission being put in practice, and these gay golden Images cast downe, broken and burnt, their Priests accounted the Act sacrilegious, and one of them as *Baals* for zeale, fought to make his sacrifice with blood, but sparing his owne, sheathed his knife in the heart of Master *Bodys* a Commissioner, imploied about the same business: which fact was so fauoured among the rural Commons of *Cornwall*, and *Devonshire* (who euer gaue voice for the papall continuance) that in a rebellious manner they combined together against the King.

(20) Their chiefe Captaines were *Humfrey Arundell*, Gouvernour of the Mount, with sixe other Gentlemen of name, neither were the Priests backward in so bad a worke, whereof *Robert Bocham*, and seauen others were the forwardest men; accompanied with no lesse then ten thousand tall Souldiers, who all fought to vndoe those points of religion, which the King by law and act of Parliament had ordained to be obserued: Whereupon they besieged the City of *Excester*, and with many sharp assaults fought the possession thereof, twice firing the Gates, and leaving nothing vndone that either wit or warre would afford to obaine: for they brought the Citizens to such distresse that they forced them to mould vp branne for their bread, working it in Cloathes, for otherwife could they not bring it to incorporate together: their daintiest flesh was their owne horses, and those slaine were distributed aswell to the poore as rich for which their loyalty and most faithfull seruice King *Edward* did both highly esteeme them, and richly reward them by confirmation of the Cities Charters, enlarging the liberties, augmenting the reuenues and giuing vnto the Citizens the manner of *Exilemd*, as the signet of his loue for their seruice to the Crowne, to be had in remembrance of their loyalty for euer. Meane while the Rebels robbed the Countrey, vnto whom all things was common that came vnto hand.

(21) The Rebels, thus pestering those parts with their riotous attempts, looked and well hoped that others would haue ioined to their aide, but therein deceived, they lastly fell to Consultation what was to be done, and in fine concluded for the best policy to atticle with the King, which how to be set downe, bred likewise much trouble and disturbance with their confused cries: for these rude and vnexperienced Counsellors made their owne conceiued opinions the fundamentall matters for redresse, some would haue this, and other some that; but none would be gainesaid of his will or demand, holding his voice as worthy of hearing in this Court of assembly, as his body an aide to support the Action, so that long it was ere they could fight on their owne discontentes; and longer ere they could agree what they would haue reformed, onely still constant in variable vnconstancy, for some would haue no Iustices, others no Gentlemen, Parkes must be Parkes, and Infollores must downe, the Priests euer pulling the Bell rope to ring the Mass into England, and to towle Cardinalles Peale from Rome, and with much

The act of the fixe articles repealed.

Images suppressed.

Body murdered by a Priest for pulling downe Images.

John Fox in Acts and Monuments

Commotion in Cornwall.

Excester in great distresse by the rebels.

King Edwards gift vnto Excester.

The confusions among the rebels.

The Clergie for the Pope.

Articles of the
Rebels.
Sacrament of
Baptisme.

Confirmation.

Consecration of
the Lords body.
Itolished.Referuation of
the Lords Body
consecrated.
Holy Bread and
Holy water.Priests' not to be
married.The fixe Artie
cles.The Kings an
swere and Gen
eral pardon.The first article
answered.The second arti
cle answered.The third article
answered.Their other ob
jections answered.

much adoe, lastly to little purpose these Articles were agreed vpon, and sent to the King, the Copy whereof was thus.

(22) *Forasmuch as man, except he be borne of Water and the holy Ghost, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the gates of Heaven be not open without this blessed Sacrament of Baptisme, therefore we will that our Curates shall minister this Sacrament, at all times of need as well in the weeke daies, as on the holy daies.*

Item, wee will haue our children confirmed of the Bishops whensoever we shall within the Diocesse resort vnto them.

Item forasmuch as we constantly beleue that after the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration being at Masse, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the Body and blood of our Sauour Iesus Christ God and Man, and that no substance of Bread and Wine remaineth after, but the very same Body that was borne of the Virgine Mary, and was giuen vpon the Crosse for our Redemption: therefore we will haue Masse celebrated as it hath bene in times past, without any man communicating with the Priests, forasmuch as many rudely presuming vnworthily to receive the same put no difference betwene the Lords body and other kind of meate; some saying that it is bread before and after: some saying that it is profitable to no man except hee receiue it, with many other abused termes.

Item we will haue in our Churches referuation.
Item wee will haue holy bread, and holy water in the remembrance of Christs precious Body and blood.

Item we will that our Priests shall sing and say with an audible voice, Gods seruice in the Quiet of the Parish Churches, and not Gods seruice to be set forth like a Christmas play.

Item for asmuch as Priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed Sacrament, and preaching of Gods word, we will that they shall liue chaste without marriage, as Saint Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God: saying vnto all honest Priests, beyee followers of mee.

Item we will that the fixe Articles which our Soueraigne Lord King Henry the eight set forth in his later daies, shall bee vsed, and so taken as they were at that time.

Item we pray God saue King Edward, for we be his both body and goods.

(23) To these their Demands the King sent this answer, therein pitying their ignorance, and blaming their folly, and therewithall his Generall pardon, to as many as would desist whiles it was time. First he reproved them, for their presumptions, thus contumeliously to rise against their dread Soueraigne, to the disturbance of his loyal Subjects peaces; whose simplicity they had notoriously abused, in viling his name to draw them into action of Rebellion: and no lesse likewise in the grounds of their demands. As in their first Article for Baptisme, where it was well knowne the same was admitted as necessity required, or rather commanded by the Booke of Common praier, published by authority of Parliament, and as themselves knew in present practise. But touching the Sacrament in their second Article, how impudently they did belie the true receivers thereof, was manifest, who make so much difference in that holy administration, that they account no profit in Common bread, besides the nourishment of their naturall Bodies: but this blessed bread to be the food of their soules vnto eternall life. And as you are seduced in these (saith the admonition) so in confirmation also they carry your simplicities captiue, for the truth teacheth no otherwise then themselves beleue, namely, that a Child baptized, and giue before confirmation is neither in state of Grace, else are themselves causes of their childrens damnation: so the seruice of God brought from an vnknowne tongue, cannot surely offend any reasonable man, which is onely to make him vnderstand that, which before he knew not, and

to giue his consent to those prayers, whereof he hath most need, and giueeth the neere touch to his owne feeling conscience for God requieth the heart onely which with an vnderstanding seruice, we must sacrifice vnto him. But most of all (saith this good King) we maruell at your demand, for the fixe Articles restored, to haue them in power as formerly hath bene. Doe you know what you aske, or in obtaining doe you know what you get? They were lawes indeed lately made, but quickly repented; too cruell for you, and too mercilesse for vs; who would haue our Raigne written with milke, and not with blood, and because they were bloody, we took them away, with the same authority, by which they were made; least reteining them, our sword should be too often drawne, and rigour extended vpon our true and well-deseruing Subjects. We for our parts seeke no longer to liue, then to be a father vnto our people, and as God hath made vs your rightful King, so hath he commanded you vnto obedience: by whose great Maiestie we sweare, you shall feelee the power of the same God in our sword, which how mighty it is, no Subject knoweth, how puissant it is no private man can iudge, and how mortall no English heart can thinke: therefore embrace our mercy while it is offered, least the blood spilt by your meanes cry vengeance from the Earth, and be heard in the eares of the Lord in Heaven.

(24) All this notwithstanding, the Rebels persisted in their traitorous attempts: against whose seditions Sir John Russell Lord Priuy Seale, was appointed Generall of the Kings Army; vnto whose assistance was ioined the Lord Grey of Wilton, vnder whom serued a band of Italians intended against Scotland, theie lay at Brisflow attending the coming of the Lord Generall: who now was marched Westward to Hamton, where daily looking for more supply, those which he had, began to shrink away, whereby the Rebels were emboldned to make towards him, and came as far as Fenington-bridge within three Miles of Hamton, and in a faire Meadow there spread their Colours. The Lord Russell though weak in comparison of them, holding it more honour to assaile then to be assailed, made forward euen vnto the Bridge: at whose sight the Enemies prepared themselves to fight, and with a strong guard maintained the Bridge, besides which there was passage ouer the Riuer, that held his course betwixt the two Armies.

(25) Great were the attempts the Lord Lieutenant gaue, and manfull was the resistance that the Rebels made, yet lastly the way was wonne, and followed vnto the battell of the disloyals: where presently began a most cruell fight, and a while was maintained to the losse of their blood, but the false hearts failing, and the true Subjects courage increasing, the Cornish immediately gaue backe and fled, whereat the Kings soldiers out of Order fell to the spoile, minding nothing lesse then that which presently ensued, for the Cornishmen perceiuing their disordered carriage, suddenly returned, and began a new fight, when the Lord Russell likewise ordered a new his Army: these furiously ioining, a sharpe and cruell encounter ensued, with the losse of much blood, and the lues of three hundred Rebels, who lastly tooke to their heeles and left the field: the chase a while followed, and the soldiers scattered, a fearful cry suddenly arose, that all the Commons were vp, which caused the Lord Generall to returne vnto Hamton: whether shortly came the Lord Grey of Wilton, hauing in pay Spanish an Italian Captaine with three hundred foot.

(26) The Lord Russell forces augmented, his greatest care was to releue the City Exeter, whither vpon the third of August he halted from Hamton being a thousand strong; and passing ouer the Downes toward Woodbury, lodged his Campe that night neere to the Wind-Mill, whereof the Rebels hauing intelligence, raised themselves from Saint

Answer to the
fixe articles.King Edward
lawes written
in milke and
not blood.Spoken like a
King.Forces sent
against the rebels.John Russell
in description
of Exeter.The rebels
made toward the
Lord Generall.The valliant
tempe of the
Lord Russell.The rebels
made to fight.The rebels
turne and take
the fight.And againe
to fight.

Mary Clift, and made amaine vnto the Downes, thinking to surpriue the Lord Generall before hee was ready; but hee as vigilant as they were forward, encountered them againe in battell, and againe gaue them the ouerthrow with the losse of the most of their liues, the rest escaping by flight, got vnto the Towne of Saint Mary Clift.

(27) The newes thereof bruited, and the Papal side bruited by these three ouerthrowes, the Commons in whole troupes resorted to their aide, and to make all sure on their side (by the presence and helpe of their consecrated God) they brought into the field the Crucifix vnder a Canopy, which in stead of an Altar was set in a carte, accompanied with Crosse, and Candlesticks, Banners, Holy Bread, and holy-water, both to driue away Diuels, and to dull their enemies swords; which notwithstanding they did not, neither could they deliuer themselves in the day of destruction; for the Towne being fired, and the Armies met vpon Clift heath, a most cruell and bloody battell was fought, wherein was slaine the whole rout of the Rebels, & all these trinkets cast in the dirt.

(28) The chiefe Captaines were taken and sent vnto London, who were Humfrey Arundell, Winsland, Holmes and Burie, who there paid the law with the losse of their liues. Many others were executed without iudgement, onely by Marshall Law, as was Boier Maior of Bodmin in Cornwall, vnto whom Sir Anthony Kingston, Prouost Marshall sent worde he would visite him at dinner, but before he was set downe, commanded the Maior to cause a paire of Gallows to be set vp; & the Table taken away, he willed the said Maior to accompany him to the place, & there presently commanded Boier his Host to the halter, and saw him hanged before he departed.

(29) At the same time, and neere the same place dwelled a Miller, who had bene a busie doer in the Rebellion, but hee knowing the danger, willed his man to take the name of the master, if any enquired after him; whereupon the said Sir Anthony came to the mill, and calling for the master, the man in his name presented himselfe, who trait commanded him vnto the Gallows, the seruant then seeing the danger of death, confessed hee was not the master, but the man: well, said the Knight, thou canst neuer doe thy master better seruice then to hang for him, and thereupon trusted him vnto the next tree.

(30) As these things were in acting in the West, so other Commotions arose in other partes of the Land, though broched vnder another pretence, namely the laying open of inclosures, which the king by Proclamation had commanded to be done, but many offenders bearing themselves out with greatnesse, slackened the execution, and the poorer presuming vpon the Kings pleasure, began to execute his commission themselves, and chose in many places at once, as in Kent, Essex, Sommerfet, Buckingham, Northampton and Lincoln shires they did.

(31) But most dangerous was that in Norfolk, whole Inhabitants following the examples of the rest, held out much longer, and in more violent manner. Their first attempt was at Aylborough against one Greene that had taken away part of their commons, next at Wymonham, where by the instigation of John Flowerdew they cast downe the fences of Inclosures, belonging to Robert Keta a Tanner in the same Towne; who to bee euen with Flowerdew brought them to Hetherfet, and set them on worke to pull downe both hedge and ditch of his pasture grounds inclosed: to which worke hee gaue such desperate encouragements, that these vnriues presently chose him for their ringleader, who with them passed to Benthrope, laying all leuel where they came.

(32) Their number encreasing, and doings outrageous, Sir Edmund Windam Knight, at that time high Sherriffe of the Shire, made proclamation among

them in the Kings name to depart, which if they did not forthwith, he pronounced them Traitors, but had not his Horse bene the swifter, hee had bene either taken or slaine, thereupon their terror began to be fearfull, & themselves to be furnished with weapons, Armour, and Artillery, daily brought them in abundance by the By-dwellers, besides store of victuals to maintain their Campe.

(33) But now considering what dangers were open, if disperdely scattered they should attend their bad worke, they held it best policy to draw to one place: and to fortifie themselves together with further strength; whereupon with full resolution, Monbold was thought fittest neere vnto Mount Surrey, a place built by these Earles of that County, and vpon S. Leonards hill which hangeth ouer Norwich, they vnknelted themselves, besides these of Monbold, a lesser rabble of them lay at Rising-chase neere Linne, which were rowled thence by the Gentlemen of those parts: who first from Watton, then from Thesford, and next from Bradon, were forced to their litter at Monbold.

(34) Their parts were rigorous, or rather inhumane euen to their welwillers, for it is knowne truth, that Sir Roger Woodhouse in kinde courtesie bringing them two Carts laden with Beere, and another with victuals, was recompensed with the losse of all his Horses, his owne apparell, and his body tugged, and torne, cast into a ditch, whom lastly with others was imprisoned by them in the house of Mount Surrey, and yet would they seeme verie Religious, hauing one Comiers for their Chaplen, who devoutly said seruice vnto them both morning and evening.

(35) To these, the lewdly disposed of Suffolke assembled, as also the scum and dregs out of Northwich, adding still fewell to their own smoaky flames by firing of Beacons, ringing of Bels, and what not, to set all in an uproare: some true and faithfull Subjects they violently led away, and made them of their counsell, namely Thomas God, Maior of Norwich, Robert Watton Preacher, and Thomas Alderliche Gentleman, Sergeant & Cailyn, Sergeant Gandy, whom they kept fettered, and compelled them to be attendant vpon Kette; who now tooke vpon him to bee the Kings Deputy, and to giue out warrants in his Maiesties name, by vertue of which many of Worship and credit were fetched from their dwellings, brought before him, and violently cast into prison: their Rabble encreased to the number of sixteene thousand men.

(36) And that the shew of iustice and piety was only the marke whereat these lawlesse leuelled, they ordained a tribunall feat in an olde tree, whose Canopie was the Cope of Heaven: In this late the Tanner as Chauncellor or chiefe Iudge, accompanied with his Counsellors, assisted by two chosen men out of euery hundred among them, higher assembled the complaints of the Campe, and hence had they commission to fetch out of Ships both Ordinance, powder and shotte, and out of Gentlemens houses all abilements of ware: and heere such Raskals as had exceeded their commission had iudgement of imprisonment, so that this tree was termed, the Oake of Reformation, whence likewise sometimes Sermons were deliuered to the people, and once by the Reuerent Doctor Parker, which had almost cost him his life.

(37) To these the Kings generall Pardon was publicly pronounced by an Herald at Arms, but so farre off from embracing, as the Rebels from the height of the hill, shot at the Citie, which doing little harme, they remoued their Ordinance to the lower ground, and thence beganne to batter the walles, and without great resistance entred the town, where they became Masters of all the munitions, and emprisoned the Maior, and many other Citizens.

(38) These times thus troublesome, the King

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sought

Sir Edmund
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place of the
randeuour.The inhumani
ties of the Com
motioners.Supplies of the
commotioners.Many good sub
jects forced to
attend vpon the
Rebels.The tree of Re
formation.The Kings par
don contained.Norwich wonne
by the Rebels.

Aidefent vnto
Norwich.Lord Marquesse
enters Norwich.The L. Sheriff
slaime.The L. Mar-
quesse forced out
of Norwich.The Lord Dud-
ley made gentes
all against the
Rebels of
Norfolke.The Earle en-
tereth the City
Norwich, and
executeth so,
rebel by Mar-
shall law.

Alexander Nevill.

The great Ord-
nance wonne by
the Rebels.

fought to quiet, and to that end sent the L. William Parr, Marques of Northampton, with fifteen hundred horsemen vnto Norwich, accompanied with the Lords Sheffield, and Wentworth, besides many Knights; who at his first coming thither, summoned the City to yeeld; the Magistrates whereof as willingly obeyed, and repairing to his Standard, yeelded vp their Cities sword vnto him; declaring themselves true Subjects to the King, though some of the bader sort had fauoured Kets doing, and with them immediately the Lord Marquesse entered the City, which the same night was assaulted by the Rebels, whom hee manfully resisted, and slew three hundred of their riotous rout.

(39) The next day following these bloud-hounds vnkennelled by troupes, and entering the City by the Hospitall, begonne a most cruell fight, wherein the Lord Sheffield by the fall of his horse into a ditch was butchered slaime by a Butcher, as he sought to recover himselfe, and the rebels now flected with their fortunate chance, followed the chafe with such slaughter and cry, that they forced the Lord Marquesse to forsake the City, and therein tooke Sir Thomas Cornwallis prisoner, whom they straitly kept in durance till their last overthrow. Norwich they ranlack and set on fire, whose ashes as yet fill vpe their ruines, and more had been made, had not God quenched these flames by shoures from Heauen.

(40) The Lord Marquesse returned, and the Rebels holding Norwich, it was more then time to looke to the maine chance; and therefore those forces that were gathered to invade others, were now thought the fittest to secure our selues, our whom was appointed the Lord John Dudley, the warlike Earle of Warwicke: hee coming to Cambridge prepared for the enemy, whither hee returned the forsake Lord Marquesse, the Lords Willoughby, Powes, and Gray, his sonnes Ambrose and Robert, with many of the Norfolk men, and the twenty three of August shewed himselfe vpon the plaine before Norwich, whence to faue the effusion of bloud, hee sent Norrey and a Trumpet to summon the City, and to offer a general pardon; which being againe refused, hee caused his Ordinance to bee planted against S. Steuens gate, and his Pioners to breake open the brazen gate, whereat many made entry, and diuers were slaime.

(41) S. Steuens gate forced open by Canon shot, the Earle of Warwicke entered the City, and with small resistance came into the Market place, where threecore Rebels were incontinently executed by Marshall law. But the Earles carriages passing thorough the City, were surprized and taken by the enemy, wherein was great store of powder and shot, which with triumph they conuained to their Campe, and tooke it a signe of further successe, their want consulting most in those prouisions, wherupon they manned the streets of that City, and slew very many of the Kings friends; but the shouers of arrowes and shot from the kings Subjects so rained amongst them, that they were forced backe to take shelter in Manshold their hole of refuge.

(42) The Earle of Warwicke thus mastering the City, shuttall the Gates, them onely excepted that gaue way toward Manshold, and those hee planted with his great Artillery. The Rebels perceiving what hee went about, suddainly made downe towards the Gate, and with great courage and confused cries, fell with such violence vpon their attendants, that they gaue backe and fled, leauing their Ordinance to the will of the Rebels, who presently disposed them amongst their owne, so that the Earle stopped likewise those passages, and imploied all his endeauour to defend the City, which notwithstanding he could not, the Rebels making incursions ouer the ruer from their well stored Campe: and setting the firectes in many places on fire, whose attempts so continued and prospered to euill, as some

despairing of any good, counselled the Earle to be gone. But so farre was he from such staine of honour, that drawing forth his owne sword, commanded other to doe the like, and with an interchangeable kisse confirmed the resolution of his bold courage, a Custome indeed vied in greatest danger of warre. And thereupon determining another way to worke, sought to stop the passage from all conuoy of victuall, which the Rebels perceiving, set fire on their Cabbins, and with enignes displayed, entrenched themselves at the foote of the Hill, in the valley called Duffin-dale, partly vpon vaine Prophecies pronounced amongst them by certaine wizards, who gaue forth that *Hob, Dic, and Hic*, (meaning the Rusticks) with their Clubs should fill vp the valley of Duffin-dale with the bodies of the dead.

(43) The next day being the fteuen and twentieth of August, the Lord Generall prepared for fight, hauing newly receiued a supply of foureteen hundred Lances. But before that Mars should trie his strength by sword, hee sent vnto them a Generall pardon for all things that were past, which when they had againe vtterly reiecte, hee ranged his battels for fight. The Rebels likewise, set themselves in order, wherein the fore-ranke all the Gentlemen whom they had taken Prisoners, were placed and coupled in Irons for starting away, so that their dangers were doubled, and themselves exposed to death as well by their friends, as by their enemies.

(44) But before the charge could be giuen, one Miles a most skillfull Gunner amongst them made thor at the Kings Standard, and strucke the Bearer thereof in the thigh, and his horse through the shoulder, which so moued the Earle that hee caused a whole volly of Artillery to be discharged against them, when Captaine Drury with his owne band and the Almshouses, thrust fore vpon them, and opened their Battell, whereby most of the Captiue Gentlemen escaped away, vpon which brunt the Earles light horsemen came so valiantly on, that the Rebels gaue backe and fled: and with the formost Robert Ket their Captaine, vpon a swift horse galloped away, the Chafe continued three miles and more, with the slaughter of three thousand and five hundred rebels.

(45) Their battell thus broken, and the most part fled: those notwithstanding that kept about the Ordinance, determined to die like men, and inclosing themselves among the Carts and Carriages, had the aduantage of a Trench and certaine stakes stucke against the horsemen, whereby they stood more resolutely at defence. The Noble Earle pitying their case, and loath to loose so many braue men, sent Norrey King at Armes vnto them, with proffer of pardon if they would lay downe Armes, and returne to obedience, otherwise they well saw, there was no way but death: Their answer was, that they were free borne English men, who did disdain all ignominious death, wherunto they said, they were appointed, and barrels of ropes brought into the field (as they were informed) to strangle them, so that if they must needs die, they chose the manly deaths of Souldiers, not trusting the sugred promises for surprize, and then to be trussed vp like dogs.

(46) Their answer returned, and compassion still working in the Lord Generals breast, euen when hee had set his whole Army against them both of horse and foote; and the signe of battell ready to haue beene giuen, hee sent to them once more, to know if they would belicue and embrace their pardon, if hee came in person to declare it to them himselfe; wherunto they answered, that they knew him to be honourable, and would from his mouth most thankfully receiue it: thereupon hee repayed vnto them, and causing againe their pardon to be read, confirmed the same with such effectual words, as they all cast away their weapons, and with one voice cried, *God saue King Edward.*

(47) The

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(47) The day following, Ket the Captaine of this sedition, crept into a Barne of one M. Ribbes of Swanton, by two of his seruants apprehended, & with 20. horsemen conueied to Norwich, where 9. of the chiefest Rebels had iudgement of death; and were all of them hanged vpon the Oake of Reformation, which not till then, had the true note of that name. Ket with his brother William were brought vnto London, and thence backe againe into Norfolk, where William Ket the younger was hanged vpon the high Steeple of Windonham, and Robert Ket the Arch-Rebell in chaines vpon the Castell of Norwich, whose Citizens annually solemnized the day of their deliuey with no lesse ioy, then the Lewes did when they had escaped the sword of wicked Haman.

(48) These hazards set in the South, West, and East, the North likewise amongst them would come in for a calt, as forward and able to vndergoe rebellion, and their zeale as hore as any others, the occasion conceiued, was the Papall Religion abolished by Law, whose tottering toppie they meant to make steady by maine strength of Armes, notwithstanding the very foundations were so shrewdly vndermined. The place where this canker beganne was Seimer in the North-riding in Yorkshire spreading it selfe further into the East-riding also, & the first broachers of this giddy heady wine, were persons no better then William Ombler a Yeoman, Thomas Dale a Parrish Clerke, and one Steuenfon the Post, employed to blanch forth these businesse betwixt them.

(49) Their pretences were faire, as to restore the Church hier right, and to disburden the land of all grieuances imposed, this liring euer founding, that the Pope was the Man, that King Edward was an Intruder, if not a meere heretike, that the Church had the power of both the swords, which now vpon a blind prophesie they presupposed should be drawne against the King & his Nobles, whose times (as they beleueed) should bee no more, but that the land should be ruled by foure gouernours, when the Commons should meete in a Parliament assembled from the foure winds, which they interpreted from the foure Coasts of England, whereof themselves now made the last.

(50) First therefore to raise men, and to bring all into confusion, they fired their Beacons, whence the sparkes of sedition were carried amaine; for the ruder alwayes vnwilling to labour, and the fittest fewell to breake into flame, flocked together on heapes, each one hauing a Common-wealth in his head, and all of them disliking the reformation of religion that the King had commanded: Among these, the most seditious had euer a voice which drew content to forward the Action, and especially to beare downe the rich, whereof they made their first assay vpon white a Gentleman, Sauagea Marchant, Clapton and Berry, whom they cruelly murdered, and disposing them of their apparell left their naked bodies on the World before Seimer, thence passing forward from Towne to Town, tooke many away that were vnwilling to goe, and all too fulfill their perfidious prophesie.

(51) Their number now increased vnto three thousand, the Country beganne to grow in great feare, especially the Gentlemen, and the richer sort, seeing their liues and substance thus thifted for and sought after; but presently downe came the kings pardon with proffers of life, which so willingly was embraced, that Ombler & Dale were quite forsaken, & almost left alone, who with Wright, Peasecke, Weatherell, and Buttry were worthily executed at Torke vpon the one and twenty of September following.

(52) As the Commons by these tumultuous rebellions greatly diquieted the peace of the land, so the chiefest Lords did disturb the Court of the young King, where the greatest Counsellors through e-

mulation and disdaine, banded each against others, without respect of themselves, or regard of their Soueraigne; whereof the Kings vnclies, the Protector and Admirall are noted for the first, and with the first paid their offences with their liues: they both were the brethren of Queene Jane the Kings mother deceased; the elder Lord Edward Duke of Sommerfet was Protector of his Person, Realmes and Dominions. And Thomas Lord Seamer Baron of Sadley the younger, high Admirall of England, both worthy persons, had they known their owne worths: for so long stood they in safety of life and true honor as the bounds of brotherhood and nature stood vnviolated betwixt them; but that once broken, their liues lay open to dishonour and death.

(53) The younger brother Lord Thomas had married Queene Katherine Paree, the last of the many wiues of King Henry the eight; who vndoubtedly bore himselfe no meaner by that match, neither she the state or name of a Dowager Queene: though of herselfe a woman complete with singular humility. And the Dutcheffe of Sommerfet matched with the greatest Peere in the Land, held her State equall to her husbands degree: and for place and precedence, as report hath diuulged, the lamentable tragédie of these two great Brethren beganne; which now in acting brought vpon the Stage at once their owne destructions, the lands rebellions, and the griefes of the good young King, into a fatal and vnrecoverable sicknesse, whereof lastly followed his death.

(54) So subtle is the old Serpent, and so ready euer to sow tares among wheate, that hee disturbed religions proceedings with all these calamities almost at one times, first setting matters of discord betwixt them, by scandalizing tongues, then icalousies of suspitions spiced with enuie; and lastly hatred vnto death. Inomuch that the Protector suffered his brother to bee accused and condemned in Parliament of high Treason (whether true or false God onely knoweth) and vnder his owne hand writing, committed his head to the axe: whereby one of the 3 twisted cords of Englands strength was cut asunder by that fatal and vnhappy stroke, and his owne now made looke in the Cable, proued too weak to beare to hold fast the Anchor, whereby the shipwracke of his owne life was shortly made.

(55) The Lord Admirals inditement was, that hee had purposed to destroy the young King, and to translate the Crowne vnto himselfe, as standeth recorded in Statute made the third of this Kinges Raigne, for which the twenty of March he suffered death vpon the Tower-hills, which as many supposed that it was the Dutches of Sommerfets doings; so the wifer sort feared, it would bee the ruine of her husband and the Duke, the experiment whereof had often beene approued, and indeed was too fatally linked as it chanced in these two brethren.

(56) For the Admirall being made away by order of law, the giddy Commons without either order, or law, rose vp in their Insurrections as hath been said: And the Lords returned from their suppressions, beganne forthwith to enuy and article against the Protector, which they published by Proclamation against him, wherein hee was accused, 1. of euill gouernment: 2. the losse of the kings Peers in France: 3. to be ambitious in his buildings, 4. regardlesse of the Counsellors: 5. a fower of sedition amongst the Nobles: 6. dangerous to the King: 7. a scandalizer of the Councell, 8. and lastly, that hee was no lesse then a Traitor. Against whom they desired the aid of the Londoners to take from him the Kings to all which seuentene Counsellors subscribe their names.

(57) These Statists in consultation dayly at London, and the Protector residing still with the King, intercourse of letters were interchangeably both lent and receiued, whereof two, from either part one, and euen at one instant were sent vnto the Lord Maior and

Emulations among the priuie Counsellors.

The Protector and his brother the Admirall at odds.

Strife betwixt women caused the deaths of their husbands.

The hurt of dissensions.

M. Fox in Affliction.

Lord Thomas Seimer attainted and beheaded.

K. Edward, L. Protector, L. Admirall, Eccles. 4. 12.

The L. Admirals inditement.

Ex Statu. Record.

Articles against the L. Protector.

Letters from both parties writ vnto the Londoners.

George Stradlin.

George Stradlin
his Gratiosi

and Citizens of London, requiring their aide in these their opposite quarrels, and surely in their assembly the talk of the Lords by the Recorder was so wel tolde, as had not a graue Citizen stept vp betimes, the common Councill had granted aid against their King, whose wisdom and loyalty, in regarde my selfe a Citizen, would haue it recorded to his euerlasting memory, and an example and motive for our obedient loue and duty toward our Soueraignes. I will inferre as I find them vttered and spoken.

(57) In this case (said hee) good it is to thinke "on things past, to auoide the danger of things to come, for I remember a story written by Fabian "in his Chronicles of the warres betwixt the King "and his Barons, who euen then as our Lords doe "now, demanded aid of the Maior and Commons "of London, against their Soueraigne King Henry "the third, and that in a cause rightfull, and good "for the Common-weale, which was the execution "of certain whole some lawes, somewhat derogating "from his princely prerogative, which hee would "not permit. The aide was granted, and quarrell "came vnto battell, wherein the Lords preuailed, "and tooke the King and his sonne prisoners. But "they againe restored to liberty, among other con- "ditions this was one, that the King should not "onely grant his free pardon to the Lords, but also "vnto the Citizens of London, which was done, yea "and the same confirmed by Parliament. But what "followed? was it forgotten? no surely, nor ne- "uer forgiven during the Kings life: for the liber- "ties of the City were taken away, strangers appoin- "ted to bee our heads and Gouernours, the Citi- "zens giuen away both body and goods, and from "one persecution to another, were most miserably "afflicted: such it is to enter the wrath of a Prince, "which (as Salomon saith) is death: Wherefore, for- "asmuch as this aide is required of the Kings Maie- "sty, whose voice (being our high Shepheard) wee "ought to obey, rather then to hearken to the "Lords, whom neuertheless I wish not to bee vt- "terly cast off, my counsell is, that they with vs, "and wee with them, become humble Petitioners "vnto his Highnesse, that it would please him to "heare such complaints against the Lord Protector, "as may be iustly alledged and proued, and I doubt "not but this matter will be so pacified, that neither "shall the King, nor yet the Lordes haue cause to "seeke for further aide, neither we to offend any of "them both.

(58) These words well weighed, and the Councell dissolved, six hundred Londoners were prepared in a readinesse: for Sir Philip Hobby being sent from the Lords to the King, so deliuered their minds, that the Lord Protector was commanded out of presence, and the next day being the twelfth of October, the Lords of the Councell referred to Windsor, where they so wrought with the King, as his vncke was deliuered into their hands, whom the same night they imprisoned in Beauchamps Tower in the same Castell, and the next day strongly attended, brought him to London, whence the streetes were guarded only by householders, the Aldermen taking the charge of the busines, and so to the great griefe and wondering of the people hee was conueyed to the Tower, and there left.

(59) Whither shortly after the Lords themselves repaired, and charged the Protector with these 20. Articles as followeth.

- 1 That at his entry into that weighty office, hee was expressly prohibited to doe any thing in State without the assent of the last Kings Executors.
- 2 That hee had contrariwise vpon his owne authority both subuerbed lawes, and staied iustice, as well by letters, as commendement.
- 3 That hee had deliuered diuers persons arrested, and committed to prison for felonie, manslaughter, murder and treason, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

4 That hee had made Captains and Lieutenants ouer weighty affaires vnder his owne Seale and Writing.

5 That hee had alone communicated with forraigne Ambassadors about most weighty State affaires.

6 That hee had checked diuers of the Kings Priuy Councell, speaking for the good of the State, yea and threatened to displace them if they consented not to his mind.

7 That hee had against law erected a Court of Requests in his owne house, wherby were enforced diuers of the Kings Subiects to answere for their Free-holds.

8 That hee had for money disposed Offices in the Kings gift, money, leases, and Wardes, and giuen presentations of Benefices, and Bishoprickes, yea and meddled with sale of the Kings lands, which by office hee could not, without consent of the maior voice of the Councell.

9 That hee had commanded multiplication by Alcumistrie to the abuse of the Kings coine.

10 That against the King and Councels will, hee had set forth a Proclamation against inclosures, which had caused dangerous insurrections in the land, wherein diuers of the Kings liege Subiects haue bene spoiled, and many a worthy man therein slaine.

11 That to the same end hee had giuen commiffion with Articles annexed concerning inclosures of Commons, high wayes, and decayed Cottages, giuing the Commissioners authority to heare and determine the same causes, contrary to the lawes and statutes of the Realme.

12 That hee had suffered Rebels and traitours to assemble, and lie in Campe and Armour, against the King, his Nobles, & Gentlemen, without any speedy suppressing of them.

13 That by his gifts in money, with promises of Fees, rewards and seruices, hee had encouraged many of the said rebels.

14 That in fauour of them contrary to law hee had caused a Proclamation to bee made, that none of the said Rebels, or Traitors should be sued, or vexed for any of their offences committed in the said Rebellion.

15 That hee had liked well of these rebellions, and had said that the courtesies of the Gentry gaue the occasion, affirming that it was better for the Commons to die, then to perish for lacke of liuing.

16 That hee had reported the Lords of the Parliament were loath to reform themselves for the reformation of Inclosures, and therefore the people had good cause to reforme the thinges themselves.

17 That vpon thereport of the defaults and lacks of Bulloigne nothing was there amended.

18 That the Forts of Newhaven and Blacknesse standing in want of men and victuall, whereof hee was informed, were suffered notwithstanding still to want, to the great encouragement of the French, and dishonour of the English.

19 That hee had vntuly published, that the Lords at London minded to destroy the King, which hee instantly desired hee would neuer forget, and to that end infligated many young Lords, whereby sedition and discord was made among the Nobles.

20 Lastly, that whereas the Lords assembled at London, onely to consult vpon a charitable communication to be had with the Protector for his misgouernment of the King and Realme, hee contrariwise sent letters of credence to many places and persons, that the said Lords were no lesse then high Traitors to the King, and great disturbers of the whole realme.

All these accusations notwithstanding (the young King so labouring in) he was released from the Tower the sixt of February following vnto his free liberty, though not vnto his former authority, and so remained

The Protector released from the Tower.

Philip Furbell.

A combate fought betweene two Scottishmen before the Lord Sirp.

The English forced out of Scotland.

The Frenchin- and to surpris Bulloigneberg.

A good ser- uice of Carver an English soldierier.

A great slaugh- ter of the French.

The French af- flicted the place of Bulloigne and Sirp.

Bulloigne vpon composition de- manded to the French.

remained vntouched for the space of two yeeres and two dayes.

(61) Whilest these his and other troubles were commencing in England, the Lord Grey of Wilton left Lieutenant of the North, remained in Scotland, where many feates of warre were vndergone, and many Forts fortified, and some taken, such were *Lewden, Haddington, and Telfer*, at whose assault certaine opprobrious speeches in most contemptuous manner were vttered by a Scottish man against King Edward of England, whereat the Lord Grey was so offended, as vpon composition for the deliuerie of the Castell, all were let goe with life, onely that person excepted, and his name knowne to bee *Newton*, was appointed to die for the same; but hee denying the words, imposed them vpon one *Hamilton*, a man valorous inough, and wrongfully touched, who denied the accusation, and challenged *Newton* the combat, which hee accepted, and in performance slew *Hamilton*, though more at disaduantage then for lacke either of courage or strength: The victor was rewarded with a great chaine of gold, and the gowne that the Lord Grey wore at the present, though many maligned and accused him still to bee the vtterer of those base words.

(62) The English keeping foot still in Scotland, burnt *Dunkeith* and *Muskelburgh*, and fortified *Haddington* both with munition and men, spoyling the Country, with Bishoppe *Lesly*, all about *Edenburgh, Lowthian* and *Mers*: repairing of Forts, and placing of Garrisons, as if they meant there to remaine and abide: but their young Queene being conuainced into *France*, and the Scots aided with the assistance of the French, so quite themselves, that they voided their land of the English, and recovered of them all they had lost. In which times of variable successe, the King but a child, the Nobles at vari- ances, and the French sought to recouer the holds that the English had in their Country, and first by stealth meant to surpris the fortress of *Bulloigneberg*, vnto which enterprise seven thousand were chosen, vnder the conduct of *Monsieur Chastillon*.

(63) These secretly marching in the night with ladders and furniture meete for the enterprise, approached within a quarter of a mile vnto *Bullingberg* fort, amongst whom was an English Soldier discharged out of their pay, for that hee had taken a French woman to wife. This Carter for so was his name got entertainment vnder *Chastillon*, and now vnder- standing whereabouts they went, hastily made from his Company, and gaue the Alarm to his Coun- trimen within the Fort; where Sir *Nicholas Arnald* Captaine of the peece, caused him to bee drawne vp betwixt two pikes to the height of the wall, vnto whom hee declared the attempt in hand, & among them stood so valiantly in defence of the fort, that hee gaue many a wound, and received some himself: by him and this meane the Peece was quit from surprisall, and the slaughter of the French so great that fiftene Wagons went laden away with dead Corps.

(64) This losse sustained, and the English masters in those parts of their Maine, the French sought to free fortune for their Isles in the Seas, namely *Garnesey* and *Tessey*, posset and subiect to King Edwards Crowne, their preparations were great, and their Marshallists many; which notwithstanding with such losse were beaten backe from their bankes, as a thousand men at Armes were slaine in the attempt, & the successe so vnfortunate, as the French for feare of further discouragement forbad the report, and made an inhibition, not to mention the expedition of that iourney.

(65) Neuertheless the French King ceased not his desired purposes, till hee had got by surrender *Hambletowne, Blacknesse, Bulloigneberg*, and the town of *Bulloigne* it selfe, though bought at a deare rate, and deliuered with great griefe to the English; vnto

such a lamentable state, and dishonourable compo- sition was the good King Edward brought, by the bandings of his great Counsellors, and insurrections of his vnuly Commons; after which calamities a great and mortall disease followed, namely the sweating sicknesse, that ragged extremely through the land, wherein died the two sonnes of *Charles Brandon*, both of them Dukes of *Suffolke*, besides an infinite number of men in their best strengths, which followed onely Englishmen in forraigne Countrey, no other people infected therewith, wherby they were both feared and thunned in all places where they came.

(66) And to fill vp the dolours of these dolefull times, the good Duke of *Somerset* was againe apprehended, euen when the least suspicion was of any vndirect workings: for vpon his first releasement, to linke a firme loue betwixt him and the potent Earle of *Warwicke*, his most malignant; a marriage was contracted betwixt the Lord *Lisle* his eldest sonne & heire, and the Lady the Earles eldest daughter, which was solemnized with great ioy at *Sheene*, in presence of the young King; this amity was out- wardly carried with all faire shewes for a time, though inward hatred lay secretly hid, as by the sequell in- continentlie appeared: for after a solemne creation of many Estates, wherein the Earle of *Warwicke* had his style raised to bee Duke of *Northumberland*, vnto whose rayes at that time most of the Courtiers cast their eyes: the sparkes of emulation began pre- sently to breake forth; where the simplicity of the one gaue aduantage to the other, to compasse that which long had bene sought.

(67) The Duke of *Somerset* not well aduised, and yielding too much vnto Sycophant flatteries, was put in feare of some foudaine attempt intended against him, and therefore counsellied to wear vnder his garment a coate of defence, which hee accordingly did, and being so armed came vnto the Councell Table, supposing no man had known of any such thing; but his bolome being opened and the Armour perceiued, hee was forthwith apprehended, as intending the death of some Counsellor, and by *Northumberland* so vehemently taxed (who in Councell was euer the principall man) that hee was forthwith attached, and sent to the Tower, vpon the sixteenth of October with the Lord Grey of *Wilton*, Sir *Michael Stanhop*, Sir *Thomas Arundell*, Sir *Ralph Vane*, and Sir *Miles Partridge*, and the next day the Dutcheffe his wife was likewise committed; all of them for suspicion of treason and felonie; and hee standing so indited vpon the *second of December following, was arraigned at *Westminster*, attended with the Axe of the Tower, Billes, Halberds, and Pollaxes a great number.

(68) His inditement was for treason and felony, and the same virged vnto extremity, with many am- plifications, and bitter iniectiues, especially that hee had sought and pretended the deaths of the Duke of *Northumberland*, the Lord *Marqueffe*, and *Pembroke*: where after many mild answers to these matters obiected, he put himselfe to be tried by his Peeres, who acquitted him of treason, but found the inditement of felonie: when presently the Axe was commaunded away, whereat the shout of the people shewed the great affection that was borne to the Duke: little mistrusting that the sentence of death was pronounced against him, or that the kings vncke should die as a felon; neither did the Statute intend any such thing as some are of opinion, but rather was purposely made for the suppression of re- bellions, and vnlawfull assemblies, wherein such as should seeke or procure the death of any Counsellor should be guilty as in case of felonie. But such was the pleasure of the all ordering power, that hee which knew no theft should die for that sinne, so that nei- ther himselfe, nor his wisest Counsellors deman- ded the benefite of his Clergy which would haue sa- ued his life if it had bene required.

F i f f f 2

(69) His

John Calin.

A.D. 1550.

The sweating sicknesse.

A fained recon- cilement.

John Stow.

The Duke of Somerset priu- ly armed.

Rich. Grafton.

The Duke of Somerset sent to the Tower.

Stow.

A.D. 1551.

* Stow saith the first.

The Duke of Somerset in- dited.

* Of Winchester William Herbert.

The Duke con- demned of felonie.

John Stow

The L. Prote- ctor committed to the Tower.

At Paris in Alti- tude.

Articles drawne against the Lord Protector.

Rich. Graf.
John Stur.
Holmsh.

The Duke of
Somerset
speech at his
death.

A great feare
without any
cause.

Job. Stow in
Annals.

The Duke entirely
beloued of
the Commons.

The Dukes se-
cond speech vp-
on the Scaffold.

(69) His sentence thus pronounced, hee was a-
gaine sent backe to the Tower, wherein he kept a ve-
ry sad Christmas, yea and that in the Court, inclin-
ed to little mirth, the King lamenting the condem-
nation of his vnclie, had not some witty disportes
broke off his passions, which how, and by whom
they proceeded, let others report, and vs continue
the Tragedie of this Duke; who vpon the two &
twenty of February following being Friday was
brought to the Scaffold vpon Tower-hill, by eight in
the morning, where turning himselfe towards the
East, he spake to the people, as followeth.

(70) *Dearely beloued friends, I am brought hither
to suffer death, albeit I neuer offended against the King,
neither in word nor deed, and haue alwayes been as faith-
full and true vnto this Realme, as any man hath been; but
for much as I am by law condemned to die, I doe ac-
knowledge my selfe as well as others to be subiect therun-
to: wherefore to testifie mine obedience which I owe
to the lawes, I am come hither to suffer death, whereunto
I willingly offer my selfe with most hearty thanks vnto God,
that hath giuen me this time of repentance, who might
through sodaine death haue taken away my life, that I nei-
ther should haue acknowledged him nor my selfe.*

(71) These words vttered, besides others exhor-
tatory, that the people would continue constant in
the Gospell, fodaynly was heard a great noyse, where-
by the assembly was stricken into great feare, some
thinking that a storme or tempest descended from a-
boue, some supposed that the barrels of Gunpow-
der in the Armore had taken fire, & were all blowne
vp into the Aire, others thought that they heard a
noyse of horses prepared to battell, some againe af-
firmed confidently that it did thunder, and others
thought verily it was an earth-quake, and that the
ground moued: vnto such confusion and terrour
were they presently brought, which (saith Stow) was
none other, but that certaine men from the Hamlets
warned with weapon to guard the Tower-hill, came
thither somewhat after the hower appointed, whose
formost seeing the Prisoner on the Scaffold, beganne
to runne forward themselves, and call to their fel-
lows to come away: which word away sounding
as an Echo in the peoples eares, they thought that
rescue had come to the Duke to take him away: and
seeing the Bil-men to make forward so fast, beganne
themselues to shrinke backe from the hill, euery man
seeking to saue one, and by this accident and confu-
sion, this feare among them fell and beganne:
This stirre scarce ended, another ensued by the run-
ning of the people towards the Scaffold, who seeing
Sir Anthony Browne riding thitherward, supposed a
pardon had come from the King, so that a sodaine
shout arose, *a pardon, a pardon, God saue the King:* by
which it onely appeared in what loue hee was had,
and how much his life was desired of the Com-
mons.

(72) The Duke whose mind being altogether
prepared for death, was little moued either to hope
or feare, and thereupon addressed his second speech
to the people, and with no dejected countenance
spake againe and said: *Beloued friends there is no such
matter intended as you vainly hope and believe: It see-
meth thus good to the Almighty, vnto whose ordinance
it is meet that wee all bee obedient, wherefore I pray you
bee quiet and without tumult, for I am quiet, and let vs
toyne in prayer vnto the Lord for the preservation of our
Noble King, vnto whose Maiesty I wish continuall health,
with all felicitie and abundance of prosperous success.
Moreover, I wish to his Counsellors the grace and fauour
of God, whereby they may rule all things uprightly with
Iustice, vnto whom I exhort you all in the Lord, to shew
your selues obedient, the which is also very necessarie
for you vnder paine of condemnation, and also most pre-
suable for the preservation of the Kings Maiesty. And
thereupon asking euery man forgiveness, freely for-
gaue euery man against him, and desiring the people
to bee quiet, lest the flesh should be troubled, though
his spirit was willing, hee meekely laide downe his*

head to the Axe, and receiued at one stroke his rest
by death.

(73) Howsoever this Dukes cause was balanced
by law, and him taken away that stood betwixt some
and their Sunne; yet was his death heauily digested
by the people, that spake very bitterly against the
Duke of Northumberland; but most especially the
young King forer mourned, and soone missed the
life of his Protector thus vnexpectedly taken away,
who now deprived of both his vnclies, howsoever
the times were passed with pastimes, playes and
shewes, to driue away dumpees, yet euer the remem-
brances of them late so neere vnto his heart, that last-
ly he fell sicke of a Cough, which grievously increas-
ed ending with a consumption of the lungs.

(74) His sickness continuing with great doubt
of his life, vpon purpose saith Grafton to alter the
succession of the Crowne, three marriages were in one
day solemnized, whereof the first was betwixt the
Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth sonne to the Duke of
Northumberland, and the Lady Lane, eldest daughter
of Henry Duke of Suffolke: the second was betwixt
the Lord Herbert, sonne and heire to William Earle of
Pembroke, and the Lady Katherine the younger daugh-
ter of the said Duke of Suffolke, and the third was be-
tweene Henry L. Hastings, sonne and heire of Frances
Earle of Huntington, and Katherine the youngest
daughter of the Duke of Northumberland, which ten-
ding (saith he) to the disorder of the rightfull heires,
they proved nothing prosperous, for two of them were
presently made fruitlesse, the one by death, and the other by
dissolue.

(75) The policy established, and languishing sick-
nesse of the King gaue way vnto such, as sought the
euerion of the State, & alienation of the Crowne: In
whose eye no head was scene fitter for that faire Dia-
deme, then was Guilford Brice, Iane the elder daugh-
ter of Suffolke, whose mother Lady Francis then li-
uing, was the daughter of Mary the French Queen,
the younger sister to King Henry the eight, vnto
whom King Edward ouer-wrought in his weakness,
ordained his Crowne by Will, at the suggestions of
such Politiques, as meant to deriuer the two law-
full Princes, Mary and Elizabeth, and to impugn the
Statute, in case provided for the succession of K.
Henry the eight his children: vnto which Will (O
griefe to heare) subscribed all the Kings Councill,
most of the Nobility, the reuerend Bishops, and all
the Iudges of the land, one onely excepted, euen Sir
James Hales knight, a Iustice of the common Pleas,
vp-right in iudgement, & a fauourer of the Gospell,
he, I say, neuer would write or consent to the disheri-
ting of the Lady Mary.

(76) The King thus accomplishing what his Sta-
tists had wrought, lay languishing in his faintnes:
the end wherefore could not be expected but onely
by death, and now being worne almost to no-
thing (his last breath drawing to the limits of Na-
ture) he lift vp his eyes with a prepared heart, and
prayed as followeth.

*Lord God deliuer mee out of this miserable and wret-
ched life, and take me among thy chofen: howbeit not
my will but thy will be done; Lord I commit my spirit to
thee: O Lord thou knowest how happy it were for mee
to be with thee: yes for thy chofen sake, if it bee thy
will send, me life and health that I may truly serue
thee: O my Lord blese thy people and saue thine inhe-
ritance: O Lord God saue thy chofen people of England:
O my Lord God defend this Realme from Papisrie, and
maintaine thy true religion, that I and my people may
praise thy holy name for thy sonne Iesus Christs sake.*

So turning his face, and seeing some by him faide,
I thought you had not bene so wigh: yes, said Doctor
Owen, we heard you speake to your selfe; then said
the King, I was praying to God: O I am faine, Lord haue
mercy vpon me, and receiue my spirit: and in so saying,
gaue vp the Ghost, to the great losse of England, in
whom they had conceived most hopes.

(77) His vertues were rare and many, exceeding
most

Duke of
Somerset
speech at his
death.

King Edward
falling sicke.

Three mar-
riages
intended to
alter the suc-
cession.

Lady Iane
successor by
King Edward.

K. Edwards
test to Christs
Gospell.

Vide Stat.
An. 25. de Reg.
M. For. in Ar.
Mon.

Sir James Hales
refused to sub-
scribe to K. Ed-
wards Will.

K. Edwards
prayer.

K. Edwards letter
to Lady Mary.

The vertues of
King Edward.

His learning.

His Memory.

His Care.

His Mercy.

Lady Iane
successor by
King Edward.

K. Edwards
test to Christs
Gospell.

Vide Stat.
An. 25. de Reg.
M. For. in Ar.
Mon.

Sir James Hales
refused to sub-
scribe to K. Ed-
wards Will.

K. Edwards
prayer.

K. Edwards letter
to Lady Mary.

most Princes, and vices so few, that none can be tax-
ed with lesse; very learned (according to his yeeres)
he was in the Latine and Greeke tongues, the French,
Spanish, and Italian, yea (saith Hieronymus Car-
danus) he was adorned with the skill of Logicke, natu-
rall Philosophie, and Musike, and for Astronomy (saith
he) my selfe had experience, whom he learnedly opposed
of the cause and course of Comets: for Humanity, he is
the very Image of Morality, and in princely graue
Maiesty best becoming a King: briefly, hee may well
seem to be a miracle in Nature: nor doe I speake thus
Rhetorically to amplify things, or to make them more
truthful, for the truth is more then I do utter: and in this
hee was most admirable, that hee could tell and re-
cite all the Ports, Hauens, and Creekes, nor within
his owne Realme onely, but also in Scotland, and
likewise in France, what comming in there was, how
the tide serued in euery of them, what burden of
Shippe, and what winde best serued the comming
in to them.

(78) Of all his Nobles, Gentry, Iustices, and
Magistrates, he tooke speciall name of their Hospi-
tality, and religious conuersations, and that
which is best accepted of a Prince, hee was very
liberall, louing, mercifull, meeke and gentle to-
wards his people, and so farre from bloud,
as hee euer fauoured and spared as much as might
bee the life of man, yea euen of Rebels, as wee haue
scene; neither was hee willing to put Hereticks to
death, as in a certaine differtation had once with M.
Cheeke appeared: in somuch that when Iohn Bur-
cher should be burned for her hereticke, all the Coun-
cell could not moue him to fet his hand to the war-
rant of her execution, vntill D. Cramer his Godfa-
ther, Archbishoppe of Canterbury laboured to in-
duce him, vnto whom hee said, what my Lord? will
you haue me to send her quicke to hell, and taking
the pen vnto this speech: *I will lay all the charge here-
upon Cramer before God.* Then how his hand had
bene gotten for his vnclies death is to bee admired.

(79) But his constancy vnto Christs Gospell,
with the abandoning of all superstition, was very
admirable, one example among many wee will not
let to dechte. Lady Mary his sister through the
suito of Charles the Emperour, made great meanes to
haue Masse said in her house, and that to bee done
withoutall preiudice of law: the greatnesse of her
Person being the immediate successor, and the might
of the Emperour in amitie with England, moued the
Councill to giue their consent to the suit; to for-
ward which Cramer Archbishoppe of Canterbury
accompanied with Ridley Bishoppe of London were
employed from them to the King, who hearing their
message, gaue the replication so grounded vpon
Scripture, as they gaue ouer to vrgo more that way:
but like Politicians alledged the danger in breach
of amity with the Emperour, to which the King an-
swered, hee would rather aduenteure the hazard of
his own life then to grant that which was not agree-
able to the truth. The Bishops yet vrged him with
the bonds of nature, and submissiue said, they
would haue no say: the King seeing himselfe so im-
portunated, burst into weeping, and fobblingly de-
fired them to be content, whereat the teares so abun-
dantly burst from their eyes, as they departed his
presence not able to speake. And for a further re-
litymony of this yong Kings zeale, reade if you please
a letter sent vnto his sister the Princess Lady Mary,
out of the original.

(80) *Right deare, and right entirely beloued sister we
greet you well, and let you know that it grieueth vs much
to perceiue no amendment in you of that, which wee for
good cause, your soules health, our conscience, and com-
mon tranquillity of our Realme haue so long desired, assu-
ring you, that our sufferance hath more demonstration of
natural loue then contentation of our conscience, and fore-
sight of our safety. Wherefore although you giue occa-
sion as much almost as in you is, to diminish our natural
loue; yet wee loath to seele it decay, and meane not to*

bee so carelesse of you as wee bee provoked. And therefore
meaning your weale, and therewith ioyning a care not to
be found guilty in our own conscience to God, hauing cause
to require forgiveness that wee haue so long for respect
of loue towards you omitted our bounden duty, we do send at
this present our right trusty, & right welbeloued Counsellor
the L. Rich, our Chancellor of England, our trusty and
right welbeloued Counsellor Sir Anthony Wingfield
Knight, Comptroller of our Household, and Sir Will. Peter
Knight, one of our two principall Secretaries in message to
you touching the order of your house, willing you to giue the
same credite in those things they shall say to you from vs, &
do therein our name. Teouen vnder our Signet at the Castle
of Windsor, the of in the fift
yeare of our Raigne, 1556.

(81) The fruites of which Religion this godly
King shewed by his workes of compassion towards
the poore, & that especially vpon the foundation of
Christs Hospitall, the late suppressed place of the
Grey Friars in London, and that vpon occasion as fol-
loweth. It chanced the reuerend Bishop Doctor Rid-
ley to preach before his Maiesty at Westminster, where-
in hee Christianlike exhorted the rich to be merciful
vnto the poore, and to that end amplified the words
of the Text against the merciflesse rich, and the neg-
ligence of such as were in great place. The Sermon
ended, and the King set to dinner, hee sent to the
Bishop, commanding him not to depart the Court,
before hee knew his further pleasure, and thereupon
causing two Chaires to be set in the Gallery, all o-
thers auoided, hee compelled the Bishoppe to sit
downe by his side, and in no wise would admitte
him to bee vncouered.

(82) Where entering conference, hee first gaue him
heartie thanks for his Sermon, repeating vnto him
the chiefe points thereof, and coming to his exhorta-
tion for the poore, he then told him that he thought
himselfe first touched in the speech; for saide he, my
Lord you speake to them in authority, whereof vnder God
I am the chiefe, and must first make answer to him if I
be negligent, and therefore I thinke you principally meant
me: Gods commendement I know most expressly inioyneth
vs to haue compassion of his poore members, for whom we
must make account; and truly my Lord I am most willing
to trauell that way, not doubting but that your long ap-
proved learning and wisdom, whose zeale is such as wiseth
themselues, but that also you had conference with others
what is best herein to be done, which I am also desirous to
know, and therefore I pray I freely your mind.

(83) The mouer vnto these pious considerations
little looking for such questions of the Prince, fate a
while silent, ouerjoyed at his words, and lastly vn-
prepared of any present instructions, told the King
that the Citizens of London were best able to direct
the plot, whose great Charity, and well ordered go-
uernement, besides their daily charges, being ouer-
burdened with poore, had sufficient experience, and
if it would please his Maiesty to direct his letters
vnto them himselfe, he would be very ready to fur-
ther this godly resolution so far as his means might
any wise extend: whereupon the King presently
commanded his letters to be writ, and would not
suffer the Bishoppe to depart before himselfe had
thereto fet his hand and signet, desiring him to deli-
uer the same to the Lord Maior, and with him to
conferre about this bulineffe, which hee wished
might be accomplished with all expedition.

(84) The Bishoppe as ready as the King was de-
sirous, posted apace to the Lord Maior of London,
where deliuering the letter, offered his assistance to
forward the worke, and they together with some
Aldermen, and twenty foure Commoners agreee
vpon three degrees of the poore, and them diuided
again into nine.

(85) The Booke thus drawne, and presented to
the King, he thereupon desired to be accounted the
chiefe Founder of their reliefe, and forthwith gaue
vnto the City S. Bartholomewes Hospitall by Smith-
field, and the Grey Friars Church neere adioyning
with

D. Ridley ex-
horteth be-
fore King Edward.

The conference
betwixt the King
and Bishoppe
Ridley.

K. Edwards great
care for the poore

King Edwards
letter delivered
to the L. Maior.

The Kings great
liberality for the
poore in London.

The Kings great
liberality for the
poore in London.

with all the reuenues belonging thereto, his princely house of *Bridewell*, anciently the Manion of many English Kings, wherein also their Courts of Iustice had bene kept, & sumptuously new built by King *Henry* the eight for the receit of the Emperour, he gaue to the L. Maior and Citizens to be a house of correction for lewde and dissolute liuers, and to set on worke the idle and loitering vagabonds, whose maintenance with the new reedified Hospitall of *S. Thomas* in *Southwarke*, hee gaue seuen hundred Markes by yeere out of the rents of the Hospitall of *Saint Iohn Baptiste* or *Sauoy*, with all the beds, bedding, and other furniture thereto belonging, whereby the poore thus distinguished, were by his godly furtherance thus prouided for.

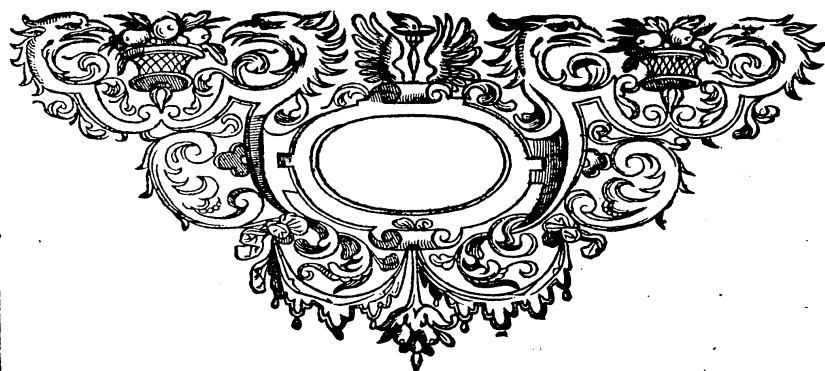
THE *poore* by *impency*, *Fatherles Children*, *Christis hospitall*, *Aged, Blind, Lame*, *S. Thom. Hospitall*, *Diseased persons*, *Wounded Souldiers*, *S. Thom. Hospitall*, *Decayed houtholders*, *Visited & sick persons*, *Christis hospitall*, *Riotous spenders*, *poore thristle*, *vagabond loiterers*, *Bridewell*, *Idle Strumpets*.

(86) The Kings charitable gifts confirmed by Charter, and a Petition exhibited for liberty to

take in *Mortmaine* of lands to a yeerely value without further licence, a place being left in the Patent to containe the summe, King *Edward* presently called for penne and inke, and with his owne hand filled vpp the space with these words, *four thousand Markes by yeere*: which done, hee burst forth and said; *Lord God I yeelde thee most heartie thanks, that thou hast giuen me life thus long to finish this worke to the glory of thy name.*

(87) Now as this godly King was carefull in redeeming the time, so likewise to take as it were an account of himselfe, hee kept a tournall booke or Record written with his owne hand, how all things proceeded with him, and with the State, euen from the first day of his raigne vnto his death: whose many vertues as they were inferior to none of his worthy Progenitors, and zeale little short to the best Kings of *Judah*; so was hee soone mist of all his loyall Subjects, when the bosome of Gods Saints were opened to the persecutors sword.

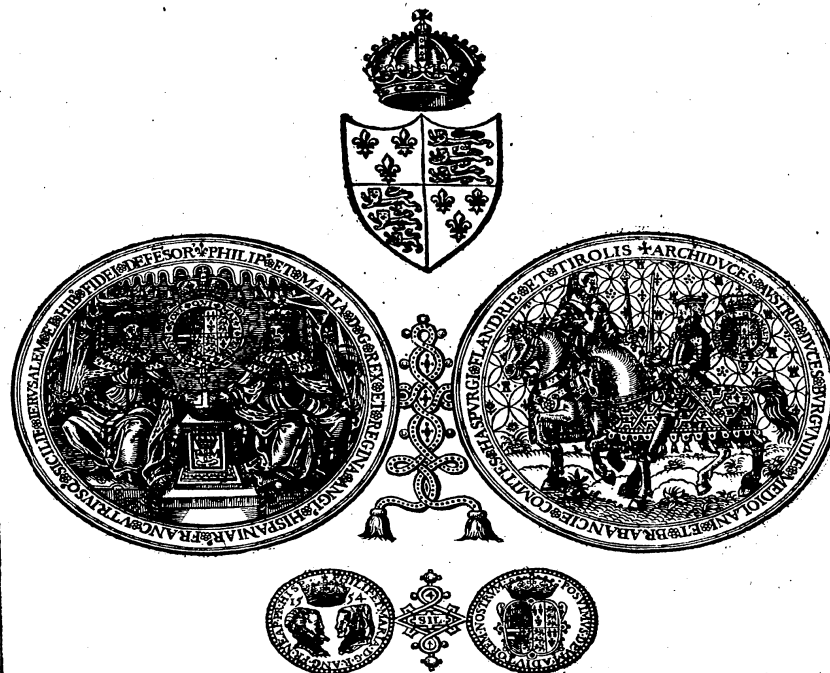
(89) He died at *Greenwich* vpon Thursday the sixt day of Iuly, the yeare of Christ Iesus, one thousand five hundred fifty three, and the seuententh of his age, when hee had reigned sixe yeeres five months, and nine daies, and was buried vpon the ninth of August following, in the Chappell of *S. Peters* Church at *Westminster*, neere vnto his Grandfather King *Henrie* the seuenth.



MARY

MARIE QVEENE OF ENGLAND,
FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIETH
MONARCH OF THE ENGLISH, HER
RAIGNE, MARIAGE, ACTS,
AND DEATH.

Monarch 60



CHAPTER XXIII.



ING EDWARDS life ended by his lingering disease, and the Stateme intending to establish his will, for the space of two daies his death was kept secret, and much consultation among the Nobility had of the businesse; all of them affecting the election of *Iane*, lest *Mary* should vndoe what *Edward* had done; to support which purpose, many projects were cast, and many opinions given how to proceed, yet all iointlie light in this point, that *London* was the hand which must reach *Iane* the Crowne: whose Citizens assistance if they might be got, the greatest difficulty (as they held it) was halfe vndergone. And therefore to mould them for *Iane*, and to

marre them for *Mary*, the Councell sent for the L. Maior of *London*, sixe Aldermen, and twelue Commoners Marchants.

(2) These comming to the Court, were secretly certified of King *Edward* his death, where his Will declared, and Letters Patents shewed for the disinheriting of his two sisters, and the raising of *Suffolkes* daughter vnto the Crowne, whose religion was so zealous, and vertues so many (as in truth no Princeesse was possessed with more) were so well set forth by these graue Counsellors, that the Lord Maior and Citizens took their othes for *Lady Iane*, vnto whose obedience they promised to secure the City.

(3) *Lady Marie* at *Houesdon* hearing these newes, presentlie remoued to her Mannor of *Keningall* in *Norfolke*: from whence shee wrote her letters vnto the Lords of the Councell, wherein shee maruellet that her brothers death should so long be kept from her:

The Lord Maior
and Citizens
sworne to *Lady Iane*.

Lady Marie writeth to the Lords

E e e e e 2 her:

her: that shee being the Princeesse next in blood, ordained by act of Parliament, and King Henries Testament to succede, her right enrowled in the Records, by the authority of her Father and brother, their owne knowledge and prescription to her most rightfull Titles, yet now in consultation to vndoe these prouisions both against God and naturall allegiance; shee could not but maruell, and rather would continue for some politike consideration, and take them in the best part, then to possesse the least thought of any disloyalty in them; and therefore willed them vpon the receipte of her letters to proclaime her Queene, and gouernour of the Realme, in the Citie of London, and in other publike places, as in such cause appertaineth, with all due obseruances, as they tendered her displeasure and their owne safeties: this letter was signed at the Mannor of Keningall vnder her Signet the ninth of Iuly 1553.

The Lords answer to Lady Maries Letter.

(4) Vnto which letters the Lords forthwith made answer; first signifying that by good warrant of ancient Lawes of the Land, besides the will of their last King, confirmed vnder his hand and broad Seale, in the presence of the most part of the Nobles, Counsellors, Iudges and other graue personages, assenting and subscribing to the same, that Lady Iane daughter to Henry Duke of Suffolke should bee inuested and succeed him in the Emperiall Crowne: vnto whom therefore, and vnto none other, they must giue their loyall subiection, where also they put her in minde of the vnlawfull marriage and diuorfe of her mother, her owne illegitimation, vncapable of Crowne, or rule of Dominions, willing her further to desist from any such claime, and to submit her selfe vnto Queene Iane now her Soueraigne, so would they hold amity with her, els should shee prouoe greuous vnto them and her selfe, which letters were sent from the Tower of London the ninth of Iuly 1553, and subscribed by the hands of such as follow.

Thomas Canterbury Archbishop.
Thomas Ellis, Chauncellour.
William Winchester, Marquesse.
John Bedford, Earle.
Henrie Suffolke Duke.
Francis Shrewsbury, Earle.
John Northumberland, Duke.
William Pembroke, Earle.
Thomas Darcey Lord Chamberlaine.
Cobham. William Peter.
Rich. William Cecill.
Huntington. John Clerke.
Darcey. John Mason.
Cheyne. Edward North.
John Gates. Robert Boyes.

Mary removed to Fremingham Castle.

M. Fox Act.

The Suffolke men the first that came to aide Mary.

Iane Proclaime Queene.

A.D. 1553. Iuly 10.

(5) These Letters receiued, and the Lords mindes therein made knowne, shee forthwith removed to Fremingham Castle, standing more safe from inuasion or easie access, vnto whom the Suffolke men were the first that resorted, offering their seruice vnto her rightfull cause, with condition they might still embrace the Gospell in the same manner as King Edward had established it, to which the confidenced, though afterwards wearing the Diademe, and petitioned vnto for promise, shee both punished the Writer and answered their expectations, that they should one day well know, they being but members should not direct her their Head.

(6) The Lords at London set for their enterprise vpon foot, by proclamation made knowne in most parts of the City, the death of King Edward, and that by Will, hee had bequeathed his Crowne and Dominions, to the vertuous great Princeesse, Lady Iane, daughter to Henrie Duke of Suffolke (as we haue said) and so was shee proclaimed by the name of Queene Iane, though many of the Commons wished it had bene Queene Mary; and for some

words spoken to that purpose, one Gilbort Post a servant Vintner, vpon the Pillory lost both his cares. Vnto the aide of Lady Marie came the Earles of Suffolke, Bath and Oxford the Lord Westworth, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, Sir Henrie Termingham, Sir William Walgrave, with diuers others of Norfolk and Suffolke; yea and the Citizens of Norwich themselves, hauing certaine knowledge of King Edwards death, forthwith proclaimed Marie for Queene, and presently sent her aide both of men and munition. The Lords then hearing of great preparations, meant by times to ouermatch her in power, and thereupon agreed that Henrie Duke of Suffolke their new Queenes Father should with an Army repaire into Norfolk, which thing was so greuous vnto Lady Iane his daughter, that with floods of teares shee obtained his stay.

(7) None then was held fitter to vndergoe this great businesse, then was the Duke of Northumberland, young Giffords Father, (who belides his lonnes dignity vnto whom this new Queene was wife) his valiant parts and sufficiency to marshall an Army in Field had been often experienced in Scotland, & but lately among these people with whom hee was now to deale. The Duke thus appointed, began as it should seeme, to mistrust the worst, and thereupon freely vttered his minde to the Lords; willing them to be carefull at home, as hee would bee venturous abroad, for their cause was common, and all for the Queene. Hee with his (hee said) went now to venture their bodies to the bloody strokes of warre, their Families and Children left to the dispose of others, whom as he told them if they meant not faire plaie, he could not auoide as well as any: thus much and more spoken to the like purpose, one of the Lords replied, and said: Your Grace (as I iudge) doth cast this doubt ouer farre, for which of vs all, can wash our hands cleane of this businesse, therefore it behoueth vs to be resolute, as much as it doth you, and among them Arundell wished that he might goe with him.

(8) All things in a readinesse, and his commission confirmed vnder the broad Seale of England; vpon the 14. of Iuly the Duke with fixe hundred men, accompanied with the Lord Grey, and others, set forth of London, and tooke his way through Shordich where beholding the countenances of the people, hee spake to the Lord Grey and said. The people, my Lord, praise still to see vs, but not one of them bids vs God speede: the same day likewise Sir John Gates went after the Duke, both of them making for New market, whither further supplies were promised to bee sent.

(9) In the meane time the Lord Windsor, Sir Edmund Peckham, Sir Robert Drury, and Sir Edward Hastings raised the Commons of Buckinghamshire, proclaiming Queene Marie euers as they went, the like did Sir John Williams of Tame, and Sir Leonard Chamberlaine in Oxfordshire, and so did Sir Thomas Tresham in the County of Northampton: these with many more made forward toward Norfolk, vnto whom many more ioined in the way: and as God and good hap brought it to passe, fixe tall Ships well manned that were appointed before Yarmouth to haue taken Lady Marie if shee had fled; were by foule weather driuen into the Hauen, where master Termingham was raising for her, and taking a Boate to halle them, the Sea-souldiers demanded what he would haue, his answer was their Captaines, whereunto the Souldiers consented, threatening to throw them into the Sea, if they refused to serue Queene Marie: the Shippes thus gorten and their number augmented, their terror grew fearfull to the Lords in the Tower: whose Tenants began then likewise to draw backe, and deny them their aide: so that certaine of them would faine haue bene gone, if by any means they could haue escaped the Tower, which the Lord Treasurer assaid, but was brought acke againe about midnight.

(10) The

Grafton.

Many Noble men came to aide Mary.

Mary Proclaime Queene in Norwich, Iuly 12.

The Duke of Northumberland assigned Lord Lieutenant for Queene Iane.

The feast of the Duke of Northumberland.

Holings. Many prelati and pray for successe.

The Lord who for Proclaime Queene Mary.

Six Shippes to serue Queene Marie.

The Lord in the Tower in great feare.

John Stow.

(10) The Duke of Northumberland in as great feare as any,ooke still his stations according to his Commission, sending still to the Lords for their promised supplies, betwix whom were such posting of letters, such speeding to and fro, such outward faire promises, such inward priuie practises, such talking of the Souldiers, and such heere-burning of the people, as it was a world to see: and the rumour of Souldiers from all quarters daily resorting vnto Queene Marie, made the turmoile much the more. To leaue therefore nothing vnassaid that might support their newe made Queene Iane, the Councell commanded Doctor Ridley Bishop of London, to maintaine her cause in his Sermon made at Pauls Crosse, which hee did vpon Sunday the sixteenth of Iuly, but that neither working, nor the peoples affection drawne from the rightfull Successor, the Lords fell from the Duke, who then was in Burie; and in London proclaimed Lady Mary Queene.

(11) This sudden alteration brought many sudden feares into the Dukes breast, whose onlie way, as he well saw, was to follow the streame, and now returning to Cambridge his Souldiers began to turne in affection, most of them forsaking his company, a few onely excepted, whose perils were deeply engaged with his, where to shew his forwardnesse for the aduancement of Marie, wanting both Trumpet and Herald at hand, himselfe accompanied with the Maior, and the Marquesse of Northampton, in the Market place proclaimed her Queene: which done in token of ioy, hee threw vp his owne Cap. And thus the right reuerent to whom it belonged, wee will now adresse our stile to her dreadfull Raigne, wherein the Kingdomes story may seeme to be writ rather with blood then with inke, and the nursing mother, (as Queenees by the Prophet are termed and called) to forget the natural affection due to her Subiects which in some sort may bee compared to the children of her wombe.

(12) Yet were her beginnings both milde and gentle, pardoning all offenders in case of Lady Iane; excepting the Duke of Northumberland, the onely doer, and Sir John Gates, Captaine of the Guard, who was in Armes against her, with some few others that worthily suffered for that offence. The Duke (as is said) laying downe weapon, and himselfe proclaiming Queene Marie, was neuertheless arrested with Francis Earle of Huntington in the Kings Colledge at Cambridge by a Sergeant at Armes, but letters being then sent from the Councill, that every man should be dismissed without further trouble, the Duke among them was also released.

(13) The next morning Henrie Fitz-Alan Earle of Arundell, came into Cambridge from the Queene, who entering his Chamber, the Duke at his feet fell vpon his knees, desiring him for Gods loue to consider his case, that had done nothing without warrant of him, and the Councill; my Lord, said Arundell, I am sent hither from the Queene to arrest you, and I, said the Duke, obey your arrest, yett beleeue your Lordship to vie mercy towards him whose Acts haue bene no more then was enjoined by commission, that sooner should you haue sought for, said the Earle, and thereupon committed him to guard, and left him to the mercy of the Queene.

(14) The Duke then with his three sonnes John, Ambrose and Henrie, the Earle of Huntington, Sir Andrew Dudley, the two Gates, John and Henrie, Sir Thomas Palmer, and Doctor Sandes were conueied towards London, and brought to the Tower, where the Lord Gifford Dudley, and the Lady Iane his wife, from the high Title of Soueraignty were made subiect to dejected Prisoners miseries.

(15) Queene Marie from Fremingham repaired towards London, being all the way flouted without any mislikes, sauing that many men feared the altering of Religion: at her entrance into the Tower

were released Thomas Duke of Norfolk, who had laine there from the last of King Henry the eight, Edward Lord Courtney whom shee forthwith aduanced Earle of Deuonshire, Cuthbert Tunstall Bishop of Durham, and Stephen Gardiner late Bishop of Winchester, by her then made Lord Chancellor of England, From the Marhal-l was freed Edmund Bonner Bishop of London, and now againe restored by the depoling of Doctor Ridley, who for his Sermon lately made, was committed to the Tower; so likewise Doctor Scorie gaue place vnto Daye, in the Bishopricke of Chichester, Miles Cauerdale into Westes in the Bishopricke of Excester, and John Hooper vnto Heath, in the Bishopricke of Worcester; who forthwith was committed to the Fleet, and Archbishop Crammer, into the Tower; so roughly shee began with the reformed Clergy, (how milde souer her other proceedings were) in whole disgrace, Doctor Bourne Chaplaine to Bonner, made a Sermon at Pauls Crosse which so offended his Hearers, that a Dagger was throwne at him, to his great danger, and such threats muttered by the people, as had not Master Bradford stepped vp in his room, and perliwaded the people vnto quietnesse, surely it had cost the Preacher his life: which caused the Crosse the next Sabbath to bee guarded by the Queenes Guard, whilst the Preacher spake there to the people.

(16) This moued Queene Marie to put forth a Proclamation against those Preachers, and printed bookes; which any wise pointed towards the disgrace of the Papall See, the teinture whereof had stuck in her own breast euersince her infancie; and so much was shee deuoted to that of Rome, as being often moued by King Edward, her brother, to imbrace the Gospell according to Lawes in his time established, with promise of her aduancement, by matching her in Marriage with Don Lewis the brother of Portingall, her answer was, shee had rather to forgoe all earthly preferments, and to loose all her Lands, and other Liuinges, then to change her receiued opinion of her fure belied Religion.

(17) Her entrance thus standing, and State nothing safe (as shee thought) whilst the Duke of Northumberland (a Protestant) and other his Complices (for the most part in durance) were aliue, their arraignment were hastened, and deaths not long after lingred, which they suffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill, where the Duke hauing promise of life, if he would recant his profession, Dastard-like with Peter, forooke his master, and exhorted the people to the Romish profession: which his death Sermon afterwards by authority, came forth in Print. With him suffered Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer much more constant as appeared by their speech.

(18) The way (saith Master Foxe) thus made by blood, Queene Marie passed through London vnto Westminster to receive the Crowne, which was solemnly set on her Head by Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, for that both the Archbishops were prisoners in the Tower: when a pardon was also published for many offences, which notwithstanding were so followed by them in Commission, as some were fined, some lost their Fees, some cast into Prison, and some deuiued of all their estates.

(19) The next that felt the calamities of those times, were the Lady Iane and the Lord Gifford Dudley her Husband, both innocent persons in that which their Fathers had done: Shee doubleste was a Lady of admirable gifts both in learning, religion, and humane knowledge, as by her conference with Fecknam, letters to an Apostata, exhortation to her Sister, and prayers by her made in most feeling manner, doe euidently appeare, and that shee was constrained to consent to the things done is manifest by a letter sent to her father a little before her death; wherein, after a holy and dutifull exhortation vnto patience, shee vith this Speech. My deare Father (if I may without offence reioice in mine owne misfortune)

Prisoners released the Tower.

Fox Acts and Monuments.

Bishops removed and others placed.

A Dagger throwne at D. Bourne, August. 13.

Pauls Crosse guarded in the time of the Sermon.

Reported in a Letter of conference with her had by the Lord Chancellor and Secretary Peters.

The Duke of Northumberland beheaded, August 22.

Sir John Gates beheaded.

M Fox Acts and Monuments. A.D. 1554. Queene Marie executed. Tho. Crammer (cont. Rob. Holgate York Herald.

The vertues of Lady Iane. Lawrence Ham-fry.

Lady Iane in her Letter sent to her Father.

me seemes in this I may account my selfe blessed, that washing my hands with the innocencie of my fault, my guiltlesse blood may cry before the Lord, mercie, mercie, to the innocent. And yet though I must acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you wot well enough, continually assailed, in taking upon me, I seemed to consent, and therein offended the Queene and her Lovers: yet doe I assurelye trust that this mine offence towards God is much the lesse, in that being in so viall estate as I was, mine enforced honour neuer agreed with mine innocent heart.

(20) Yet must the Law for so great an offence take place, for triall whereof this late titled Queene, and now miserable Lady, was brought into Guildhall in London, where shee with the Lord Guilford, Archbishop Cranmer, and the Lord Ambrose Dudley, were arraigned and condemned. But Cranmer (as Fox saith) was acquit of Treason, and stood onely in the case of Doctrine, which then was accounted Heresie, and so againe were returned to the Tower, for whom great lamentations were made, especially for the good Lady Jane, whose state the Queene herselfe pitied, as that shee had the liberty of the Tower to walke in the Queenes Garden, and on the Hill; and surely had not her Father after his first offence fallen into another, shee had bene (as was thought) pardoned of life.

(21) His second offence was, that whereas Queene Mary had a purpose to marry with the Spaniard, and to that ende embraced the Suite of Philip, the sonne of Charles the Emperour, many a well Nobles as others disliked the Match, fearing not only the change of Religion, wherunto many of them stood very well affected, but even of the Lands servitude vnto strangers, as was likely to happen, both in the Husband and Issue. To prevent which this Henry Duke of Suffolke but lately pardoned of life, secretly departed vnto Leicester and Warwick-shires, making Proclamations for the abandoning of Strangers, and infligated the People to withstand the Queenes marriage agreed vpon with Philip.

(22) These stirres thus abroad, the Earle of Huntingtree was sent into those parts, who taking Countess (which Citie Suffolke thought himselfe sure of) forelaid the Countrey in such wise, as the Duke for his best refuge committed himselfe to the trust and secret keeping of a seruant of his, called Penderwood, remaining in Asheley Parke, who against the trust reposed treacherously betrayed him, and his brother John Lord Grey, vnto the Earle; whence presently by him they were conuaid Prisoners vnto the Tower of London, their other brother Lord Thomas escaping in the dead of the night, was presently apprehended in the borders of Wales, and from thence was brought Prisoner to London.

(23) This (I say) seemed to hasten the death of those innocents, whom their Fathers had doubly brought into danger, for the Statists of those times, knowing their Queene could haue no quiet whilst these great opposts were reared against her, held it best pollicy to take them away, whereupon the twelfth of February and first day of the weeke, Lord Guilford Dudley was had to the Scaffold vpon Tower Hill, and there with prayers and great penance ended his life: whose body all bloody laid in a Cart together with the Head wrapped in a cloth was brought into the Chappell within the Tower, even in the sight of this forsworn Lady, a spectacle more deadly then was the Axe of her death. And now her own part next to be acted, the Stage of her Tragedy was raised vpon the greene, within the Tower, wherein being mounted with a cheerefull countenance, and a patient minde, these words with great constancy she spake at that present.

(24) Good people, I am come to die, and by Law I am condemned to the same, my offence against the Queenes Highnesse was onely in consent to the deuis of others, which now is deemed Treason: yet it was neuer of my seeking, but by counsell of those who should seeme to haue fur-

ther vnderstanding of things then I, which knew little of the Law, and much lesse of Titles to the Crowne. But touching the procurement and desire thereof by mee, or on my behalfe, I doe wath my hands in innocencie thereof before God, and the face of you all this day: And therewith free wring her hands wherein she had a Booke. I pray you all good Christian people (saide shee) to beare mee witness that I die a true Christian woman, and that I looke to be saued by none other means but onely by the mercy of God, in the blood of his onely sonne Iesus Christ, and I confesse that when I did know the word of God, I neglected the same, and loued my selfe and the world, and therefore this plague and punishment is iustly and worthily happened vpon me for my sinnes, and yet I thanke God of his goodnesse, that hee hath giuen me a time and respite to repent. And now good people while I am aliue, I pray you assist me with your prayers.

(25) Then kneeled shee downe, and said in English the fiftie one Psalm: and againe standing vp, gaue her booke to Master Bridges, then Lieutenant of the Tower: then vntying her Gowne, the executioner offered to helpe, whom she desired to forbear, and so turning to her two Gentlewomen was disrobed of that and her other Attires. This done, the Headman kneeled downe and askt her forgiveness, vnto whom shee said, the Lord forgive thee, and I doe; and I pray thee dispatch mee quickly, and kneeling againe, said will you take it off before I lye downe? hee answered, no Madam. Then shee tied a Handkercher ouer her eyes, and feeling for the blocke laid, where is it, where is it, lastly laying her Necke vpon the same stretched forth her body and said, Lord Iesus into thy hands I commend my spirit; which was scarcely vttered before shee receiued the fatal stroke of the Axe: and thus ended the life of this chaste, innocent, and most vertuous Lady: whose case through the feuerity of the Law adjudged accordingly, yet was her death much lamented of al, but most especially greuous vnto him that gaue the sentence of the same, euen Judge Morgan, who thereupon presently fell madde, and in his rauiings continually cryed, take away the Ladie Jane from me, and in that horror shortly ended his life. I will not aouuch that shee was with childe at the day of her death, though it was so reported, but rather iudge a more Christian-like proceeding against so great a person, though the time (as we well know) proued very bloody.

(26) Eleuen daies after her death, her Father Henry Duke of Suffolke, was executed vpon the Tower hill, euen the twenty three of February where hee most Christianly made profession of his Faith, and with great repentance of his fact receiued the stroke of death; and the three and twenty of April following, his brother the Lord Thomas Grey suffered death in the same place.

(27) That the intended marriage with Philip of Spaine, was the cause of their last insurrection wee haue said; to perfwade which, how eloquently Louer had bene deliuered by Stephen Gardiner, Lord Chancellour, vnto the Nobility in the Chamber of Prefence, setting forth the honour, the riches, and augmentation of Titles to the Crowne, and Kingdom of England: yet was it distastie to moek of their Stomackes, in so much that combinations were made against the process, and many in many places vp in Armes: whereof Sir Thomas Wyatt of Kent, was the first, and that vpon this occasion.

(28) Among many dislikers of the Queenes marriage it chanced, one, for some other offence, to be committed to the Fleet by the Councill, who being an inward acquaintance of Wyates, was supposed by him to haue reueiled the conspiracy; wherupon he put himselfe in action, before the enterprife was altogether ripe, and accompanied with Thomas Isele, and others, at Maidstone in Kent, published a Pro-

clamation against the Queenes marriage, alleading the thraldome whereunto the Land would become subiect, by that Spanish match, and from Maidstone accompanied with Sir George Harper hastened to Rochester, where they forthwith brake downe the Bridge.

(29) In the meane while Sir Henry Isele, Anthony and William Kneut, brethren, in East, and West Kent, perfwaded the people (who were willing y enough) to take part with Wyatt, for at Milton, Christopher Roper, in making Proclamation for the Queene, assisted by Master Tuck and Dorell, both Iustices of Peace, were all three taken and conveyed vnto Rochester, and there retained Prisoners by Sir Thomas Wyatt, wherupon Sir Robert Southwell high Sheriffe of Kent, with the Lord Aburgawney and others, vpon the market day at Malling in a penned Oracion exhorted the hearers from such seditious enterprizes. On the other side Sir Henrie Isele at Tunbridge, proclaimed the said Lord, the Sheriffe and their adherents, Traitors to God and the Crowne. Thus was Kent diuided, and preparations made to maintain the faction, according as the Gentlemen stood diuersly affected.

(30) The Lord of Aburgawney with the Sherif, and others, hearing that Sir Henry Isele, and the two Kneuts, conductors of five hundred Wellmen, meant their March vnto Rochester, to iolue with Wyatagainst the Duke of Norfolke, who was then come to Craneford with five hundred Londoners in the quarrell of the Queene, to intercept that designe early the next morning, they marched with many Kenish yeomen vnto Barrow-greene, a place that lay directly in their passage to Rochester, where ordering their men staied the approach of the Enemy: who seeing themselves thus forelaid, turned secretly aside into another by-way, and gotten vnto Wrotham-hill supposing they had bene quit of all danger, displayed their Ensignes.

(31) The Queenes friends thus defeated, were in a maruellous rage, & hasting forward ouertooke Sir Henry, & the two Kneuts before they could ascend the height of the Hill, where presently began a most hot skirmish, many wounds giuen, & many Prisoners taken, till lastly the seditious were scattered, and fled; Sir Henry Isele into Hampshire, and others into other parts, a few escaping to ioyne with their Confort.

(32) The beginning thus vnfortunate, made many to misdoubt of the end, among whom Sir George Harper got from Wyatt, and submitted himselfe to the Duke of Norfolke, who with Sir Henry Termingham Captaine of the guard, Sir Edward Bray, Sir John Fog and others, vpon Monday the twenty seauen of Ianuary, came vnto Stroud neere Rochester, and there being builed in planning of his Ordinance, was certainly told that the Londoners meant to betray him: wherfore hee staid and turning about, he saw Captaine Bret, and the band of white Coates at his backe, crying, we are all Englishmen, we are all Englishmen: which suddaine conspiracy caused the Duke and the Captaine of the Guard, to shift for themselves, and left their vnfaitfull followers, to the dispose of their owne affections vnto Wyatt: among whom Sir George Harper lately receiued of the Duke, lightly turned againe vnto Wyatt. This Duke (saith Grafton) being an aged man, and fortunate before in all his warres, vpon this distastie impressed such dolour of mind, that for verie griefe thereof he liued not long after.

(33) Wyatt, and his associates greatly encouraged by this new supply, with eight brasse Peeeces taken of the Queenes, besides other of their owne, marched the next morning vnto Cowling Cattle, where the Lord Cobham then lay, and bending these Ordinance against the Gate, brake it open with their shot, and made entrance for their men. The Lord Cobham right valiantly resisted their doings, and bestowed freely such small munition as he had, against their

breasts, euen with his owne hands: in which enterprize two of his men were slaine, and Wyatt after some talke had with the said Lord departed vnto Craneford, where hee with his men were lodged that night.

(34) The next day hee came vnto Dartford, whither reformed Sir Edward Hastings Master of the Horse, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis Knights, both of them being priuie Counsellors to the Queene. Their coming signified, Sir Thomas Wyatt with certaine Gentlemen went forth to meet them; Wyatt somewhat marching before the rest with a partizan in his hand, at whose approach Sir Edward Hastings alighted, and spake vnto him as followeth:

(35) The Queenes Maiesty requireth to vnderstand the true cause, wherefore you haue gathered in Armes her liege people against her, which is the part of a Traitor, and yet in your Proclamation you call your selfe a true Subject, both which cannot stand together. I am no Traitor, quoth Wyatt, and the cause why I haue assembled the people, is to defend the Realme from danger of being overrunne by Strangers, which must needs follow, if the marriage take place. Why said the Counsellors, there is no stranger yet come, either for power or number whom you need to suspect; therefore if that thing onely be the quarrell, will you that dislike the marriage, come to communication touching the cause, and the Queene is content you shall be heard. To that I yeild said Sir Thomas Wyatt; but for my further surety, I will rather bee trusted then truist, and thereupon demanded (as some haue written faith Holinshed) the Custody of the Tower and her Grace within it, as also the displacing of some Counsellors about her, and to place other in their Rooms: To which the Master of the Horse replied: Wyatt, be fore thou shalt haue thy traitorous demand granted, thou shalt die and twenty thousand with thee, and so these Agents departed to the Court, and Wyatt forthwith came vnto Deeford by Greene-wich.

(36) At whose approach to these London, such feares were possessed, that besides those in the Court (who instigated the Queene to remove into the Tower) the Lord Maior, Aldermen, and most of the Citizens were in Armour, and the Sergeants and Lawyers at Westminster Hall pleaded their causes in Harnesse, at which time it was no need to bid the Spanish Ambassadors be gone, who no more standing to woo for their matter, made away by water as fast as they could: and yet some comfort was conceiued by the certaine newes of the discomfiture of the Carrews and Gibs, that were making head in the West wholly defeated, and fled: which was proclaimed in London vpon Candlemas Eue: vpon the day of that feast Queene Mary to make the City sure on her side, came vnto the Guild-Hall, accompanied with many Courtiers, whither likewise were assembled the Lord Maior, the Aldermen, and the chiefe Citizens in their Liureries: the Queene being placed and all men attending her pleasure, with verigood grace, and words well vttered, shee spake in effect as heere in-sueeth.

(38) In my owne person I am come vnto you to tell you that, which your selues already doe see and know, I mean the traitorous and seditious number of the Kentish Rebels, that are assembled against vs and you. Their pretence (as they say) is to resist a marriage betwene vs and the Prince of Spaine, of all their plots, pretended quarrells, and euill contriued Articles, you haue bene made priuie. Since which time, our Councill haue reformed to the Rebels, demanding the cause of their continued enterprize, by whose answers the marriage is found to bee the least of their quarrell: or rather a cloake to couer their pretended purposes against our Religion; for, (swearing from their former Articles, they now manifestly bewray the inward Treason of their hearts, most arrogantly de-

Two priuie Counsellors sent vnto Wyatt.

Sir Edward Hastings melleage to Wyatt.

Sir Thomas Wyatt answers.

February 1.

Great feares among the people.

The seditious in Cornwall discomfited.

Queene Maries Oracion.

M. Fox.

Lady Jane and Lord Guilford condemned, Fox Act. and Monuments.

John Stow.

The Duke of Suffolke fetcheth himselfe against Queene Maries marriage.

Holinsh.

Fox in Acts and Monuments.

Henry Duke of Suffolke and his brethren apprehended.

The Lord Guilford beheaded. Rich. Grey.

Lady Jane beheaded.

The speech of Lady Jane at her death.

Book 5

Book 5

The Duke of Suffolke fetcheth himselfe against Queene Maries marriage.

The seditious in Cornwall.

Master Fox in Acts and Mon. pag. 113.

Henry Duke of Suffolke and L. Thomas Grey beheaded.

Queene Maries marriage distastie to many of the Nobles.

Sir Thomas Wyatts Roile.

An. D. 1554 January 25

Pro-

"manding the possession of our person, the keeping of our Tower, and not onely the placing and displacing of our Counsellors: but also to vse them as vs at their pleasures: what I am louing Subjects, you right well know, your Queene, to whom at my Coronation, when I was wedded to the Realme, and to the Lawes of the same (the spouall ring whereof I haue on my finger, which neuer hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your allegiance, and obedience vnto mee. And that I am the right, and true inheritor to the English Crowne, I not onely take all Christendome to witness, but also your Acts of parliaments confirming the same. My Father (as you all know) possessed the regall estate by right of inheritance, which now by the same right is descended vnto mee: to him you alwaies shewed your felicitie both faithfull and louing Subjects, as to your liege Lord and King, and therefore I doubt not but you will shew your felicitie to me his daughter; which if you doe, then may you not suffer any rebell to stirre the Government of our Person, or interpose our estate, especially so presumptuous a traitor as this *Wyat* hath shewed himselfe to be: who most certainly, as he hath abused our ignorant Subjects, to be adherents to his traitorous quarrell, so doth he intend by the colour of the same, to subdue the lawes to his will, and to giue scope to the rascall and fowlorne persons, to make generall hauocke and spoile of your goods. And this I say further vnto you in the word of a Prince, I cannot tell how naturally a mother loveth her children, for I was neuer the mother of any; but certainly if a Prince and Gouverneur may as naturally loue the Subjects, as the mother doth her child, then assure your felicitie that I being your Soueraigne, Lady, and Queene, doe as earnestly and tenderly loue and fauour you. And I thus louing you, cannot but think, that you as heartily & faithfully loue me again: & so this loue boide together in the knot of concord, wee shall be able I doubt not, to giue these rebels a short and speedy ouerthrow. Now as concerning my intended marriage, you shall vnderstand that I entred not into the treaty thereof, without the aduice of our pruy Councell, yea and by assent of those, to whom my father committed his trust, who haue so considered the great commodities that may thereof ensue, as they not onely haue thought it very honorable, but also expedient, both for the Wealth of our Realme, and also of our louing Subjects. But as touching my selfe (I assure you) I am not so desirous of wedding, neither am I so precisely wedded to my will, that either for mine owne pleasure I will chooseth where I lust, or els so amorous, as needs I must haue one: for I thanke God (to whom be the praise) I haue hitherto liued a Virgine, and doubt not but with Gods grace to bee able to liue so still. But if (as my Progenitors haue done before) it might please God that I might leaue some fruit of my body to be your Gouverneur, I trust you would not onely reioyce thereat, but also I know it would be to your great comfort: and certainly if I either did know or thinke, that this marriage should either turne to the danger or losse of any of you my louing Subjects, or to the detriment of any part of the roiall Estate of this English Realme, I would neuer consent therunto, neither would I euer marry whilst I liued. And in the word of a Queene, I promise and assure you, that if it shall not probable appeare before the Nobility and Commons in the high Court of Parliament, that this marriage shalbe for the singular benefit and commoditie of the whole Realme, that then I will abstaine not onely from this marriage, but also from any other. Wherefore good Subjects plucke vp your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your lawfull Prince against these Rebels, both ours and yours, and feare them not, for (I assure you) I

"doe not: and will leaue with you my Lord *Howard*, and my Lord *Treasure* to bee Assistant with my Lord Maior for the safeguard of the City from spoile & lackage, which is the only scope of this rebellious Company.

(37) The Oration ended, and the Citizens well pleased, *Queene Marie* with good content returned to the Court, where conferring with her Councell, shee ordained the Lord *William Herbert Earle of Pembroke* generall of the Field, and gave forth by Proclamation, that whosoever could bring *Wyat* either quicke or dead, should be rewarded with an hundred pound Lands by yeere, to him and his posterity for euer.

(38) *Wyat* in *Defford*, and knowing what was done, with fouretene Ensignes, and foure thousand strong, vpon Saturday the third of February marched towards *London*, at whose approach, the white Tower hauing him in daiger shot off her Ordinance, but did misse their marke, some leuellling too farre ouer, and some as much too short. His entrance into *Southwarke* was peaceable and without all resistance, though many Country men were therein bestowed to withstand his coming, who contrary to trust, ioyed with the *Kentish*, and then to winne the hearts of the people, he presently made Proclamation that no Souldier should take away anie thing without due payment, and the parties consent: notwithstanding *Winchester* house foone felt the contrarie, whose goods were ransacked, the Bookes in the Librarie cut and defaced, and not a lock left vpon the doores: such spoiles insurrections euer ayme at, how faire fouer they foyle the glasse to the sight.

(39) The Suburbs thus his, he assured himselfe the City likewise shortly would be, but coming to the Bridge, he found the Gates fast shut, neither in haft to open them for him, therefore making a trench at the Bridge-foote, planted two peeces of Ordinance against the Gate: At *Saint Georges Church* he mounted another, the fourth at the entrance into *Barmondsey streete*, and the fift towards the Bishop of *Winchesters* house.

(40) Within the City the Lord Maior, and Lord *William Howard*, caused the draw bridge to bee cut downe, and making fortifications for their defence, placed great Ordinance against the entrance. *Wyat* still thirsting to know the Cities intent, got with some few followers through the Porters lodge vnto the draw bridge, where being vncene himselfe, saw the passage too difficult to haue friendly access, and thereupon said to his conforters, this place is too hot for vs. Besides the Tower began to be topped with Ordinance, seauen Culuerings and Demie Cannons, leuelled against the Bridgefoote, the Steeles of *Saint Olives*, and *Saint Mary Querles*, all the *White Tower* laden with her peeces, three fauonets ouer the water-Gate, and a double Culuering vpon Diuelling Tower: and all these were turned and fearfully charged vpon the Borough of *Southwarke*, which seene, the Inhabitants with great lamentations came vnto *Wyat*, and complained, that for his cause they were like to be vterly ydone, who stricken with pittie and remorse of so many, presently remoued his Armitowards *Kingston* vpon *Thames*, where finding the Bridge broken downe, with Ladders and Planks he soone repaired it, and so passing the riuer the same night, came to *Braineford* before hee was descried by the *Queenes Scouts*, the newes whereof sore troubled the Court. *Wyats* hopes were to haue surprized the Cite vpon the suddaine, and therefore made such hast as he did, but being hindred by a Peeces of great Ordinance that was dismounted from the carriage, came not vnto Knights bridge before it was day.

(41) In the same morning the Earle of *Pembroke Lord General* had taken *Saint James Fields*, whither *Wyat* and his in good order marched, but seeing the way foreclosed both with foote and horsemen, turned downe

The Earle of Pembroke made Lord General, R. Grafson.

Stow hath bene these Ensignes & two thousand fouldiers.

Wyat commeth into Southwarke.

Wyat commeth into Southwarke.

The rebels (said) Winchester house.

Wyat fortifieth Southwarke. John Stow.

The conflict at Charing-Crosse.

London fortifieth against Wyat.

Wyat returned from Ludgate.

Stow.

The Tower fortified against Wyat.

Febr. 6. being Shrove-tide Wyat passed Thames at Kingston.

Richard Grafson.

Febr. 11. The Queene arriues in Saint James field.

downe the old lane directly towards *Saint James*, whence Captaine *Faughan* with two Ensignes tooke towards *Westminster*, and *Wyat* along the causey leading to *Charing-Crosse*, the Lord Generall *Horsem*, hitherto stood howering aloofe, vntill the enemy was passed, all but the taile, vpon which they violently set, and feuered from thence, the maine neuer looking backe to releue their distresse.

(42) From the higher ground, and along the highway the great Ordinance plaied, and *Wyats* againe answered the like, though with small hurt to either, onely one from the Hill slew three of *Wyats* men in a rancke, and stracke through the Brickewall into the Parke. *Wyat* passing forward by the battell of footmen without any impeachment, came to *Charing-Crosse*, where the Lord Chamberlaine and Sir *John Gage*, stood ready to resist him: but *Kentish* Souldiers rushing violently into the streets, forced them into the gates of *White-hall* which presently were shut, and a report in the Court that the Lord General was reuolted to *Wyat*, all so distracted that none durst trust others, and no other voice therein heard, but Treason, Treason. Meane while *Wyat* with such small company as hee had, hastid through *Fleetstreet*, and came vnto *Ludgate*, where hee knocked to haue entrance, and well hoped of further assistance, but was farre deceiued, the gate being guarded against him, with a number of true Citizens and bands of the *Queenes* friends.

(43) But those straglers that had taken into *Westminster*, whereof *Kneut* was Captaine, seeking to recouer their companions, came before the Court gates, and there made their stand, which being shutte against them shot many of their arrowes into the Garden, yea and into the windowes of *White-hall*, though without any hurt: from the Court thus guarded against them, they forthwith departed, meaning to follow *Wyat* their Leader into *London*, and marching forward, were met with at *Charing-Crosse*, by Sir *Henry Termingham*, Captaine of the Guard, Sir *Edward Bray* Master of the Ordinance, and Sir *Philip Paris* Knights, sent thither by order of the Lord General, with a band of Archers, and certaine Field peeces to secure the Court, their Artillery discharged, they presently ioint fight with the Rebels at pulse of the Pike, who a while stucke to it manfully; in which conflict was the triall of the day: but as their quarrell was traitorous, so their hearts were soone quelled, each one sauing himselfe by flight, wherein about twenty of those bemoired Souldiers were slaine, and no other crie heard, but downe with the Daggletailes.

(44) *Wyat* returned from *Ludgate*, late downe vpon a fall against the common Inne called *Bell-savage*, where hee beganne (as it should seeme) to expostulate what his heady rashnesse had done, and the vaine hopes hee had conceiued of the Citizens abatement, who seldome tooke part against the Crowne: he then despairing of further successe, retired backe towards the Court, and was not staied vntill hee came to *Temple-Barre*, where certaine Horsemen coming from the field, met him full in the face, betwixt whom began some bickering, till lastly *Clarentius* King at Armes came to him and said; Master *Wyat* you see the day is gone against you; and in resisting you can doe no good, but hazard the death of your Souldiers, and your selfe, to the great perill of your soule. My counsell is, that you were best to yeelde, and perchance you may finde the Queene mercifull, if you stay from further bloodshed.

(45) *Wyat* heereat somewhat astoned, seeing now his whole designes defeated (though his few Souldiers were bent still to fight) answered the Herald, Well then, If I must needs yeeld, I will yeeld to a Gentleman: to whom Sir *Maurice Barkley* came presently and bad him mount his Horse behinde, in like manner another tooke vp Sir *Thomas Cobham*, and the third *Thomas Kneut*, and so carried them

vnto the Court, whence in the afternoone, they with the two *Amels*, and *Alexander Bret*, were committed to the Tower, Sir *Thomas Wyat* wearing a shirt of Male vnder a velvet Caslocke, and the wind-lace of his Dagge hanging about his necke. The next day eleuen Gentlemen more of name and account, were likewise committed to the Tower. In *London* about fifty persons were hanged for *Wyats* conspiracie, and foure hundred more led through the Cite with halters about their neckes to *Westminster*, where in the Tilt-yard they were all pardoned by the Queene, pronouncing her mercy from the Gallerie above.

(46) But the Capitall offender Sir *Thomas Wyat* arraigned at *Westminster* vpon case of high Treason, confessed the inditement and had iudgement of death accordingly, which he suffered vpon the Scaffold on Tower-hill the eleuenth of April following; his words to the people were these, "Good people I am come hither presently to die, being thereunto lawfully and worthily condemned, for I haue fore offended against God and the *Queenes* Maies: "Ay; I trust God hath forgiven mee, and will take mercy vpon me; I beseech the *Queenes* maiesy alfo of forgiveness (hee hath forgiven you quoth Doctor *Weston*) let euerie man beware how hee taketh any thing in hand against the higher powers; vnlesse God be propserable to his purpose, it will neuer take good effect or successe, whereof you may now learne by me, and I pray God I may be the last example in this place. But where it is said and noised abroad, that I should accuse the Lady *Elizabeth* and the Lord *Courtney*, it is not so, good people: For I assure you, neither they, nor any other now yonder in hold was priue to my rising before I began, as I haue declared no lesse to the *Queenes* Councell, and that is most true. Then said Doctor *Weston*, marke heere my masters, he saith that, that which he hath shewed to the Councell in writing of them, is most true. Whereupon *Wyat* put off his Gowne, his dublet, and waistcoat, and knitting a kercheise ouer his eies with most feruent prayers, received the stroke of the Axe.

(47) *Alexander Bret*, and twenty two *Kentish* persons besides, were executed in diuers parts of that County: others were likewise arraigned for the same Conspiracy, as Sir *Nicholas Throckmorton*, and Sir *James Croft*, the one quibed by his Inquest, the other pardoned of life by the Queene. Many others were suspected as aiders vnto *Wyat*, and his enterprise, among whom the Lord *Courtney*, and the Princess *Elizabeth*, sister to the Queene, were not the least, and therefore both of them committed to the Tower: of which Ladies troubles, innocency, and truth, thus we find related.

(48) These Virgine Princes were not so neerely linked in blood and nature, as they were separated asunder in affecting Religion, and that being the prime cause for which these commorions were raised, *Queene Mary* much suspected her sister to bee a principall mouer therein. The ielousie whereof, *Gardiner of Winchester* did further inflame, by blowing Coniectures into her eare: so that needs the Princess must be sent for, then lying sicke at her Mannour of *Ashbridge*, euen the next day after that *Wyat* rold. The messengers were, Sir *John Williams*, Sir *Edward Hastings*, and Sir *Thomas Cornwallis*, all three Priue Counsellors, with a troope of Horsemen in number two hundred and fifty.

(49) These coming to *Ashbridge* at tenne in the night, suddenly ascended into her Priue Chamber, and making it knowne they came from the Queene, had present access to her Bed-Chamber; where the said Lady lay very sore sicke: their first salutations were, that they were sorry to see her in that estate, and I am not glad fide, to see you here at this time of the night; Madame, quoth they, our Message requires haste, and the *Queenes* pleasure is, that you shall bee at *London* the seuenth of this month

Febr. 8.

400 persons pardoned by the Queene.

Holinshed, March 11.

Sir Tho. Wyat beheaded.

Wyats words at his death.

Sir Nich. Throckmorton and Sir James Croft arraigned.

Lady Elizabeths troubles.

Lady Elizabeth fore sicke is sent for.

M. Fox Acts and Monuments, 238.

The conference of the 3. Counsellors with Lady Elizabeth.

neth. No Creature gladder to come to her Maiefty then I (said Lady Elizabeth) being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to attend her Grace, as your felues here see. Indeed (said they) for that we see, we are heartily sorry, but our commission is, that we bring you to London either quicke or dead, whereat the being greatly amazed, sorrowfully said, she wel hoped their commissiō was nothing so strait, but they calling for two Doctors of Physicke demanded whether shee might be removed with life, and that being resolved, bad her prepare against the next morning, and so left this innocent Princeesse very sore perplexed the rest of the night.

Lady Elizabeth
as a prisoner
conducted to the
Court.

Princes Eliz-
beth examined
of treason.

(50) The next morning approached, and shee in no better plight, notwithstanding was led forth more like a Prisoner then a Prince, which the people in every place as she passed, did much lament, and strongly guarded, was so conducted vnto the Court, where for foureteene daies space, shee comfortlesse continued without sight of friend, the Queene or any Lords, those onely excepted that attended the doers, which were the Lord Chamberlaine, and Sir John Gage.

(51) Vpon Friday before Palme Sunday, Gardiner of Winchester, and nine more of the Councell, came into her presence, and there charged her both with Wyatts Conspiracy, and the stirres lately made in the West parts by Sir Peter Carew and others, which shee most constantly denied: but in conclusion they told her it was the Queenes pleasure, that shee should forthwith goe to the Tower, the name of which dolefull prison stricke deepe to her heart. I trust (said shee) her Maiefty will be farre more gracious then to commit to that place a true and most innocent woman, that neuer had offended her in thought, word nor deed. And thereupon instantly desired those Lords to bee a meane for her vnto the Queene: which some of them promised, and much pittied her case. But about an howre after, came foure of these Lords againe, namely, Winchester, the Treasurer, the Steward and Suffex: with a charge to discharge her of all attendants, sauing onely her Gentleman Vther, three Gentlewomen, and two Groomes of her Chamber, the Guard was set to warde in the next rooms; two Lords with bands of men to watch in the Hall, and two hundred Northern white Coates in the Garden, thus all was made sure, and shee kept from starting.

The honourable
parts of the
Earle of Suffex.

(52) The next day came vnto her two Lords of the Councell with commendement from the Queen to haue her to the Tower; they roundly told her, her Barge was prepared, and that the tide would carry for no body: this heauy newes encreased this distressed Ladies pensiuensse, who in most humble wise became Petitioner vnto their Lordships, that shee might stay vntill the next tide, which as she wel hoped, would proue more comfortable; but the one of them being more forward in his Commission then the other, flatly told her that neither tide nor time should bee delaied. Whereupon her Grace desired shee might write to the Queene: he againe answered, that hee durst not suffer it, neither in his iudgement was it convenient: but the other more mild (which was the Earle of Suffex) kneeling down told her that her Grace should haue liberty to write her mind: swearing as hee was a true man, himselfe would deliuer it into the Queenes hand, and bring her the answer, whatsoeuer came of it: which honourable permission was then most thankfully taken, and afterward most highly esteemed in her Princely fauours towards that honourable man; but in writing this letter or petition to the Queene, the Tide was turned, and serued not to shoote the bridge with a Barge, therefore it was pruiely determined to take the advantage of the next, which with better aduiselement was againe deferred, for that it fell about midnight, whence rose a feare that she might bee forceably taken from them before shee came to the Tower: and so with great prouidence was that

danger prevented.

(53) The next day being Palme Sunday, serued well for their purpose, when as vnder pretext of deuotion, the Citizens of London were commanded to carry their Palmes to the Church, whilst her Barge might be passed by without light or any suspect. And to that purpose the forelaide two Noble men about nine of the Clocke repaired vnto her, shewing that the time was now come, that her Grace must goe to the Tower; to which shee answered, the Lords will be done, I am contented: seeing it is the Queenes mind: and coming into the Garden to take Barge, shee cast her eyes towards euery Window, hoping to see some that would pity her case, but that also failing, shee sighed and said, I maruell what the Nobility meane to suffer me a Prince to be led into Captiuitie, the Lord knowes whither, for my selfe doe not.

Lady Elizabeth
carried priuily
vnto the Tower.

(54) Great haste was made to the barge, and as much to get by London viueine: but the tyde yong and not fully come in, the fall of the water at the Bridge was so great, as the Barge men themselves feared to passe thereunder, and motioned a stay till the streame were more leuell, which in no wise would bee heard: whereupon they passed the Arch with such danger, as the keene of the boate stricke against the ground, and come to the staires, could not take land without stepping into the water, which this tender, and newly recovered Princeesse was forced to doe, in which passage shee vttered these words: I speake before thee O God, hauing none other friend but thee onely; here I landeth as true a subiect, being prisoner, as ever landed at these staires; to which the seuerall Lords answered, if it were so, it was the better for her. Shee came into the gate, a great number of Seruants and Warders of the Tower stood to guard her, through whom as shee passed, the poore men kneeling downe with one voice, desired God to preserve her Grace, whereof some were rebuked, and others put from their Ordinarie the next day.

The scene was
hard dealing
against the Prin-
cess Elizabeth.

The constan-
tience of Lady
Elizabeth.

(55) Then passing somewhat further both faint and vncomfortable, shee rested her selfe vpon a cold stone, to whom M. Bridges the Lieutenant then being said: Madam, you were best to come out of the raine, for you sit vnwholesomely; to whom shee replied, better sitte here then in a worle place, for God knoweth, and not I, whither you will bring me: at which her sorrowfull and dejected answer, her Gentleman Vther, a seruant most loyall and loving to his Mistresse, among many others brake forth into floods of teares, the witnesses commonly of al inward grife, which the Princes perceiving, reproved, demanding what hee meant so to discourage her, seeing sheeooke him to bee her Comforter, & especially knowing her truth to be such, as that no man should haue any cause to weepe for her.

(56) Shee sate like belowed, and the doers made fast with lockes and bolts, was there comfortlesse left in the dolefull prison, where calling for her booke and her few seruants about her, shee fell vnto prayers, desiring God to prosper her worke, that the might build vpon the rocke Christ: whereby these blustering tempests thus sodainely risen might not preuaile against her foundation. Meane while the Lords were as circumspect, how shee might be kept sure; many among them propounded, that it was most needfull shee should bee close prisoner, and a strong guard set to watch her doers; against which the Lord Suffex replied and said: My Lords let vs take heed we goe not beyond our Commission, shee was our Kings Daughter and we know the Prince next in blood, therefore let vs so deale with her now, that if it so happen, we may answer our doings vnto her another day.

The Earle of Suffex most first
for Lady Elizabeth.

(57) Two dayes spent thus in the Tower, and Gods diuine seruice celebrated in English, it was commanded to haue Masse in her lodgings; and to that end two of her yeomen were appointed to answer the Priest, which was as vnwillingly done, as the

Lady Elizabeth
commanded to
haue Masse in
her lodgings.

the deuotion was small. Then were the fauourites examined, yea and some of them with torture, & all to finde a fitt knife to cut her innocent throte, that so Winchester might wash his white Rochet in her purple blood; who being Lord Chancellor and Ruler of the rest, came into the Tower to examine her himselfe, with some others of the Queenes Councell: Shee then brought before them, was demanded of the talke shee had with Sir James Croft (a prisoner in the Tower, and then brought to her presence) concerning her removing from Albridge vnto Dunnington Castell: My Lords (said shee) mee thinkes you doe mee wrong to examine euery mean Prisoner against me, if they haue done euill let them answer for it, I pray you ioyne mee not with such offenders; as touching my remove to Dunnington, mine officers, and you Sir James Croft can tell; but what is this to the purpose, might I not, my Lords, goe to mine owne houses at all times? whereunto the Lord of Arundell kneeling downe, answered that her Grace said truth, and that himselfe was sorry to see her troubled about such vaine matters: well my Lords (said shee) you sit mee narrowly, but you can doe no more then God hath appointed, vnto whom I pray to forgive you all.

Lady Elizabeth
was examined
of Treason.

Liberty obtained
shee walke in
the Garden.

(58) No fault appearing, nor offence found, yet was shee still retained in that close and sorrowfull prison, and for want of fresh aire, her health beganne to bee empaired, whereupon the Lord Shandoy one of her Keepers, obtained that shee might walke into the Queenes lodgings, the windowes being shut onely in presence of himselfe, the Lord Chamberlaine, and three of the Queenes Gentlewomen sent her for the same purpose; which fauour was further increased by libertie to walke into the Garden, the other prisoners commanded not so much as to looke into the place while her Grace remained therein.

(59) During which time there vually repaired vnto her a little boy, about foure yeeres of age (a mansonne of the Tower) in whose pretty prattling sheeooke great pleasure; his vie was to bring her flowers, and to receiue at her hands such thinges as commonly please Children: which lastly brought a great suspition into the Lord Chamberlaines working head, that by this Child letters were brought betwixt the Princess Elizabeth, and the L. Courney, whereupon the boy was threatened, and his father commanded not to suffer him any more to retort to her Grace: which notwithstanding, the next day hee did, but the doer being shut, and hee peeping through a hole, cried vnto her, Mistresse I can bring you no more flowers now.

(60) It was reported (saith Fox) if the relation be true, that a Write subscribed vnder certaine Councillors hands, was directed for the present death of the Lady Elizabeth, which hee doth wholly impute vnto Winchester working: This sodaine charge giuen for her present execution, sore grieved M. Bridges then Lieutenant of the Tower, who forthwith repaired vnto the Queene, to know her further pleasure therein: but shee being altogether ignorant of any such warrant, blamed the doers and gaue a contrary command, whereby was preserved the life of her sister: which howsoeuer (to the disfature of her enemies) it was prolonged, yet her State of liues security seemed little better, and her feares presently conceived, were nothing the lesse: for the Constable discharged, Sir Henry Benisfield a more feruor taylor was placed in his room, who with an hundred Souldiers in blew coates entred vpon his charge: at sight whereof the fearefull Princes demanded, whether the Scaffold whereon Lady Jane suffered was still standing; or whether Sir Henry (a man to her altogether vnknowne) made any conscience of murther, if hers was committed vnto his charge.

(61) The nineteenth of May her Grace was removed from the Tower towards Woodstocke, Sir

Henry Benisfield being her conductor, vnto whom Sir John Williams Lord Tame was ioined in Commission. The first night shee was brought vnto Richmond, where all her owne seruants were removed from her presence, and the rascall Souldiers set to attend her person; by which feuerie beginnings shee much doubted that her dayes were nere spent, and in that place her life must take end: whereupon calling together her seruants desired them to pray for her, for this night (said shee) I thinke I must die, which lamentable wordes drew fountaines of teares out of their eyes; and thereupon her Gentleman Vther went downe vnto the Lord Tame in the Court, desiring him vnfaignedly to shew, whether his Lady and Mistresse that night were in danger of death, whereby himselfe and fellows might take such part as God would appoint. Mary God forbid quoth the Lord Tame, that any such wickednesse should bee intended, which rather then it should bee wrought, I and my men will die at her foot.

The great feares
of Lady Elizabeth

(62) With no greater comfort proceeded the towards Woodstocke: Sir Henry her Taylor (as she termed him) neuer carrying so hard an hand in his Commission; for the people that with teares pressed to meet her in the passage, and with prayers saluted her in most louing manner, hee both threatened, & draue backe, calling them Traitors and Rebels against the Queene and her Lawes, and whereas in certaine villages bells were rung as shee passed for ioy as they conceived it of her deliuerance, Sir Henry Benisfield tooke the matter to distastfull, that hee commanded the bells to surceale, and set the fingers thereof in the stocks; so that not without cause this louing Lady sent this word vnto her poore seruants, and well wishing friends, *Tangam ouis*, as a sheepe to the slaughter, so am I lead: And surely had not the L. Tame bin more comfortable in his place vnto this distressed Princeesse, her spirite of hopes had been spent before the conduction of her person had bene accomplished.

The ioy that the
people concei-
ued of Lady
Elizabeths deliuerance.

(63) Neither in Woodstocke was her liberty much enlarged, nor feares any lesse, shee being inclosed in none of the best lodgings, garded with Souldiers both day and night, and although shee had leaue into some Gardens, yet were fup or fixe lockes betwixt her walke and her lodgings, and all made fast after her entrance. It was also suspected that the Keeper of Woodstocke a notorious Ruffian was infligated to kill this innocent Princes, as also that one Bassett a Darling of Bishoppe Gardiners came to Bladenbridge a mile from Woodstocke, accompanied with twentie men in priuy Coates, earnestly desiring to speake with Lady Elizabeth, pretending secret and importunate business: but Sir Henry her Keeper gone to the Court had giuen strait charge to his brother, that none should haue access vnto her before his returne, though they came from the Councell or Queene her selfe. Whereby that designe was happily lost. What his errand was I will not determine, but others haue conceived it was for no good.

Ladie Elizabeth
prisoner in Wood-
stocke.

Lady Elizabeth
in danger to be
murdered.

(64) Another accident also hapned, whether of purpose, or otherwise I cannot say, but surely it was to the danger of her life: for on the sodain her lodgings were on fire, which beganne to kindle betwixt the boordes and feeling under the Chamber where shee lay, and was vehemently mistrusted to be purposely done. Those and the like feares daily happening, drew the distressed Princes into many passions, whereof one is reported, that shee sitting solitarily at her Prison-window, chanced to see a Maide of Woodstocke in the Parke milking of Kine, and as shee fate, merily to sing ouer her Pale, which stricke this sad pensiuie Prisoner into a deepe meditation, preferring the Maides fortunes farre about her owne, and heartily wished that her selfe were a Milke-maid, into which distresse was her princely birth brought, in which comfortlesse thraldome, wee will a while leaue her, & return to speak of matters in the Court.

Elizabeth lod-
gings on fire.

A poore liberty
preferred aboue
a princely cap-
tivity.

A.D. 1553. (65) Queene *Mary* being now chiefe Pilot her selfe, and set at the helme of all Soueraign power, steered the sterne of her zealous affections, according to her owne liking; when presently vpon her Coronation beganne a Parliament at *Westminster*, & a Conuocation in the Cathedrall Church of *Saint Pauls* in *London*, where shee commanded a free disputation for Religion, without any danger of offence. The Questions to bee controuersed, were concerning a Catechisme set forth in King *Edwards* dayes, and the presence of Christ in the Sacrament of his Supper. For Popish Transubstantiation stood Disputers Doctor *Moreman*, Doctor *Watson*, Doctor *Chedsey*, Maister *Harpsfield*, and Maister *Morgan*, D. *Weston* Dean of *Westminster* appointed for Prolocutor: For Christs spiritual presence were M. *Haddon*, M. *Elmar*, M. *Cheney*, M. *Philpot*, and Maister *Perne*, these meeting 6 seuerall daies disputed only vpon the last question: but with such disagreement, as lastly Q. *Mary* commanded *Boner* to dissolue the assembly, without any Subscriptions to the assertions premised.

Octob. 18. A disputation for Religion.

Decemb. 13. (66) And not long after *Thomas Cranmer* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, *Nicholas Ridley* Bishoppe of *London*, and *Hugh Latimer* sometimes Bishoppe of *Worcester*, were sent from the Tower of *London* vnto *Oxford*, to dispute vpon the saide Argument against Doctor *Tresham*, Doctor *Cole*, Doctor, *Oglethorpe* Doctor *Pie*, Maister *Harpsfield*, and Maister *Fechnam*, all *Oxford* men, vnto whom from *Cambridge* were ioyned Doctor *Tange*, Doctor *Glinne*, Doctor *Seton*, Doctor *Walton*, Doctor *Sedgewicke*, and Doctor *Atkinson*, Doctor *Weston* again being Prolocutor: the disputation beganne vpon the sixteenth of *April*, and ended the twentieth of the same moneth, with the sentence of those three Bishoppes deaths, which through fire gaue testimony of their faithes, a yeece and sixe moneths after in the Towne Ditch of *Oxford*: whose disputations, letters, and last endes, are largely set down by M. *John Fox* in his *Acts and Monuments* of the Church, vnto whom I refer the desirous Reader, left by enlarging of this, the course of our temporall Story should bee ouermuch interrupted with matters Ecclesiasticall of those sorrowfull times.

A.D. 1554. (67) Queene *Mary* intending her marriage with *Spaine*, great feares were conceived that many calamities would follow, aswell to the Church, reformed from abuses, as for the policke proceedings of the Kingdomes affaires; which as some tooke was prognosticated euen from heauen it selfe, by a Raine-bow reuered, the bow turned downward, & the two ends standing upward, as also by two Suns shining at one time, and a good distance asunder in the Skies, both which sights appeared in *London* the fifteenth of February.

They are burned.

For *Acts & Mon.* p. 1637.

An Act in the 2. of Queene *Mary*, cap. 2.

In her letters. sent them signed with her hand.

(68) In which City a Parliament to that purpose was assembled, wherein by Statute the marriage was confirmed, though with no lesse liking of those times obseruers, then was the marriage desired which is fained of the Sunne: to hinder whose purpose, the world is said to haue made suite vnto *Iupiter*, lest hauing more Sunnes then one, the whole frame of the Globe should bee set on fire. These distastfull stomackes Queene *Mary* well perceived, therefore to giue them content, shee wrote her letters into the West, and to *Wales*, charging the Lord President, the Bishoppes of *Oxford* and *Salisbury*, to intimate the benefite thereof to the whole land, as much as might bee; neither was *London* forgotten, whose Lord Maior and Commons were sent for to the Court, and there by the Lord Chancellor tolde how by this match all the Realm would bee enriched, but especially *London* by their trade and trafficke with *Spaine*.

(69) Vnto *Spaine* were sent the Earle of *Bedford*, and the L. *Fitzwaters* to conduct K. *Philip* into *England*; the Lord Admirall with twenty eight shippes securing the seas the space of three moneths before:

all things thus ordered, and *Philip* in a readines took Barke at *Corone* in *Galicia*, and with a Naue of an hundred and fifty saile directed his course for his Queene.

(70) Vpon Friday the twentieth of Iuly, hee arrived at *Southampton*, and was the first man of that Fleet that set foot on the shore, which no sooner don, but he drew his Sword, and so bare it naked in his hand as hee went. The Earle of *Arundell* L. Steward of the Queenes house, presented to his Highnesse the *George* and *Garter*; and the Maior of *Southampton* the Keyes of the Towne: thither was sent the Lord Chancellor from the Queene, and hee againe sent of his Nobles vnto her, who was on the way vnto *Winchester*, to welcome him her selfe: towards which City vpon Monday following, hee set forth, being accompanied with the Marquesse of *Winchester*, the Earles of *Arundell*, *Darby*, *Worcester*, *Bedford*, *Rutland*, *Pembroke*, and *Surrey*, the Lordes *Clinton*, *Cobham*, *Willoughby*, *Darcy*, *Attreueres*, *Talbot*, *Strange*, *Fitzwarren*, and *Norih*: besides many Knights and gallant Gentlemen. His Spanish train were the Dukes of *Alua*, and *Medina caliz*, the Admirall of *Castilla*, the Marquesses of *Berques*, *Pisara*, *Soria*, *Walli*, *Aguillar*, the Earles of *Egmond*, *Horne*, *Feria*, *Chinchon*, *Oluarez*, *Saldana*, *Medica*, *Euenesalida*, *Landriano*, *Castellar*, the Bishoppe of *Cuenca*, and others: so that more honourable attendants had feldome bene seene.

(71) And surely the Couenants were as honourable for *England* that were agreeed vpon betwixt them, which were branched into tenne Propositions.

1 First was, that *Philip* should bee stiled King of *England* during the Matrimony, and should assist his Queene in gouernement, but not dispose of any Lands, Offices, Benefices, or Reuenues in the Realme.

2 That *Mary* by vertue of this marriage, should bee admitted Queene of the Realmes and Dominions of *Spaine* already possessed, as of all others, that were appropriated vnto the same, during the Matrimony.

3 That for Dowry shee should receiue yeerely three score thousand pound *Flemish*, if in case the ouerlived King *Philip* her husband.

4 That the Issue proceeding of this marriage either male or female in the right of their mothers inheritance, in the Kingdomes either of *England*, or other Dominions depending, should succeed in them according to the lawes, statutes, and customes of the same.

5 That if it chanced *Charles Duke of Austria*, the Infant of *Spaine* to die without Issue, then the eldest sonne of this Matrimony should succeed in all the Dukedomes, Earledomes, Dominions and Patrimonial lands, belonging vnto *Charles* the Emperour, father to the Prince of *Spaine*, aswell in *Burgoyne* as in the low Countries, in the Dukedomes of *Brabant*, *Luxembourg*, *Gelderland*, *Zutphane*, *Friesland*, in the Countries of *Flanders*, *Artois*, *Holland*, *Zeland*, *Namure*, and the land beyond the *Iles*.

6 That the Dominions of the low Country, and of *Burgundy* should bee excluded from the Patrimonial descent of the said Lord *Charles*, notwithstanding his issue remained, and should bee enioyed by the eldest borne of this marriage without further claime to any other Dominions belonging vnto *Spaine*: and the rest of the Children thereof proceeding to haue convenient portions and Dowry assigned them aswell out of those Countries; as out of *England* and the others adioined.

7 That if no issue male were borne of this marriage then the Eldest female should possesse those Dominions, provided that shee should marry a nobleman, either of the low Country or of the Realm of *England*, otherwise the right of the Succession should remaine in the Lord *Charles*, yet not so cut off, but that

King *Philip* and
Queen *Mary*

The honourable
trains of the
two Princes.

Halish p. 10.

that he with the other daughters begot in this marriage should be endowed of their fathers Lands and possessions, aswell in *Spaine* as in the low Countries.

8 That for want of Issue by the Lord *Charles*, and of heire male procreated by this Marriage in that case the Eldest daughter of K. *Philip* and Q. *Mary* should succeed both, in the Territories of the low Countries, as also in the Realmes of *England*, *Spaine*, and the rest, after the nature, lawes and customes of the same.

9 That who so succeeded, either he or shee, yet should the feuerall Dominions be gouerned by the Natiues borne in the Realmes, wholly and intirely after the priuiledges, rites and accustomed manner formerly vsed.

10 That a sincere fraternity, vnitie and peace; should be confirmed for euer betwixt these Nations, so as they should mutually aide each other in all things according to the strength, forme and effect treated at *Westminster*, and subscribed vnto at *Petericke*.

(72) As these were agreed vpon for the General, so other particulars were articulated with the King himselfe, which were as followeth.

1 That he should not bestow the administration of offices or benefices in the Realme of *England*, to any stranger or person not borne vnto the English subiection.

2 That his Court should be replenished with Gentlemen and Yeomen the Natiues of the Land.

3 That hee should make no inuasion of state against the Lawes and Customes of the Realme, neither violate the Priuiledges thereto belonging.

4 That hee should not carry the Queene out of her owne Dominions, without her special desire, nor none of her Children without consent of her Nobilitie.

5 That if shee should die issuelesse hee should Challenge no right in the Kingdom, but should suffer the succession to come to her next.

6 That he should not carry or suffer to be carried out of the Realme, either Jewels, or other things of especial estimation, but should faithfully keepe them for the profit of the English Crowne.

7 That hee should not suffer any ships, gunnes, Ordnance and other munition of warre to be conueied out of the Realme, but should fee all the Ports and Frontiers of the Land keepe, and the same sufficiently stored for their defence.

8 That neither directly nor indirectly, the Realme of *England* should bee intangled with the warres of his father, and the French King, neither that himselfe should giue any cause for the breach of peace betwixt the two Realmes.

(73) Things thus ordered, with consent of all parties, the marriage with great state was solemnized at *Winchester*, vpon Wednesday being the 25. of Iuly and *Saint James* day, where the Emperours Embassadors presently pronounced, that in consideration of this marriage, their master had giuen vnto his sonne *Philip*, the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Ierusalem*, where vpon their Titles by *Garter* King at Armes, was solemnely proclaimed with these stiles as followeth,

Philip and Marie by the Grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ierusalem, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, Princes of Spaine and Cieil, Archdukes of Austria, Dukes of Milan, Burgundie and Brabant, Counties of Hapsurge, Flanders and Tyroll.

(74) And according to the stiles, so was the Maiesty of their proceedings, hauing two Swords borne before them as they went from the Church; with other Emperiall Enignes of their great Magnificence; which nothing was lessened in their pal-

lage through *London*; where English eyes beheld *Philip*, after the affections of their owne hearts, some reioicing as *Isaiah*, that *Ieroboams* golden calves should be againe erected, and some sorrowing as *Jacob*, that the *Brasen Serpent* was not broken, all of them assured, that this *Solomons* Sufferance and his wiues zeale, would build againe the Altars that had bene cast downe.

(75) The experience wherof Queene *Mary* herselfe had giuen, euen before shee was crowned, in causing the Latine Seruice againe to bee said, in displacing the reformed Bishopps, and in publishing a most straight prohibition against preaching, and printed English Bookes: to all which some time-serving Church-men gaue their contents, scandalizing not onlie the liues of the ministers, but also the Scriptures translation, and the iust proceedings of King *Edwards* time; against all which, Maister *Bourne* in a publicke Sermon made at *Pauls-Crosse* (in the presence of the Lord Maior and *Bonner* his Master) so liberally inuighed, as that one of his Auditors with more distaste then discretion, and more zeale then Religion, threw a Dagger at him to his great danger, and no lesse feare.

(76) And againe the like offence was conceived against Doctor *Pendleton*, who in the next yeece after, and in the same place had a gunne desperately discharged against him: vnto such hatred their Doctrine did driue them, and vnto such sinne the ore-feruent affectioned lay many times exposed: And no lesse was that Diabolical deuise of certaine giddie reformers, who had taught a Maide so to speake in a wall, as her hearers beleued it was the voice of an Angel, being none other, but most seditious speeces, against the Queens proceedings, the Prince of *Spaine*, the Masse, and Confession. In mockage wherof also a Cat was hanged on a gallows nere vnto the Crosse in Cheape, her head thorn and wearing a vesture fashioned like vnto a Cope, her fore-feet tyed with around paper betwixt, like vnto the papisticall consecrated bread, and in that maner the eight of *April* was shewed by the Preacher at *Pauls-Crosse* both to the office and content of the Spectators; and to deride the ridiculous Idolatries of the time then in vye, vpon Easter day the same yeece, and in the same Cheape, as the Priest of *Saint Pancrasse* came to celebrate the resurrection, and after the accustomed manner put his hand into the Sepulchre for the Crucifix (therein purposely bestowed) when he vied the words of the Euangelist very deuotly: *Surrexit non est hic*, He is risen and no here: found it so indeed, for that his God was gotten away and could neuer after be found.

(77) These things (saith *Fox*) caused both the Queene, and bishopps, to conceiue an euill opinion of the *Londoners*; as too much fauouring of King *Edwards* reformation, for which cause *Bonner* commanded all Scriptures printings vpon their Churches walles, to bee blotted out; and many other iniunctions to be inquired after. But from these vain trifles let vs returne to more serious matters in the ensuing Historie.

(78) Queene *Mary* erecting the Masse, and leauing the title of Supremacy to the Pope, sent for her kinsman Cardinall *Poole* to bee her director in those great busineses, who had bene a long time in forraigne parts, and euer a fauourite vnto the See of Rome, whose life vntill this time, we will briefly run ouer, so many dependances of story relying vpon him.

(79) Hee was the sonne of *Margaret Countesse of Salisbury*, the second child, and onely daughter of *George Duke of Clarence*, second brother vnto King *Edward* the fourth: whose youth was spent in literature at *Magdalen Colledge* in *Oxford*; and state increased by King *Henrie* his kinsman, in bestowing vpon him the Deanty of *Excester*. Then trauelled he into *Italy*, and at *Padua* studied seuen yeeres, in which

King. 11.

Aug. 13.
Ann. 1553.

A dagger thrown
at the Preacher.

June 10.
Ann. 1554.

A gun discharged
against the
Preacher.

The Split in
the walles.

A Cat hanged
in Cheape.

March. 25.

Acts and Mon.

The life and
story of Cardinall
Poole.

Poole made Cardinal.

which time the King hauing abolished the Pope, hee was sent for into England, but refusing to returne, was proclaimed Traitor, and his Deanery giuen to another: which his losse was presently repaid by his holy Father, in making him Cardinal, & employing him in many Ambassages, both to the Emperor & French King, with whom hee dealt against K. Henry, and solicited others by letters to forsake his friendship and obedience, which his doing brought many into danger, and for which lastly his own mother lost her Head.

Poole elected Pope, Goodwin Iues of Bishops.

(78) Then was he made Legate of Viterbiom, where he determined to haue led a more quiet life: but Pope Paul the third summoning the obtruded Council of Trent, appointed Poole with two others to be his Vicegerents: Though indeed this Cardinal was none of the forward in the matter of iustification, vnto whose opinion therein he drew one Morvella learned Spaniard, who of purpose was sent to dispute the Popes Doctrine in that Councell.

(79) But this Holy father leaving his Chaire empty by death, a faction fell among the Electors, some for the French, and some for the Emperour, which last light vpon Poole, & choote him for Pope. He altogether Imperiall, desired a more orderly election supposing himselfe so gracious in the eyes of most that the same would be continued to his greater praise.

Poole accused by Cardinal Carraffa.

(80) But the French faction working vpon the aduantage, put therest in minde of the Emperials lacking of Rome, the imprisonment and tests that were made of the Pope, the absence of many Cardinals Electors, whose voices they knew not, yea and Cardinal Carraffa, a alledged particular exception against Poole the elected, charging him (as Pasquill likewise did) with incontinency of body as also of Heresie, for arguing vpon a iustifying faith in the Councell of Trent, for frequenting the company with Antonie Flaminius a knowne Protestant, and since he was Legate, that he neuer had punished that doctrine with death.

Poole againe choosen Pope.

(81) But these accusations, were rather to shrub off his faire top, that Carraffa himselfe might more eminently be scene, who thought if Poole failed, to be their fairest mark; wherein his pollicke expectation was farre ouerfene. For the English Cardinall so cleared himselfe, that the French Carraffa receiued disgrace, and all their voices went for Poole euen the same night, which he againe seemed to dislike of, saying, that his election should not be a worke of darkenes, and therefore willed them orderly to proceed vpon the next day; such assurance had his hopes conceiued, that hee thought deliniae had bene enforced to set the Papall Crowne vpon his Head.

(82) But whether it were his double delay, or his neglecting to strike when the yron was hot, the Electors change their determination, and choole the Cardinall of de Monte for Pope, who named himselfe Iulius the third, and he to congratulate Poole for his Backwardnes, enforced Carraffa to ask him forgiveness before they departed the Conclau: Poole thus disappointed of the Papall Chaire, retired himselfe vnto Verona, where in a Monastery of S. Bennets (which order he had assumed and was the Patron) he made his Residence, as desirous to leade a more contemplatiue life.

Cardinall Poole sent for by Queene Mary.

(83) But scarcely was he settled before he heard of King Edwards death, and a message sent from Queene Marie (who had bene brought vp vnder the Countesse his Mother) for his returne into England. Her affection towards him, he knew was very great both for his person, his learning and religion, and himselfe relied much vpon the old familiarity betwixt them, as also of his birth being of the blood roiall; for which causes he sore longed homeward, not doubting but if things stood as he thought, to get a dispensation, to lay off the Hat, and to put on a Crowne.

(84) But the Emperour mistrusting what this Prelate intended, found devices to hold him beyond Seas, vntill the match was concluded between Queene Mary and his Sonne. And hitherto Cardinall Poole applauded by the Pope, beganne now to enter into his frowne, for being in England, and Archbishop of Canterbury: his old aculer, the foresaid Carraffa, had in the meane while obtained the Papacy vnder the name of Paul the fourth: when as presently he lent Frier Peto, whom he consecrated Bishop of Sarum, and discharged Poole of his legatue power, which doings the Queene tooke so ill, that shee forbade Peto to enter the land, vntill a reconciliation was made betwixt the Pope and Cardinall Poole her kinsman. Which man as hath bene saide, for soliciting Potent Princes against King Henry, in the quarrell of Rome, had runne in great displeasure with the English, whereby some Acts of Parliament were made against him: all which were now repealed, and Lord Reinald Poole receiued as an Angell of God, vnto whom that honorable house presented a Petition, to bee receiued againe into the bosome of Rome.

A.D. 1553.

(85) The suite casily granted, and abolition giuen, all things proceeded at the deuotion of the Romanists. Images were commanded to be erected againe in the Churches: Holy-water, Pax, and Censures, imploied at the Celebration of their Masses and Mattens: Oyle, Creame, and Spittle, vied in the Administration of the Sacrament of Baptisme. Altars furnished with Pictures, Costly Coverings, & the Crucifix thereon solemnly placed: vnto whom Lights, Candles, and Tapers, with great adoration were offered, and all to Captiuat the senses of the zealous Beholder, in which zeale Queene Marie her selfe gaue a full testimoniall, in restoring againe all Ecclesiasticall liuings assumed to the Crowne, saying, that shee felt more by the saluation of her owne soule, then shee did by tenne Kingdomes: A worthy speech verily, and good example of a Prince, but slowly followed of many meane subiects, who in this case doe rather muffle the mouth of the Oxe, that treadeth out their Corne, then suffers such as serue at the Altar, to liue by the Altar.

(86) And surely so well inclined was Mary of her selfe, that had not the zeale of her religion, and the authority of Churchmen ouer swaied her owne disposition, the flames of their consuming fires had not mounted so high. But woe to the procurer of those fixe Articles, (for which many had died) enacted by King Henry the eight, whose rigour in some sort himselfe had both qualified and repealed, which were againe put in practice, especially two, the one of them touching life, and the other losse of goods; which last was the separation of man and wife, the greatest offence to mutual society, and naturall affection, as can be committed; & that of life so tyrannically followed, as the Law it selfe may seeme with Dracos to be writ in blood, for within the compass of lesse then foure yeeres continuance, there died no lesse, for the testimoniall of their confidence in this case, then two hundred seauenty and seauen persons without regard of degree, sexe or age.

(87) In the heate of whose flames were consumed fise Bishops, one and twenty Diuines, eight Gentlemen, eighty foure Artificers, one hundred husbandmen seruants and labourers, twenty fixe wiues, twenty widowes, nine Virgins, two boyes, and two Infants, one of them whipped to death by B. Bonner, & the other springing out of his mothers wombe from the stake as shee burned, was by the Sergeants throwne againe into the fire: Which barbarous cruelty, how fouler the Author of Englands three Conuersions, would excuse, as worthy of death; depraving the sufferers, of leasing religion, ciuill manners, and honesty of life; yet the more charitable of his owne ranke, and profession, doe pittie the spilling of so much Christian blood: the greatest point of no greater sinne, then to belicue Christs spiritual

The sites of Rome restored in England.

Holliafled, p. 1127. b.

Queene Mary commendable in her owne dispositions.

Stat. H. 8. An. 31. cap. 5.

The bloody lawes of Queene Mary.

John Hooper B. of Glo. Ro. Par. B. of S. De. Nid. Ridley, B. of Ex. Hugh Latimer, B. of Ebor. The same more. Archb. of Canterbury.

Three countiees.

Doctor Story in Com. folio. p. 1180.

Math. 13. 29.

John 10. 3.

2 Tim. 3. 17.

Rich. Grafton, R. of W. R. Fox, Mar.

The story of Katherine Dutcheffe of Suffolke.

The Dutcheffe resourcer of the Popish religion.

The Dutcheffe of Suffolke fleeth the Land.

spiritual body, to be spiritually receiued in the blessed Sacrament of his supper.

(86) The rigour therefore that fell from his mouth, who wished many more had so suffered, when the sword was so drawne, is farre from the precept and suferance of Christ, that would haue euen tares grow vnpluckt, till his harvest were in, and yet if those be his sheepe that follow his voyce, and his word sufficient to make the man of God perfect as himselfe, and Apostle hath taught, then were these excusable by their Aduerfaries testimonies, whose Prolocutor in a Conuocation assembled, publicly confessed that these delected Ministers had the word, but the Prelates in place the possession of the sword; which how they then made it drunke with the blood of Gods Saints, let him that hath the two edged sword in his mouth, at the great day of trial declare, to whose iudgement and merie I leaue them.

(87) Sixty foure more were persecuted for their profession and faith, whereof seauen were whipped, fixteene perished in prison, and were buried in dunghils, many lay in captiuitie condemned, but were releafed, and saued by the happy entrance of peaceable Elizabeth and many fled the Land in those daies of distresse, amongst whom most memorable is that of Katherine Dutcheffe of Suffolke, with her husband Richard Bartie Esquire, whose Story and troubles happened as followeth.

(88) This Lady Katherine was the only daughter, and sole heire of Lord William Baron of Willoughby, and of Eresby; and the last wife of Charles Brandon Duke of Suffolke lately deceased, in whose time how shee affected the Papall Profession, in massing, and maskings, was made knowne by cloathing a dogge in a Rocher, and calling him Gardiner, and againe, in the daies of King Edward, Gardiner saluting her from his prison windowe in the Tower, shee told him it was well with the Lambes now the wolfe was shut vp. These sturcke fore vpon the Bishops stomacke, who being now risen to bee Lord Chancellor of England, and in the disgrace with the Queene for her match in marrying Master Bartie a man too inferiour for her high estate, he thought it a fit time and occasion to requite, and to that end sent for Master Bartie her husband, charging him to be indebted foure thousand pound to the Queene, which was owing her by his Ladies late husband the Duke of Suffolke, vnto whom hee was Execucur, but this was onely the trayne of a false fire, and the Dutcheffe religion, the marke he ayimed at, for whom Master Bartie so wisely wrought, as himselfe was appointed to be her perswader, and so inwardly grew with the Lord Chancellor, that by his meanes he obtained licence to trauell beyond Seas, for a debt owing to his Dutcheffe by the Emperour.

(89) Bartie being gone, and Lady Katherine secretly to follow, vpon the first of Iannarie with foure men, two women, and her young daughter, her selfe apparelled like a Merchants wife, from Lyon Key in London departed, the morning very misty, and her heart fraught with feare; for no sooner was shee gone, than newes thereof came to the Court, and search made after her, as farre as to Leigh, before her Barke could attaine to the place: where being shrowded by a Marchant vnder the name of his daughter, shee escaped to Sea; but twice her shippe with contrary windes was driuen to the same shoare, to her great danger and no little griefe; yet lastly, shee arriued in Brabant where shee met with her husband: whence (being clad like a freet) they came into Cleueland, and at Stanton seated themselves, till further prouision could be made.

(90) But the Townsmen suspecting they were not the Persons they went for, and the Bishoppe of Norwiche hearing that they were Protestants, purposed with the Magistrate to impeach their liberties, which Bartie hearing of, with his Froe and daughter, attended onely with two seruants suddenly made a

way vnto Wefell, a Towne priuiledged with the Stiliard in London. In trauell they were ouertaken by night, the weather was rainie, and the thaw vpon a great frost, made the way more deepe, in which distresse his two seruants he sent to seek some reliefe, whilst himselfe (the surer on foot) bare the childe; and the Dutcheffe to ease him carried his Rapier and Cloke.

(91) Thus passing thorow mire, dirt, and darke night, about futen of the Clocke, all wet and wearie, they got vnto Wefell, where, he being suspected to be a Launce-knight, and see his woman no better then naught, could get no entertainment, the language they had not, the childe cried pittifullie; the mother wept bitterly, the cold was extreme, and the raine powred downe as the cloudes had bene broken. In this distresse the Church-porch was thought vpon to throwde them from raine, and to that end Master Bartie sent his two seruants to buye Coales and straw: but repairing towards this his cold Inne, he met with two boyes that vnderstood Latine, of whom hee demanded for the Ministers house, who presently brought him to the place, where hee supped. His name was Persfell and had bene in England, where, of the Dutches he had receiued kind courtesie, and now at Wefell imploied his Ministry among certaine Wallons, who hearing that the Dutches was fled out of England, and that at Stanton shee liued norling safe, had procured for their abode in Wefell, without making knowne who these English were laue onely vnto the chiefe Magistrate.

(92) Master Bartie desiring to speake with the Minister, he presently came downe, who seeing the Dutches so disguised in apparel, and bemired in dirt, could not speake vnto her for teares, and bringing them in with glad hearts no doubt, Master Bartie changed apparell with the good man, the Dutcheffe with his wife, and their childe, with the childe of the house: and thus were they comforted by this good Preachers meanes.

(93) Heere they feated not long, but that a sudaaine watchword was sent them from Sir John Mason, Queene Marias Ambassador in Netherland, that the Lord Paget had faied an arrant to the Spaw, and that the Duke of Brunswicke with tenne Ancients, would passe by Wefell for the seruice of Austria, against the French King, by whom the Dutcheffe and her husband should be intercepted and deliuered vnto the Lord Paget.

(94) From hence therefore in haste they removed to the Town Wincheim in high Germany, which was seated in the Palgranes Dominions, where by his Protection they continued till their maintenance beganne to scant, and they also almost fainting vnder so heauy a burthen, began to faile of all hope. At which very instant (God so mouing the hearts of his Princes) the Palatine of Pilus, and the King of Pole hearing of their distresse, sent them a safe conduct, vnder the Palatines seale with assurance of maintenance, if they would come vnto those parts.

(95) From Wincheim therefore they forthwith departed, and in Waggon tooke towards Frankfurt, but by the Langranes Captaine were intercepted and set vpon in the high way, so that Master Bartie was forced to stand at defence, wherein the Captains Horse was slaine vnder him, and the cry maintained that he was slaine himselfe, whereupon Bartie by the counsell of the Dutcheffe, and swiftnes of his horse fled amaine, but was so eagerly followed vpon opinion of murder, that hee hardly escaped with life, yet lastly they got into Poland, where they were honorably entertained vntill the death of Queen Mary, whose life in the meane while let vs returne to relate.

(96) The Nouember next following her marriage, the Queene was reported to haue bene conceiued with child, for joy whereof T. Deane was commanded solemnly to be sung, and Processions, and Praiers, made for her safe deliuerance. The Queene tooke
H h h h h h 2 her

The great distress of the Dutcheffe.

The Dutcheffe sought after to be impeached.

God doth helpe when man doth faile.

A.D. 1554. Queene Mary buried as be with Child.

So called by Sir
Rich. Southwell
a Knight of the
house An. 1521.
Philip & Marie.

At 6 Mon.
p. 1633. b.

The fears of K.
Philip.

* Lord Paget.

K. Philip a great
friend vnto Lady
Elizabeth.

Lady Elizabeth
brought in pre-
sence of the
Queene.

The conference
of the Queene
and Lady Eliza-
beth.

Lady Elizabeth
discharged of
imprisonment.

Apageto Sir
Peter Medley.

her Chamber, the Court was full of Midwives, and Gentlewomen attendants, Rockers were provided, the Cradle prepared, and all made so certain, that some were punished for making doubt of the contrary. Infomuch that it passed in Parliament, that if God should take away *Queene Marie*, this their young Master coming into the world, should find himselfe provided for; where it was by Act ordained, that King *Philip* should be Protector of her Issue, and Gouvernour of the Realmes, vntill their Prince or Princeesse should come to able yeeres.

(97) Howbeit as it should seme this Spanish King had little confidence in the English, for, at his first entrance, hee had the hall dore of his Court continually kept shut, neither any suffered to enter, vnlesse his busines was first made known: the Lords hauing leaue to depart *London*, had strait commandement to send all their harnesse and Artillerie to the Tower; which was done, in regard of the maligners of this marriage: yea and somewhat doubtfull hee was also of those, who in few bare him a faire face; the rather for that a Noble man in consultation, had giuen his counsell to cut off Lady *Elizabeth* head, assuring himselfe, that those so bad minded to their naturall Princeesse, could not bee better vnto him a stranger: who contrariwise vpon this ground so laid the foundation of his true honour, as it gained him loue of all true English hearts: for from that day he neuer left to sollicite his Queene for the deliuey of that innocent Princeesse her sister, who still remained a solitary Prisoner in *Woodstocke*, though no proofes could bee brought for any offence.

(98) At last his suit was obtained, and Lady *Elizabeth* brought vnto *Hampton Court*, hauing not scene the Queene for two yeeres before, here shee was lockt vp, and laid at by *Gardiner* to submit her selfe, till some fouretene dayes after, shee was sent for into the Queenes Chamber about tenn of the Clocke in the night; which she no sooner had entred, but falling vpon her knees, shee praised God to preferre her Soueraigne Maicesty; protesting her loyalty and truth to her person, whatsoever had bene spoken or instigated to the contrary. Vnto whom the Queene (somewhat sharply said, then you will not confesse your offence, I see; but rather stand stoutely vpon your truth? I pray God your truth may so fall out; If not (quoth the Princeesse) I request neither fauour nor pardon at your Maiesties hand: well, then said the Queene, you stand so stiffly vpon your own loyalty, belike you suppose to haue been wrongfully punished: I must not say so to your Maicesty said Lady *Elizabeth*: but you will then to report to others it seemeth, said Queene *Mary*: no, and it please your Maicesty said the Lady, I haue borne, and must beare the burthen my selfe, I most humbly beleeue your Graces good opinion of me, and to thinke mee your true Subject, which from the beginning hetherto I haue euer bene, and will be for euer so long as my life lasteth. The Queene replying in Spanish, said, God knoweth, and so they departed; K. *Philip* as is thought standing behind the *Armes* heard what was said.

(99) Some seuen dayes after, her Grace was discharged of *Benefield* her taylor, and had leaue of liberty, yet so, that Sir *Thomas Pope* a Priuie Counsellor, and *M. Gage* the Queenes Gentleman Vther, were still her Attendants all *Queene Maries* time: her Gentlewoman Mistresse *Aspley* was sent to the Fleet, and three other waiting maides vnto the Tower; but the death of *Gardiner* immediately following, these stormes grew more calmer, and Lady *Elizabeth* euery day more affectionately respected.

(100) About this time, *William Constable*, alias *Fetherston*, a Millers sonne in the North, bruted himselfe to bee King *Edward* the fixt, but was seconded by none of any esteeme, and therefore the lesse dangerous or likely to bee beleueed. Notwithstanding

all diligent search was laid for the Counterfeit; and hee lastly taken at *Elham* in Kent, from whence to *Hampton Court* hee was presently conuied, where his answeres were so simple, that hee was cleemed as a frantick, and sent to the Marshall-See for a Lunaticke foole: and from thence in a Cart this counterfeite king (whose Crowne was a paper inscribed with his fault) was brought vnto *Westminster*, and from thence whipp'd vnto *Smithfield*, whence hee was banished into the North, and without further punishment was so releafed: But this *Fetherston* the next yeere (as a dogge returning to his vomit) gaue it forth that K. *Edward* was aliue, whereupon he was again apprehended, condemned of Treason, and hanged at *Tyburne*.

(101) Now the expected time of *Queene Maries* deliuerance being fully approached, a rumor ranne in *London* and elsewhere; that a Prince was borne for ioy whereof the Bels were rung, the Bonfires flamed, Processions made, and some in their Sermons described the beauty of that goodly boy, and great Prince. At *Antwerpe* also the like triumphes were made by the English Marchantes, the Mariners shooting off their Ordinance; for which an hundred Pistols were sent them from the Lady *Regent*; but these flying reports proued but wind, which turned the *Vane* shortly into another point; for the truth bursting forth, told for a certaine, that the Queene had neuer bene conceiued, neither indeed was euer like to bee: which raised as many doubts, as had bene tales of her deliuerance: some affirming that shee was with Child, but miscarried, some, that shee was deceiued by a Tympany: and some that this rumor was spread for a policy: but what the truth was faith *Grafton*, I referre vnto others that know more.

(102) King *Philip* thus frustrate of his hope for his Heire, vpon the fourth of September went ouer the Seas to visite his Father the Emperour, and to take possession of the Low-Countries, where hee stayed one yeere and six moneths, to the great griefe of *Queene Mary* his wife, whom as some thought hee little affected, and this his long stay made the suspition no lesse. But now returning to *Doer*, hee was by his Queene met on the way, and brought through *London*, accompanied with many Peeres of the Realme, as in triumph against a Coronation.

(103) In whose absence many Conspiracies had bene intended, but their foggy smoakes were vtterly extinguished before the fire could burst into flame: for certaine persons plotting to robbe the Queenes Exchequer at *Westminster*, meant with the money to raise warre in the Land; the Leaders into this attempt were *Henry Peckham*, *John Daniel*, *Richard Vdall*, *John Throckmorton*, *John Deshiche*, *William Stanton*, *William Roffey*, *John Beadell* and *White*, the reuealer of the same intendments. These all excepting *White*, were at sundry times executed, and Sir *Anthony Kingston* apprehended for the same, died on the way vnto *London*.

(104) The like sturres were attempted by one *Cleber* a Schoolemaster, sometime at *Dys* in *Norfolke*, who in the Parrish Church of *Yarle*, among a great assembly at the celebration of a marriage, stood vp and read a penned, but traitorous proclamation against the Queene, perswading the people to take *Armes*, and to free the land of wrongs done by strangers.

(105) So likewise *Thomas Stafford*, second sonne to the Lord *Stafford*, with other Conspirators against the King and Queene, fearing the iust punishments for their desert, had fled the land into parts beyond the Seas, from whence attempting still to broach their Rebellions, they sent certaine bookes and letters written and printed, full of most slanderous vntruthes: and now following King *Philip* into *England*, assisted by some English and strangers, tooke by stealth the Castell of *Scarborough* in *Yorkshire*, where hee published a most shameful proclama-

William Fetherston a counterfeite king taken.

Fetherston executed.

Mar. 10.

Reports of the
Queenes deliue-
rance.

The Parion of
Anne within
Aldersgate.
Helieth.
Great triumphs
for Q. Maries
supposed deliue-
rance.

Rich. Grafton;

A.D. 1555.

King Philip ab-
sent from the
Queenes yeer
and six moneth.
A.D. 1557.
March 18.

Conspiracie in
Norfolke.

Thomas Stafford
directly rebellious.

Thomas Stafford
rebellious.

Grafton in the
French History.

pag. 568.

Charles the Em-
perour resigneth
all his Dominions
to his sonne
Philip.

Rich. Grafton;

De Pope be-
seged, sendeth re-
quest for helpe.

John Skidow.

John Skidow.

June 7.

mation against the Queene, traiterously affirming that shee was neither rightfull, nor worthy of raign, and that the King had giuen vnto his Spaniards the greatest and strongest hold of the land. But by the prowesse of *Thomas Pearsey* (presently created Earle of *Northumberland*) hee was surpris'd, sent to *London*, and there made shorter by the head. All these sturres quieted, new troubles were rather fought for then ministred, and more losse followed to *Englands* dishonour, then glory had bene gained by this Spanish great March.

(106) For the Emperour ouer-worne with the affaires of the world, and wearied with the troubles of turmoiling wars, or rather touched with remorse of conscience for the infinite miseries brought by him vpon *Florence*, *Naples*, *Sicilie*, *Tuscane*, *Elbe*, and *Calabria*, being periwaded that these mournfull iuries of Christian Princes had giuen to the Turke aduantage vpon diuers parts of *Europe*, hee called his sonne King *Philip* of *England* vnto *Brussels* (as is said) where, by authenticke letters bearing date the five and twentieth of October, hee resigned all his Realmes vnto him, commanding all his estates and subiects to acknowledge and hold him their lawfull King; and among many other instructions and most wise exhortations, gaue him charge chiefly to hold amity with the French, lest otherwise the warres of those Puissant Nations might oppress all Christendome.

(107) King *Philip* indeed was much inclined to peace, and *Queene Mary* his wife at that time much more, both to hold him with her at home, & to support the Religion which shee had raised, by restoring the Clergie their wonted possessions, whereof much was then held in the Noblemens hands, from whose hard-hold, hardly could any thing bee wrested; but those in her owne, shee freely resigned by Parliament, with this most Christian resolution, and princely saying: that shee set more by the saluation of her owne Soule, then shee did by the reueneues of ten Kingdomes, and so committed the restauration and dispose thereof vnto the Pope and Cardinall *Poole* his Legate, to the great wealth of the Church, and empouering of the Crowne.

(108) King *Philip* following his fathers aduise, made peace with *France* to continue for five yeeres, which no sooner was made, then was again broken, but most of all to the losse of the English: for the Kings did not loue, though their weapons were laid downe, and ancient hatred bred daily new discontent: one principall was ministred by Pope *Paul* the fourth, then an enemy vnto the Spaniard, whom Duke *Alua* had mued vp within the wallies of *Rome*. His hope of helpe was in *Henry* the French King, vnto whom hee sent a triumphant hatte, with a stately Sword, and thereupon had succour by the *Guyse*, who by force made his way open into *Rome*: But the French decreasing for want of pay, and the Spaniard still raising their Trophies of victory, the Pope thought it fittest to hold with the strongest, & so made frustrate his amity with the French.

(109) *Queene Mary* of *England*, now the Pope was for *Spain*, and *Philip* her husband preparing for *France*, to shew her great loue and obedience to both, rather fought an occasion against King *Henry*, then any ministred by him for the breach of peace. Her pretences were many, as that the French King had initiated one *Dudley* and *Ashton*, vnto a new conspiracy, which they consulted vpon in his Ambassadors house in *London*, and being reuealed, fled into *France*, where they were maintained by an annual pension. The like shee alledged against King *Henry* for succouring of *Stafford*, and his rebellious complices, for suffering his Pyrats to molest her Seas, & for want of more, renewed the remembrances of *Northumberland* and *Wyatts* rebellions, who as was alledged, were supported by him.

(110) These things premised, a defiance was sent into *France*, and was pronounced vnto *Henry* at

Rennes by *Clarenceaux* King at *Armes*. The French King loth to heare of these warres made his answer and preparations accordingly: and *Queene Mary* contrary to promise, entangling her subiects with the quarrels of the Spaniards, with sound of Trumpet in *London* proclaimed warres against *France*. To prosecute which, King *Philip* her husband passed ouer to *Calles*, and thence into *Flanders*, where hee made prouision to enter the field: after whom the Queene sent a thousand horsemen, foure thousand footmen, and two thousand Pioners, and the Earle of *Pembroke* was appointed Capitaine Generall, vnder whom in severall places serued Vicount *Montacute*, the L. *Grey of Wilton*, the Earle of *Rutland*, the Earle of *Lincolne*, the Earle of *Bedford*, the Earle of *Leicester*, and the Earle of *Warwicke*, the Lords *Howard*, *Dela Ware*, *Windfor*, *Bray*, *Shandoy*, and *Dudley*, with many other Knights of approved valiancy.

(111) These passing the Seas, ioined with King *Philip*, whilst the Dukes of *Saoy* and *Brunsuicke*, the Earles of *Esmond*, *Horne*, and *Mansfield*, had invaded the French confines, and planned a strong siege before Saint *Quintins*, to whose rescue Monsieur *Montmorancy* Constable of *France* came with nine hundred men at *Armes*, as many light horsemen, seauen hundred *Raifers*, twenty two Ensignes of *Lancequenets*, and sixteen Ensignes of the French: and thus furnished, he meant to put more Souldiers into the Towne, but in the assay lo miscarried, that himselfe was both hurt & taken prisoner with eight Noblemen more, all of them Knights of the Order, and not many dayes after, King *Philip* with his English came to the siege, by whose maine prowesse Saint *Quintins* was taken, for ioy whereof great triumphes were made in *England*, which long lasted not, through the losse of *Calles*.

(112) For this great victory made the English both negligent and carelesse, so that the Towne of *Calles*, and the Forts thereabout for defence, were vnrespectively regarded, and besides the neglect of supply to those peeces, the Souldiers thinking al out of danger, stood gazing at the shadow till the substance was lost: for the French being netted, that *S. Quintins* was *Phillips*, let slippe no occasion wherein was aduantage: and the Duke of *Guise* employing the Constables place, determined to put in proofe an enterprize for *Calles*, which long and many times had bene purposed vpon.

(113) This danger fore-seene, intelligence thereof was sent into *England*, but no supply heard of, first the Matter of the Ordinance posited to the Councell, and secondly followed the Capitaine of the Castell himselfe, but either by wilfull negligence or lacke of credite with the Queene and Councell, those busineses in *France* were slenderly regarded, vntill the supply was altogether too late. For the Duke of *Guise* with a marvellous celerity approached the English Frontier, vnder a colour to victuall *Bologne* and *Arde*, and vpon a little forry plate of ground, intrenched at *Sandgate*, and thence diuiding his Army into two partes, sent the one vnto *Ricebanke*, whilst the other laid battery to two Forts at once, both which hee wanne within the space of twelue howres, the Capitaine and Souldiers secretly departing to *Calles*. The like successe had the French against *Ricebanke*, being abandoned by the English Souldiers, and left to the *Guize* and his dispose.

(114) Then were Canons mounted against *Calles* it selfe, and with continual battery for three dayes together, a breach made in the wall, not farre from the *Wwater-gate*, but yet vnassailable, the English within so maintained the defence: this then a trainge of false fire (for the French neuer meant their access that way) whilst all attended to make good the breach, the Duke had planted fiftene double Canons against the Castell, which once perceived, the *Callesians* knowing their resistance to weake, stood

A defiance sent
into France.

July 6.

An Army sent
into France.

* Lieutenant.
* Lord Marshall.

* Cornet of
foot.
* M. of the Or-
dinance.

S. Quintins taken
by the English.
August, 20.

The English neg-
ligent after Saint
Quintins was
wonne.

John Hieschild.

Sir Ralph Cham-
berlaine.

The English
Forts lost to the
Guize.
January 1.

Newenbridge
lost.

Calles besieged
by the Duke of
Guize.

red Barrells of Gun powder within the *Keepe*, meaning to blow vp the *French* if they there entred, but that deuise failed; hauing waded through the ditch their clothes dropping wet, disabled the traine of powder to take fire, so that the *French* gotte the Castle with the death of Sir *Anthony Ager* Marshall of the Towne, his sonne and heire and fourescore *English* besides.

Callis surrendred to the *French*.

(117) The Lord *Wentworth* then Deputie of the Towne seeing all in like danger if meanes were delayed, sent vnto the Castle to haue a Parlee for composition, which the *French* forthwith accepted, and sent out two Gentlemen for pledges whilest *Iohn Heisfeld* Master of the Ordinance, and *Edward Hall* Constable of the Castle, concluded vpon these dishonourable Articles, as followeth:

Vnhonourable Articles.

1 That the Towne, the great Artillery, Victuals and munition should bee yeilded freely to the *French*.

2 That the liues of all the inhabitants should bee saued, and haue their safe conduct to depart.

3 That the Lord Deputy with fifty others whom the Duke would appoint, should remaine prisoners and be put to their ransome.

The hard vsage of the *English*.

(116) Things thus ordered, the *English* were commanded into the Churches of our Lady, and Saint *Nicholas*, where they remained that whole day, the night following, and vntill the next day in the afternoone, without either meate or drinke, in which time the Duke of *Guize* commanded by Proclamation that all Jewels, Plate and Money to the value of a groate should bee laid vpon the Altar, and that vpon paine of death, a sorrowfull offertory towards the *English*, and a great enrichment vnto the *French*. Then was the Towne voided of five hundred ordinary Souldiers (a small Garrison indeed to man such a place) of Townsmen, women and children, foure thousand two hundred; the Lord *Wentworth* Deputy, Sir *Ralph Chamberlaine* Captaine of *Ricebanke*, *Nicholas Alexander* Captaine of *Newnambridge*, *Edward Grimston*, *Iohn Rogers*, and others, to the number of fifty were sent prisoners into *France* vntill ransome were paid: And thus the Town & Forts that were won by the victorious *K. Edward* the third, & that by no lesse then eleuen moneths seige, hauing now bene possessed by the *English* the space of two hundred and eleuen yeeres, was in the compas of eight daies besieged, surprized

Edward the eleuenth from *William* the Conquerour, wanne it: and *Mary* the eleuenth from *Edward*, lost it.

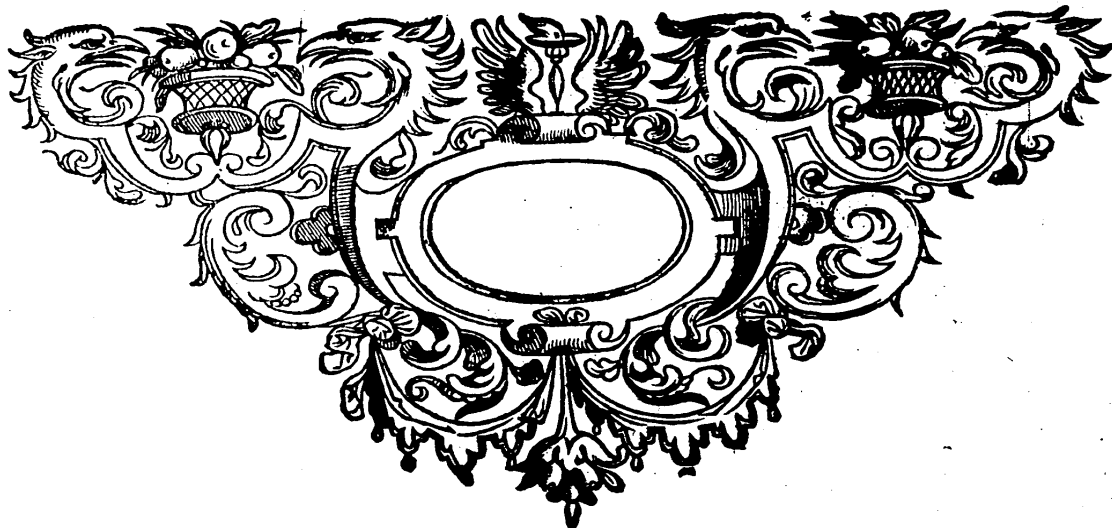
and wonne in the depth of Winter to the worlds wonder, and great suspicion of treachery, which happened the seuenteenth day of Ianuary, and in the same moneth were surrendered the strong forts of *Guizes*, and *Hames*, whereby all the *English* footing was lost in the Continent of *France*.

(117) This winning of *Callis* & the other strong holds as they were ioyous to the *French*, and with *Te Deum* & Bonfires celebrated with no lesse solemnity, then was that for the recovery of the County *Oye*, & the fort won from the *English* in *An.* 1347. so was it greuous vnto the *English* Nobility, and most of al vnto *Queene Marie* her selfe. Insomuch as shee ceased not to trauell with the King and Councel how to couer the dishonour of her Raigne, by this losse of *Callis*; and albeit some affaies were made against *Breeft*, and Mounseur *Thermes* the new Captaine of *Callis* taken prisoner by Countie *Egmont* General for King *Philip* in the Low Countries, yet the maine was neglected, and could not be recovered for any composition, which stroke so deepe a melancholy into *Queene Maries* minde, as shee letted not to say, that the losse of *Callis* was written in her heart, and might therein bee read when her body should bee opened. In which passions she continued the rest of her Raigne, which neuer had bene very prosperous, nor greatly pleasurable vnto her selfe, after shee had abolished the Gospell, restored the Popes Supremacy, and married a stranger, who was vnto her a stranger indeede.

Queene Marie sayings for the losse of *Callis*.

(118) Of al since the Conquest her Raigne was the shortest, only excepting that of *Richard* the Tyrant, but much more bloody then was his, and more blood spilt in that short time of her Raigne, then had bene shed for case of Christianity, in any Kings time since *Lucius* the first establissher of the Gospell in this Realme. Her conceptions failing, extreame dearths raging, hurt done by thunders from heauen, and by fire in the royall Nauie, forraigne losses, *Callis* surrendered, and King *Philip* keeping from Court, daily augmented *Queene Maries* melancholy, which lastlie increasing to a burning feauer made an end of her life, at her Mannor of *S. James* neere *Westminster*, the 7. of Nouem. and yeere of Christs incarnation 1558. whē she had raigned five yeers foure moneths, & eleuen daies, and liued forty two yeeres nine moneths and sixe daies, whose body lyeth interred in a Chappell in the Minster of Saint *Peters* at *Westminster*, without any monument or other remembrance.

Queene Marie Raigne most bloody.



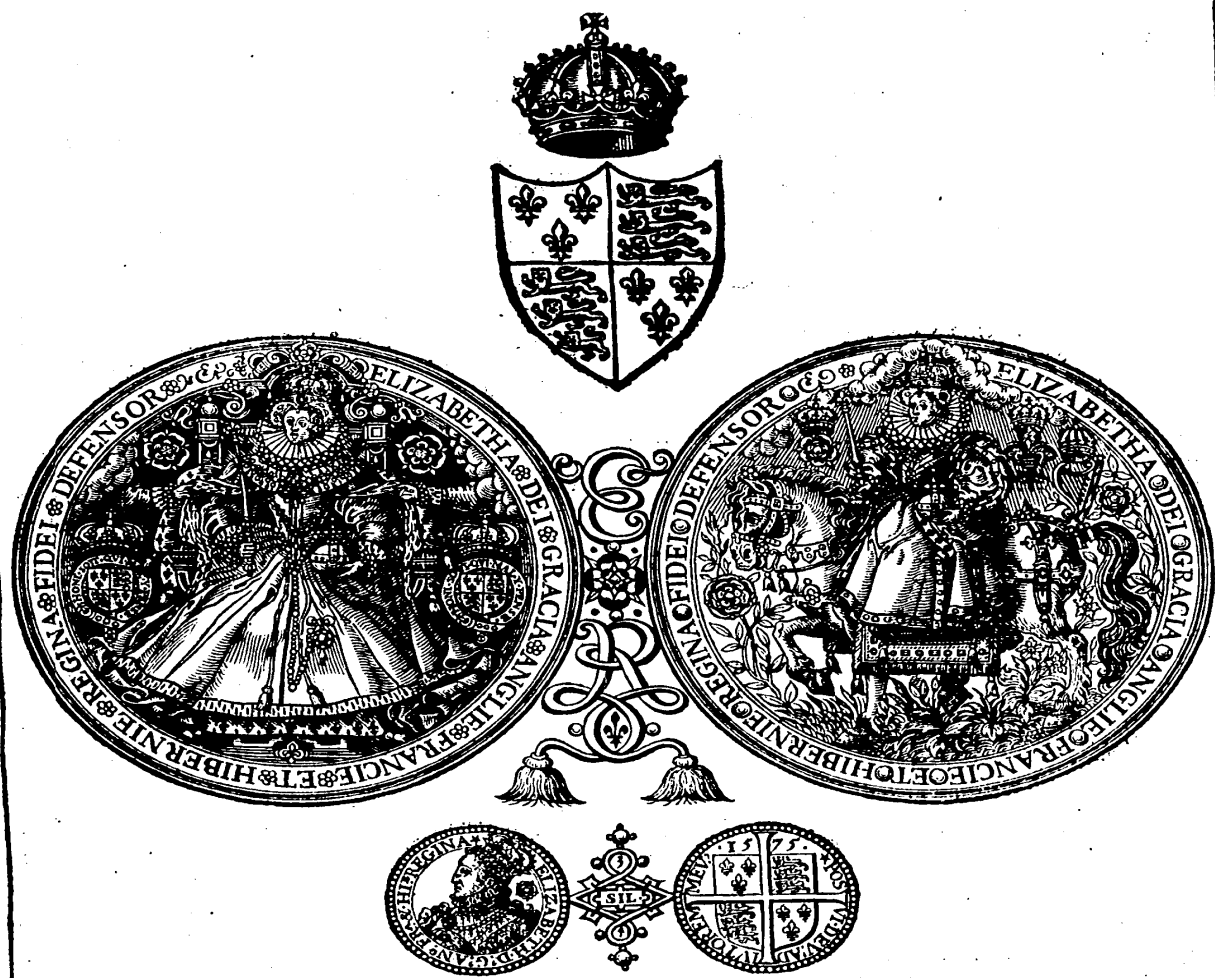
ELIZABETH

Elizabeth.

Monarch 61



ELIZABETH QVEENE OF ENG-
LAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFEN-
DER OF THE FAITH, &c. THE SIXTIE ONE MONARCH
OF THE ENGLISH CROVVNE SINCE HINGIST THE
FIRST SAXON, AND THE LAST BEFORE THE V-
NION OF THE VVHOLE ILAND. HER GLORIOVS
RAIGNE, LIFE AND ACTS, VVITH THE TREA-
SONS AND INVASIONS ATTEMPTED
AGAINST HER PERSON
AND STATE.



CHAPTER XXIII.

D.1558



HE Cloud thus set, that
threatned more stormes,
and a quiet calme happen-
ing when the rage was
at highest, that wished
Sunne then ascended our
Horizon, whose rayes (as
had beene hoped) pre-
sently dispelled all foggy
Mists from Englands faire
Skie; which was, the most milde Princess Lady
Elizabeth; another Debora, and nursing mother of
Gods Saints, who being then at Hatfield in Hert-

fordshire, was there first saluted *Queene*, and the
same day, with great ioy and full consent of both the
Houses of *Parliament* (at that time assembled) was
solemnly proclaimed *Queene of England*, with all o-
ther Riles rightly belonging to that Imperiall
Title;
(2) Shee entred her *Gouernment* vpon Thurs-
day the seauenteenth of *November*, the same day
that her sister *Queene Mary* died, the yeer of Christs
assuming our flesh, 1558. and of her own age, twenty
four yeeres, two moneths and ten dayes. From
Hatfield she remoued vnto *Charterhouse* in *London*,
* from whence shee was royally attended vnto the
G g g g g 2 Tower

Q. Elizabeths
age.
* Nouemb. 19.
* Nouemb. 28.

The first proclamation touching Religion.

Her passage through London.

Queene Elizabeths zealous deuotion.

The Bible presented to Queene Elizabeth.

The religious care of Queene Elizabeth.

Her Coronation

Cardinall Poole and Q. Mary died both in one day.

Stat. prim. Eliz. cap. 1. The Regall Supremacy. Chap. 2.

Queene Marias Acts repealed.

Conference at Westminster touching Religion

The Propositions to be discussed. Job. Stow p. 1034

The Disputants on both parts.

Tower, and all complements prepared for her Coronation. In which time Proclamations came forth, forbidding any man to preach but by appointment, or to alter any Ceremonies, but according to the rites in her owne Chappell, as also that the Letanie, the Epistles and Gospels should be read in all Churches in the English tongue.

(3) All things in a readines vpon the fourteenth of January, with great triumphes and sumptuous shewes, shee passed through London towards Westminster to receive the Imperiall Crowne; but before shee entered her Chariot for the Tower, acknowledging that the seat was Gods into which shee was to enter, and the his Vicegerent to wield the English Scepter; in that royall assembly with eyes and hands elevated to heauen vpon her knees, shee prayed for his assistance, as Salomon did for wisdom when hee tooke the like charge; with a thankfull remembrance vnto God for his continued preferuation, who had brought her through great dangers vnto that present dignity. In which triumphall State as shee passed through the Streets of London, when the Booke of God was presented vnto her at the little Conduit in Chape, shee received the same with both her hands, and kissing it, laid it to her breast saying, that the same had euer bene her chiefe delight, and should bee the rule by which he meant to frame her gouernment. And to testify her benigne acceptance of the Lord Maior, and Citizens approoued loues, she assured them that she lacked no will, nor (as shee hoped) power to bee to them as gracious a Prince as euer reigned in the Land, and that for the publike good, if occasion were ministred shee would spend her dearest blood.

(4) The fifteenth of January (being Sunday) the Coronation was solemnly performed, and the Imperiall Crowne set on her head by Doctor Owen Ogilthorpe Bishoppe of Carlisle, the Archiepiscopal See of Canterbury being vacant euer since her entrance, by the death of Cardinall Poole, who died the same day that Queene Mary did.

(5) Presently there followed a Parliament, wherein the Title of Supremacy was againe restored to the Crowne, with the first fruits, and Tenth of all Ecclesiasticall liuings, and the Booke of Common Prayer ratified for an vniforme celebration of Gods diuine seruice in the English Churches; as also those Acts repealed, that were enacted by Queene Marie, in fauor of the Romish Religion. Things thus established, and liberty giuen to the Gospell, many that had fled the Realm in case of conscience, returned, and were provided for according to their worthes, and that Gods Truth might be established, (which thing her princely heart chiefly fought after) a conference was commanded and begunne at Westminster the last of March, concerning certain Articles to be discussed amongst the Diuines. The Propositions were three.

1 It is against the worde of God, and custome of the ancient Church, to use a tongue unknowne to the people, in common Prayer, and the Administration of the Sacraments.

2 Euery Church hath authority to appoint, take away, and change Ceremonies, and Ecclesiasticall rites, so the same be to edification.

3 It cannot be proued by the word of God, that there is in the Masse offered up a sacrifice propitiatory for the quicke and the dead.

The Impugnations of these Assertions were,

The Bishop of Winchester,
The Bishop of Lichfield,
The Bishop of Chester,
The Bishop of Carlisle,
The Bishop of Lincoln,
D. Cole,
D. Harpsfield,
D. Langdall,
D. Chesley.

The Defendors of those Assertions were,

D. Scorie,
D. Coxo,
M. Whitehead,
M. Grindall,
M. Horne,
M. Gell,
M. Elmer,
M. Jewell.

These being solemnly set with many Honourable Counsellors among them, before the Conference could well beginne, it was finally ended, and all through the default of the Bishops (as Stow hath alledged) who, first pleaded a mistaking of their directions, and in the next sitting, vterly refused either to write their owne, or to read the others reasons, whereby all was vndone that was intended, and whereof a part was * imprinted as it yet to bee seene.

(6) During the time of this Parliament a Petition was made vnto her Maiesty for the hope of roiall Issue, to moue her vnto marriage; vnto which eloquent Oration deliuered by the Speaker, shee replied with great thanks for their louing care for her, and their owne Country: but as touching their request, shee answered, that from the time, when first she considered her selfe to bee borne a seruitor of God, shee happily did choofe, and in truth best liked a Virgins life, from which, neither Ambition of high marriages, which had been formerly offered her by her Prince, nor the grieuances sustained by her, whiles shee liued among those enemies, whose indignation was death, had hitherto bene able to diuert her: but whether her yeeres and answer could concord together in their iudicious minds; she certainly knew not; yet this she assured them, that as then she stood so affected, and if that affection changed, her choise should bee onely of such a one, as should bee as careful, shee would not say, as herselfe, (because shee knew her selfe best) but as any of them for the Realmes good, and yet withall she considered, that although her selfe, for their welfare (if neede were) would not shunne death, yet might her Issue, (as often hapneth to the best parents) grow out of kind, and proue vngenerous. And therefore to leaue behind her a more lasting and gratefull remembrance, shee held it sufficient, that a Marble-stone should declare to posterities, that shee "a Queene had raigned, liued, and dyed a Virgin: and so with many thanks dismissed the assembly. How the first was accomplished, wee that liued vnder her raigne haue seene; but how insufficient that one stone is to containe, & continue the remembrance of her vertuous, pious, and glorious gouernment, the whole world doth at this day, and shall to all succeeding ages witness, whilest the Earth rests in the Center, and the Heauens haue restlesse mouings.

(7) For the cause of Religion shee sent into Germany touching a league defensiu, the Pope troubling the waters of that cleare fontaine, and disabling her Title with the calumnie of illegitimation. In the meane while a peace being on foot betwixt the Kings of France and Spaine, Queene Elizabeth also interposed for England, wherein the restoring of Callis was a maine point, whereupon her Highnesse stood, which was thus.

(8) For the Earle of Arundell, the Bishoppe of Ely, and Doctor Wotton Deane of Canterbury remaining Commissioners in France at the death of Queene Mary, vpon composition for the regaining of Callis, & other peeces lost in the cause of K. Philip: her Maiesty sent them instructions to continue their demands, and certain sure grounds whereon they might worke. The first was that the quarrell of war was not England, but Philips of Spaine, in whose fauour Queene Mary his wife against the will of her Council, sent him aid of her Subjects. And in case the

French

Prooves that Callis was Englands.

The Conference ended almost as soone, as begun.

Great summes of Money owed by France.

* By Rick Iugge and John Cawell

Alexander Burslem.

Q. Elizabeths reply touching marriage.

Q. Elizabeths sayings in the Parliament.

Her first aduise with forraign Princes.

As Manuscript. Henr. K. 11. 11. 11.

Shee claimeth restitution of Callis from the French.

Ex MS. The instructions of Q. Elizabeth sent to the Commissioners.

French should challenge Callis as inhereditary vnto the Crowne of France, to that they should answer, that there were many Signiories and places in France, wherunto the English might make their iust claime, and some in possession since Callis was English, which Towne was not onely Lawfully granted, and assured from the French themselves vnto the Crowne of England, but was also allowed by Articles of all treaties of peace, for the space of two hundred yeeres and more, this euermore specially provided, that Callis should remaine in the quiet possession of the English.

And the better to impress the deliuey of Callis, in the mould of the French, they were to demand certain arrearages, wherein their King and Realme had fallen for great summes of monies and debts accruing to the English Crowne: as well by the acknowledgement of the mother of King Francis then being Regent of France, and iudgement thereupon giuen; as also by the treaty of More, de Date, 1525. The treaty of perpetual peace, de Date, 1527. and the late treaty between King Henry the eighth, and King Francis, for the deliuey of Bullain, de dato, 1546. by all which appeareth, that there was two Millions of Crownes due, and very little thereof yet paid, the copies of which treaties and confession, the said Commissioners haue with them. Also another debt of an hundred thousand crownes, as appeareth by a Bill of King Francis hand. And where also there is one perpetual pension of fiftie thousand crownes due, as appeareth by the treatie of perpetual peace, and another pension of Sale, as appeareth by the same treatie. All which notwithstanding, rather then the French should retaine Callis, her maiesty was contented to remit the whole debt and arrearages: but without that in no wise shee held it convenient to conclude peace with France, and that obtained, shee remitted the other Articles to the discretion of the Commissioners. But the English Queene was no more desirous to haue Callis, then the French King vnwilling to let it goe. Whereupon lastly it was thus concluded, That Callis should remaine French, the tearme of eighty yeeres, and those expired, should returne to the English vpon forfeiture of fife hundred thousand crownes; the branch of which agreement, from the Latine, and that from the original, is thus translated.

(9) It is covenanted, agreed, and concluded, that the said most noble Lady Queene of England, shall suffer and permit the foresaid most Christian King of France, his heires and successors, to hold, possesse, and peaceably enjoy, from the day of the date of this present treaty, vntill the terme of eighty yeeres following, the Towne of Callis, with the appertinances and appendices belonging to the same, and also the port or haue of the said Towne, with the Tower of Kuybank, and also the Towers, Lordships, villages, and places of Newmainbridge, Merke, Oye, Ham, Sandgate, the Tower and Towne of Gains, and all the rest of that County taken in this last warre, and all other Townes, Castles, Villages, Lands, Dominions, Territories, Waters, Rivers, Hauens, Defences, Forts and Shores, and generally all places whatsoever situate vnto them by the sea, which the said most Christian King hath gotten in this last warre, and taken by force of Armes, in the raigne of the most noble Lady Mary, late Queene of England. And the said most Christian King, hath promised, and doth promise as well in his owne name, as in the name of the King Dauphin his sonne, his heires, and successors, for which Dauphin, the said most Christian King hath made himselfe, and doth make himselfe answerable, promising that hee will take care of, and effect that the said King Dauphin shall approve this treaty, and ratifie it, within two monthes after the date of this treaty, which said terme of eighty yeeres being complete and ended, the said most Christian King his heires and successors shall presently without delay, relinquish, deliuer, and restore, or cause to be deliuered, and restored to the said most noble Prince Elizabeth, Queene of England, her heires, and successors, or to those that should bee thereunto

deputed by her, or her heires and successors, the said town of Callis, with the appertinances and appendices aforesaid, and all other and singular places aforesaid, and also the Towers, Castles, and fortresses whatsoever in the aforesaid parts, and also the places now of late builded, fortified, or reedified during the said terme of eighty yeeres; and the said most Christian King his heires and successors shall leaue the possession of all the said places, and depart from it, and wholly forsake the same. So that the most noble Lady Queene Elizabeth, her heires and successors may peaceably enjoy, and quietly hold the possession of them, with all the rights, priuiledges, preeminences, superiorities, recognition, and all other authorities in the like manner, state, condition and nature in which the Kings of England haue held them, and possessed them before the beginning of this last warre. Provided notwithstanding, and expressly covenanted, that the said most Christian King, his heires and successors shall not be bound to restore or deliuer the Townes and Fortresses, and places aforesaid, otherwise then in the same state, manner, and condition, in which now at this present they are, and hereafter shall be strengthened and fortified by them, during the said terme, yet so notwithstanding as neither in the time of such restitution nor before, that there be not any thing done of set purpose, whereby the former state of the strengthes, and fortifications which now it is in, or which hereafter added by them, bee in any wise minished, broken, or overthrowne, but that all things without fraude, bee restored intire and unimpaired, in manner aforesaid.

Also it is covenanted and agreed, that during the terme of the said eighty yeeres, it shall neither bee lawful for the said Christian King, nor for the said most fortunate King and Queene of Scots, nor for the said most happy Queene of England to inuade, attempt, or enterprize by warre any thing against each other, or for any one of them against the other, or against the Kingdomes, proper dominions, and Subiects of each other, either directly or indirectly, to the preiudice of this present treatie, &c. And likewise if any thing shall bee so inuaded and attempted by the said most Christian King, and most happy King and Queene of Scots, or the Subiects of them, by the authority, commandement, and approbation of them, or any of them. Then the said most Christian King, and King Dauphin, their heires and successors, by such kinde of inuasion attempted, vpon the deed done, shall bee bound and obliged to leaue and depart from the possession and occupation of the said Towne of Callis, and of all other places aforesaid on this side the sea, taken of late from the English, by the said most Christian King. And all those things they shall deliuer and restore without any delay to the said most worthy Queene of England, in the same manner and forme, in which at the said terme of eighty yeeres, they were promised and covenanted to be restored: which restitution if it shall not be so made, the said Marchants and pledges shall be bound to pay the said penalty of fife hundred thousand Crowns to the said most worthy Queene of England, and the covenant notwithstanding of restoring the said Towne shall neuertheless remaine in force. Moreover if any of the Subiects of any of the Princes aforesaid, of their owne authority, shall endeavour or attempt any thing against the Subiects of either of the said Princes in preiudice of this Treatie, he shall be punished as an infringer of the peace, according to the quality of the fact.

These covenants notwithstanding they were sealed and thorne vnto, yet were neuer performed at the yeeres of expiration, though Marchants were bound, and hostages assigned to remaine in England till the money were paid.

(9) So suspiciously had this Towne of Callis bene recovered from the English, that the Lord Wentworth (the Deputie) was indicted in Queene Marias daies, and now arraigned at Westminster; the Marquess of Northampton being his Judge; and Lord Chiefe Steward of England for that day; but that Nobleman so nobly defended himselfe, that he was acquitted by his Peeres, and was a most honourable opinion for his many and faithful seruices.

(10) Her Highnesse hauing thus cleared the English

Divine service celebrated in the English tongue.

1. Cor. 14.

The oath of Supremacy offered, and by some refused.

Superstitious Images cast out of Churches.

1. Iahab 4. 16.

Purer Coine brought in.

Marshall provisions.

The French King maligneth Queene Elizabeth quick. Job. 4. 1. Bishop of Ross.

Queene Marie of Scotland her decease.

Her claim to the English Crowne.

The Title and Armes of Kingdome given to her by the French. The first feedes of heart-burning betwixt those two great Queenes of England and Scotland.

The Progreffe of Religion in Scotland. Bishop of Ross.

* Many daughter to the Duke of Guise.

Articles propounded to Scottish Bishops and Peeres.

The Scottish Bishops answers.

English are from all Papall infection, and established Peace, the greatest benefit for the Subject; on the fourteenth of May, being *Whitsunday*, Divine Service began to be celebrated in the *English tongue*, whereby Gods Trumpet might be heard in a perfect found, and the praises of the Congregation vnted with an understanding heart. To the end therefore that the *Clergy*, the *Teachers* of others, should not be infected themselves, the *Oath of Supremacy*, with other Articles, was offered vnto them, the refusers whereof were forthwith deprived, and others furogated that were more loially affected. In place of *Poole* deceased, Doctor *Parker* was consecrated Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and of *York*, Doctor *Younge* in steade of *Heth*, who refused the Oath; and so of some others: then went fourth Commissioners to suppress those Monasteries restored by *Queene Marie*, and to call out those Images set vp in Churches, whose sight hauing heated the blinde zeale of many poore ignorant people in places of Oratory, were now themselves in the streets confumed in the fire, at whose flames might be said, as in *1. Iahab* touching peeces of like stuffe, had beene said: *I am warme, I haue bene at the fire.*

(11) After the reducing of this purer worship into Gods Church, the next care the Good *Queene* tooke, was to enrich her Realme, by reducing her Coynes into fine and pure Sterling, and debasing of Copper monies: causing likewise great store of Munition, Armour and Powder to be brought into the Land, and laid vp in a readines as occasion should serue, that nothing might be wanting either for the wealth or safety of the Subiect.

But these her blessed beginnings in England were little as it seemeth to the liking of the French King, *Whose hope* (saith *Leslie*) by certaine acts of Parliament made by *Queene Marie* against her sister the Lady Elizabeth, to debarre her from the succession of the Crowne, was to establish *Queene Marie* of Scotland, who had lately married Prince *Dolphine* his sonne, laying her title from *Margaret* the eldest daughter of King *Henrie* the seventh, linked in Marriage with James the fourth King of that name, she being the daughter of King *James* the fifth his sonne. And therefore as the neere in blood, and lawfull heire to the Crowne of England, he caused by Proclamation in Paris her Title to be published under the name of *Mary Queene of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, and caused the Armes of England to be joyned with Scotland and France, which the *Dolphine* and shee did impute, both in their Seales, Plate, Tapistrie, and other adornments; which caused great troubles (saith hee) betwixt the Kingdomes of England, France, and Scotland.

(13) In Scotland Religion (as England had embraced it) beganne to be practised; Preachers spake boldly, and bookes were daily brought thither, which nothing at all commended the Pope, and by them (saith the Bishop) the people were moued to a sedition, which to preuent, the *Queene Regent* caused an assembly of the Bishops and Barons, vnto whom the Ministers presented these Articles.

1 That their diuine praiser and publicke administration of the Sacraments should be in the English tongue.
2 That Bishops and other Ecclesiasticall benefices should be bestowed vpon qualified men.
3 That such persons enjoying the profits, should performe their duties and preach the word to the people.
4 That none should be admitted in time to come, into the Ministry, vnlesse his life and learning were answerable to that excellent calling.

(14) To the two first, the Bishops alleging the customes of the *Romane Church*, would in no wise consent, leauing euery man at liberty privately to pray in what language he best liked; and the election of their Bishops to the prescription of the *Queene*. For the two latter, they affirmed, no better order could be prescribed then that of their *Common Law*, which imposed vpon them, as much as was required; and

thereupon they began to put the same in execution, commanding all that had charge of soules to fit themselves to their functions, otherwise to looke for no fauour from deprivation, after the terme of like moneths. Which was (saith the same Author) the principall cause, that a great number of young Abbots, Priors, Deacons, and beneficed men, did forsake the enterprise, and practised deuises for the overthrow of the Catholike Religion.

(15) True it is, that at the preaching of *John Knox*, and other Ministers affecting reformation, not onely the Images, Altars, and other like things of abuse, were cast downe and burnt, but also the Charterhouse of the Friars at *Perth* destroyed, which was the fairest Abbey in the Realme of Scotland; then followed the ouerthrow of the Monasteries of *Saint Andrewes*, of *Stone*, of *Strickling*, and of *Linlithgow*; which ouerhasty proceedings caused such stirres in the Land, that the Lords of the Combination encamped at *Comper*, to abide battle against the French (who came into Scotland to impeach their purposes) had not the trauels of some Noblemen preuailed on either part.

(16) The French King, thus ouer-busie about Scotland, was ouercarelesse of his own, when (at solemnizing the marriages of his daughter and sister) hee would needs be a Challenger at Tilt, seconded by the Duke of *Guise* & *Ferrars*, which triumphant ioy, was suddenly clouded with a sad Catastrophe. For to render his last (and indeed his last) course in fauour of his *Queene*, he sent a Lance to the Earle of *Montgomery*, with a command to haue him enter the Tilt; but hee excusing himselfe from running against this Malefite, alleged, that fortune the day before, afforded him not to breake one staffe, and that now (as he feared) she would put him to a second flame; but the King, destiny so enforcing, and his date fully runne, sent him a second command, which *Montgomery* very vnwillingly obeyed, and breaking his Lance vpon the Kings Cuirasse, a splinter thereof, his Beauer being somewhat open, broke him so deepe in the eie, that thereupon shortly he ended his life.

(17) After whose death, *Francis* his sonne, and second of that name, at the age of fixtene yeeres succeeded him in the Crowne of France; hauing by the marriage of *Queene Marie*, the Title of Scotland annexed to his others. He hearing of the troubles raised there, in case of Religion, sent *Monsieur de la Broche* to strengthen the Field, and the Bishop of *Ameans* to assist the *Queene Regent*, with his farre reaching and inforcing counsell. Surely the preparation to withstand them was great, and the combinations many that stood for Reformation, as namely, one *Duke*, fourtene Earles, and eleuen Lords, besides other of name and account; but knowing their Aduersaries forces, and seeing those strangers to possesse diuers of their Townes and Forts, to the oppressing of the Kingdome vnder forraigne subiectio, they were enforced to become Petitioners vnto *Queene Elizabeth*, for aide to expell the French, who fought the subseruion of the Realmes state.

(18) The Magnanimous *Queene*, nothing fearing the threats of that potent Nation, nor liking such neighbours as formerly professed to rob her of her right, and now vnder pretence of suppressing the *Scots*, were not vnlikly to attempt an inuasion vpon her Realme; (for so the *Almanes* hired by the French were told they should doe) gaue them aideistance vpon Articles assured; whereof one was, that they should hold faithfull concurrence with England during the life of the French King, and one yeere after. For the performance whereof, sixe young Gentlemen were sent into England; and the Duke of *Norfolke* into the North, who from *Barwicke* dispatched the Lord *Gray of Wilton* for General into Scotland, accompanied with many worthy Captaines, fixe thousand foot, and one thousand two hundred and fifty horsemen; these comming to *Salt-Preston* were

Many Scottish Abbots, Priors, &c. aduance true Religion.

Stirres in Scotland raised by some heady proceedings.

The French forces into Scotland.

Ishab his daughter married vnto Philip 2. King of Spaine, Margr. vt his sister married vnto Emanuel Philibert Duke of Sauoy, June 30. 1559. John Serres.

King Henrie of France killed in Tilt.

Francis the second King of France.

He sends force to Scotland.

The Scottish Nobles craue Queene Elizabeths assistance. Halisford.

Queene Elizabeths aide to the Scottish Lords.

John Leslie.

The Lord Gray General of the English.

The Queene Regent desires conference.

The French dispute the intended parley.

The French and English encounter.

The French assault the English.

The English request their trenches.

Ant. Amyl. the Queene Regent dieth.

The French King yields ouer his Dominions to the Popes protection. Lilly li. 10. p. 568. Holins. li. 33. p. 373.

The Pope unable to assist the French King.

The French King seeks for peace with Q. Elizabeth.

were loyfully receiued of the Scottish Lords, who therein in Councell decreed what was to be done.

(19) From thence they marched toward *Lesle-rike*, where a Trumpet from the *Queene Regent* met them with a safe conduct for Sir *James Croft*, and for Sir *George Howard*, with fixe other Gentlemen to accompany them vnto her presence in the Castell of *Edenborough*; vnto which the General and the Scottish Lords agreed, with an abstinence from Armes during the conference. But the French (the meane while) vnder the command of *Monsieur Dolsell* issued forth of *Leith*, and in good array took the field, which when the Lord *Gray* perceived, he sent an Harold vnto them, willing them to depart till the English were returned, according to the order betwixt their Regent and him; but they returned him answer, they were on their Mistresses ground, which they meant to make good, and thereupon discharged a whole volley of shot vpon the English Army.

(20) The Allarum thus giuen when least it was expected, a cruell skirmish beganne, wherein diest of the French about seauen score persons, the rest were enforced backe into *Leith*, and many of the English both hurt and slaine. Whereupon they intrenched the *Crag*, and planted their Ordinance against *Leith*, vpon whose Steeples the French had mounted their great Canons, whence their Bullets flew aaine; and ere long a bold attempt was undertaken by them, who with fiftie horsemen and five hundred Harquebussiers issued out of *Leith*, and assailed the English new trenches with such valour, as they entered, & a while possessed the same; where they tooke *Maurice Berkeley* prisoner, wonne his ensigne, cloyed the touch-holes of three great peeces, and slew no small numbers of their resisters.

(21) The English by this time had armed themselves (for this assault was vnexpectedly giuen) and Captaine *Vaughan* with his, brauely entered the Trench, who being seconded by Captaine *Somerfort*, *Reade*, and *Arthur Grey*, recovered the same with some slaughter of men, the Ordinance from *Leith* discharging vpon them to the great annoyance of their honourable seruice; and now being Masters of what was late lost, they cleared the great Ordinance which the French had stopped, and cast a new Trench along by the old Chappell, whence with their great Peeces they beate downe the Steeples of *Saint Anthony* and *Saint Nicholas* in *Leith*, and dismounted the Peeces that therein lay leuelled against them.

(22) In the full course of which disentions, the *Queene mother*, *Regent of Scotland* (a Lady of excellent endowments of minde) consumed with thoughts, displeasures and Melancholy, departed this life in *Edenborough* Castell: the Lords waxing stronger, and *Leith* much weaker through extremity of famine, and the French King, (the onely pillar on whom their strength did consist) not able to assist them. Who being brought daily into feares through new tumults arising, and increased in his owne Country of *Ambosie*, was forced (saith *Leslie*) to yield vp all the Dominions, both of France, and of Scotland, vnto Pope *Pius* the fourth, to be at his command and defence; but his Holinesse fearing his owne tottering estate, like a wise man, that meant to warpe no more then he could well weare, suffered king *Francis* to seek for other redresse, which hee did from her, that was more willing and better able to giue him content.

(23) For sending his Ambassadors vnto *Queene Elizabeth*, whose noble spirit himselfe had first provoked, desired her peace to be had with Scotland, & that Commissioners might be appointed to meet with his in that Realme; alledging that it was vnfitting to a Soueraigne to sue to his Subiects, as hee was ouer them by his marriage with their onely *Queene*. Her princely mind euer forward to assist the afflicted, and now desirous to saue Christian blood, dispatched into Scotland, Sir *William Cecil*

her Principall Secretary, with Doctor *Wotton* Deane of *Canterbury*, one of her sacred Councell, eminent for his singular prudence, and formerly employed vpon like affaires in France.

(24) These falling in conference concluded finally vpon certaine Articles, whereof those that concerned England were these: That neither the King of France nor his *Queene of Scotland*, should thenceforth vs the Armes or titles of England or Ireland, and that all letters sealed with those Armes should be called in within fixe monethes space; that both the English and French should depart Scotland, some few excepted, employed vpon occasions; and that a generall pardon should be enacted by Parliament concerning all such as had bene in these stirres. Which Parliament was assembled at *Edenborough* in August following. These things accomplished, an Ambassage of thanks was solemnly addressed vnto *Queene Elizabeth* by the Earles of *Morton*, *Glencarne*, and the young Laird of *Leithington*, with proffer that the Earle of *Arran*, the greatest Lord in account among them, should be at her disposal for marriage, which (as they well hoped) would be to her selfe.

(25) With the like concealed hope the yeere before, *John Duke of Finland*, second sonne to *Gustabus* King of Sweden, was sent to her by his father, to treat a marriage for his elder brother *Erius*, who was most honourably entertained, but dismissed without all hope of his suite. Notwithstanding, *Gustabus* being dead, *Erius* now reigning King of Sweden, hauing imprisoned his brother *John*, solicited her Maiesty the second time, but to his dishonour as it fell out, for his suite recited in the English Court, hee attempted to match with the youngest daughter of *Philip Langraue of Halia*, who hearing that hee had twice receiued denial in England, denied him also with some disgrace, giuing his daughter vnto *Adolfe Duke of Holst*, vncle vnto *Fredericke* King of Denmark, at that time enemy to *Erius*.

(26) The Peace scarcely was concluded betwixt England and France, when *Francis* the young King was taken away by death, and another pupill King crowned, euen *Charles* his younger brother, and ninth of that name, who was guided altogether by the Regency of the *Queene mother*, and molested with the ciuill disentions betwixt those Princes of *Guize* and *Conde*. For whose reconciliation *Queene Elizabeth* sent Sir *Henry Sidney* Lord President of *Wales*, vnto which her endeauours, howsoever the French gaue countenance in Court, yet on the Seas they tooke her Merchants shippes, imprisoned the men, and seized their goods, no other cause alleged but that they were Hugonots.

(27) These misdemeanors, Englands great *Queen* tooke not well; yet did shee not so much blame, as pity the young and ouerruled King, brought to such a fraight, that hee was neither able to defend the authority of his owne lawes, nor to uphold the leagues made with other Princes. But most especially the cause of Religion (the onely pretended motive of all these disturbances) together with the solicitations of the French themselves (as from *Roan*, *Deip* and *Newhauen*) moued her Maiesty first to set forth her greouances publicly in print, and next to send aide vnto *Monieur Vidame* Captaine of *Newhauen*, against such as sought to subuert both religion and the Estate.

(28) These landing in *Normandy* were with great ioy receiued into the Townes of *Newhauen*, *Roan*, and *Deip*, which were willingly surrendered into the English *Queenes* possession (the onely Cloud-pillar that stood betwixt Gods cholen Israel, & the bloud-seeking Amalekites in this wilderness of *Sins*), with this reclamation by the *Queene* her selfe interted, no way to preiudice the Kings Soueraigne authority, nor the estate of the Realme; so vpright was she, notwithstanding their late vniust intruding vpon her right and title.

Commissioners of England and France meet in Scotland. Articles of accord.

An Ambassage of thanks to Q. Elizabeth.

Erius sonne to the King of Sweden seeks marriage with Queene Elizabeth. Johannes Luthi elius. Comment. de bella Gustavo-rom.

An. D. 1560. An Reg. 2. Francis the young French King dieth. Charles the 9. succeeded his brother.

Q Elizabeth labourth to cease the peace in France. The French seize on English Merchants.

The French greiuanes towards the English.

The English support Religion in France.

An. D. 1562 in Septemb.

John Serres.

Ambrose Dudley
Earle of Warwick
Generall of the
English.

The King of Na-
uarre slain at
Roa.

Newhaufen sur-
rendered.

The plague
brought into
England from
Newhaufen.

The State of
Religion in
France.

The Spoufals of
Henry of Bourbon
and Margarete de
Valois solenni-
zied with blood.

The plotters and
pretences of the
marriage.

The scruples of
the Queene of
Navarre.

The faire shew
made to Chastil-
lon to beguile
him and the
Protestants.

title; and her owne iust and ancient title to those forraigne parts, and especially to *Normandy*.

(29) The Generall of these English so sent, was the Lord *Ambrose Dudley* Earle of *Warwicke*, who following his charge before gone to Seas, arrived at *Newhaufen* the nine and twentieth of *October*, where his Commission was proclaimed, and oath taken, vnto whom strengths of Scottish men were sent him from *Diepe*, whereof Monsieur *Montgomery* was presently made Gouernour, hauing loft *Roa* vnto the King of *Navarre*, though the vnfortunate King bought the victory with his owne death, as he viewed the weaker parts of the City.

(30) To withstand the English thus settled in *Normandy*, the Conce *Reingraue* was sent, and in familiar conference told the Earle of *Warwicke*, that he was come to bee his neighbour; but proued indeed so couetous an encrocher, as lastly he dispossessed the Earle of the Towne. For albeit that many manly feates were therein performed by the English, and the place stored with prizes of wines, yet wanting fresh victuall, but especially fresh water, which the enemy had cut off, the calamities were great, and much more augmented by a contagious pestilence that flew many more the did either famine or sword; so that the English hauing posselt the Towne for eleuen monethes space, now were constrained to surrender it vpon composition, bringing thence many sickle foulders that dangerously infected *England* with a long continuing plague.

(31) Times motion in *England* now moued only with the benefite of peace, and no act memorable to commit vnto history; let vs supply this Interim with looking a little into the state of Religion in *France*; as wee haue scene, and somewhat touched the proceedings thereof both in *England* and *Scotland*. The Gospell spreading farre in that faire Continent, the impugners tooke occasions to raise many fires, and all in shew to race out new heresies as they accused & called the reformed doctrine. For which cause the French Townes burning in the flames of seditions, the Protestants blood was thought fittest to quench them, & the rapines committed vpon chaste wives and virgines, was pretended to bee canceled by a marriage wrought and contracted betwixt two Princes of the blood: which were *Henry of Bourbon*, Prince of *Navarre*, a fauourer of the Gospell, and *Margarete de Valois* the third daughter of King *Henry* the second, and sister vnto King *Charles* now reigning, a Princeesse much deuoted to the *Romish* Religion. These must bee the Birds to bring others to the Net, and one of them laid for, to bee caught in the same snare.

(32) This match was plotted by the Marshall of *Coffe*, and the *Master of Requests*, with the deuise no doubt of some in higher place, who wrought the Queene of *Navarre*, vnder the pretence of great affection, that the French King bare vnto her; and the *Chastillon* Admirall (a most zealous Protestant) vnder an intent of employment for the defence of the Low Countries, against the King of *Spain*. This match indeed seemed to confirme a publicke concord, only the Popes dispensation must bee had by reason of pretended consanguinity of the parties, the one being petty Nephew, the other grand-child of *Francis* the first King of *France*. And the Queene of *Navarre* made some scruple of the Ceremonies for the celebration, place and Church; but ciuill reason ouerwaying all difficulties, the Theater must bee *Paris*, as the Capitall City, and the marriage acted without any change of Ceremony, or of royall forme.

(33) *Chastillon* the Admirall was formeost at Court, where the Papales gaue him place, and to take from him all ialousie or mistrust, the King countenanced him so much, that hee repayed his losses sustained in the warre, grants him the reuenues of his brother the Cardinall *Chastillon*, that lately fled and dyed in *England*, treats with him fa-

miliarly, giues him a place in his Priuy Councell, and euer honours him with the plausible name of *Father*; inasmuch as the people beganne to murmur that King *Charles* not only fauoured the *Huguenots*, but was now become a *Huguenot* himselfe. And the Admirall for his part thinking all vpbright, to that end moueth the King to treat a peace with the Queene of *England* to the prejudice of the *Spaniards*: with these motives among others, that *Elizabeth* was vnmarried, and *Henry Duke of Anjou* had no wife, the dignity of so high an alliance was honourable for the Duke, and the quality of a Kings brother was not to be contemned by the Queene, he hauing in his yong yeeres purchased great honour and reputation.

(34) The charge of this message was committed to Marshall *Montmorency*, both to haue his absence at Court, the better to worke what was intended, & to stay her Maiesty by vertue of that peace, from attempting any thing against *France*, in fauour of the Protestants. The foord thus sounded by the well meaning Admirall, seemed the more safely passable: for the two Queenes of *England* and *Navarre*, the first of them granting the Peace so desired, and the other without all ialousie repaired to the French Court; where eightene dayes after her arriual, of a quotidian feuer she died, though others saide not without suspicion of poyson by the perfume of a paire of Gloues presented vnto her.

(35) Soone after, the marriage was solemnized vpon a high Scaffold, built before the Church dore of our Lady in *Paris*; and foure dayes spent in plaies, feasts, dancing and Maskes: all which were but traines and introductions vnto what was intended: for the Admirall departing the Kings presence with all complements of amity, as hee passed from the *Louure*, and in reading a *Petition*, was with a Harquebuss leuelled out of a window, shot into the left arme, and dangerously hurt. At which traitorous attempt the King and Queene-mother seemed to bee greatly perplexed, visiting him with all expedition, and for his further safety commanded all his fauourers (the Protestants) to bee lodged nere about him. But the night now approached, *Coffines* brake into his Bed-Chamber, and three of his Company entering his Bed-chamber, with their weapons barbarously murdered him, whose goared body at *Guizes* command, they cast out of the Window, *Guize* himself wiping the blood from his face, acknowledged him to be the man. His head they cut off, and presented to the Queene-mother, and free balming it, sent it to her Holy Father for an assurance of the death of his most capital enemy.

(36) The Pallace Clocke strikes (the Watchword vnto the Alarm) when the other armed troupes flie to the Admiralls lodging, cut off his hands, dragge his martyred Carcase through the streets, and lastly hang it vp by the feet at *Montfaucon*. And with the like hellish fury the bloody faction oppressed the Protestants, both in the City & Suburbs, sparing neither sexe, condition, nor age through whose streetes nothing was heard but gasty horror, armes, horses and death, with the pitifull shriekings of the Innocents, crying (but alas in vain) for mercy. On the other side, the shouders of the murderers preailed, saying, that this one day shold end the quarrell, which neither penne, paper, decrees of Iustice, nor open warre for twelue yeeres together could euer doe. Lamentable was the spectacle of those sacred and massacred carcases flew in the streetes, the pauements, market-places and riuers dyed with their blood, and that Saboth made direfull, and to the Papists infamous, with the bloody pollution of often thousand Innocents, in the faine whereof we will leaue them, and returne our stile againe for *England*.

(37) As these ciuill seditions were on foot in other parts, so *Ireland* too too rebellious, fought vnder the shelter of *Shan O Neale*, to throwe themselves from the obedience of Queene *Elizabeths* government,

106. Seres.

A match withed
betwixt Queene
Elizabeth and the
Duke of Anjou.

An Ambassage
for peace with
Elizabeth.

The Queene of
Navarre died.

The marriage of
Bourbon and
Lady Margarete
solemnized.

The Admirall
wounded with
shot.

The Admirall
barbarously
murdered.

A grauefull pre-
sent sent to the
Poppe by the
Queene mother.

The Massacre of
the French
Protestants.

Irish Rebellion
vnder Shan O Neale
his, John O Neale

ment; a man cruell by nature, and claiming an inhe-ritary right of the Prouince of *Ylster*, as the *O Neales* formerly had done of all *Ireland*. For in the trouble-some times of *Robert Brus*, when his brother *Edward* named himselfe King of *Ireland*, *Donnald O Neale*, rowled out of his lurking holes, in his misliue letters vnto the Poppe, stileth himselfe King of *Ylster*, and in right of inheritance the vndoubted heire of all *Ireland*. But his glorious shew being clouded before it was scene, his posterity pult in their hornes like snailles, vntill the firebrandes of Ciuill dissensions betwixt the Houses of *Lancaster* and *York*, gaue light to their footing, whilest the English left *Ylster* vnto their custody, and followed in *England* the faction which they best fauoured.

(38) At which time, *Henrie O Neale*, began to be great by marrying the daughter of *Thomas Earle of Kildare*; as afterward also his sonne * *Con-More O Neale*, married the daughter of *Girald Kildare* (his mothers brother) both of those *Kildares* being Deputies of *Ireland*. From thebed of these *Cosen-germanes*, issued *Con O Neale*, surnamed *Bacco*, because he halted; who was so right *Ylster*, that hee curled all his posterity, in case they either learned the English language, sowed wheate, or built them houses, least the first shold breed conuersion, the second Commerce of sustenance, and with the last they shold speede as the Crowe that buildeth her nest to bee beaten out by the Hawke.

(39) But King *Henry* the eight, with whom was no dallying, setting his tallant fast on *Kildare*, in whose rebellions *O Neale* had engaged himselfe deepe, so ouer-dares this enuying Irish bird, that hee flies into *England*, sues to the Eagle, renounceth the name of *O Neale*, and puts his whole estate into the Kings hand. Whose humble submission so satisfied this crowned bird, that his life was deliuered out of his claw, and letters Patents granted vnder the Great Seale of *England*, to hold his reuenues in Fee of the King, together with the Title of Earle of *Tir-Oen*, to him and to *Mathew* his false reputed son, and to the heires of their bodies lawfully begotten, at what time the said *Mathew* was created Baron of *Dungannon*.

(40) *Shan O Neale* (with whom wee began) the eldest legitimate vnto this *Con-Bacco*, seeing himselfe disherited, and a bastard preferred before him, suddenly set his heart against his father, as also against *Mathew* his high honoured and halfe-reputed brother, whom hee neuer left till hee had murdered, and pursued his father with such irreconcilable hatred, as hee stript him out of house and all, and neuer left, till for want and griefe, the olde man pined away.

(41) *Shan* then chosen proclaimed, and inaugurated *O Neale*, by an old shooe cast ouer his head, seized vpon his fathers inheritance, and with all diligence sought after the sonnes of *Mathew*, to secure himselfe of that which hee had got. *Brian* the eldest hecaused to be slaine by *Mac Donnell Totan*, one of the *O Neales* race, but *Hugh* and *Cormack* by meanes of the English escaped his hands. Thus fortified in *Ylster* hee beganne to tyrannize ouer the great men of that prouince, accounting them his Subiects, as in his answeres vnto the English Iusticiar, expostulating with him vpon that point, hee laid his Title.

(42) That hee was the vndoubted sonne and heire of *Con-Oneale*, borne of his lawful wife; and that *Mathew* his supposed brother, was the sonne of a Blacke-smith borne in *Dundalke*, and vnto the age of fifteene yeeres had bene so reputed and taken, that then hee was obtruded vpon *Con*, by the said Smiths wife, whom hee had formerly kept for his Concubine, with an intent to interuert the inheritance and honour of the *O Neale* another way. That his surrender vnto King *Henrie of England*, was of no validity, considering that *Con* had no longer therein then his owne life, neither could that lawfully bee done without the consent of the Nobles of *Ylster*,

by whom hee had beene elected *O Neale*. That himselfe was by Law both of God and man, the onely true heire, being the first begotten sonne of his father, lawfully borne in *Wedlocke*, chosen, declared and proclaimed *O Neale*, by the generall consent of the Peeres and People of *Ylster*, and that according to the ancient law *Tanistry*, whereby a man at his full yeeres is to be preferred before a boy, and an vnkle before a nephew, whose Grandfather suruiued the father, and lastly, that hee had done nothing, but what hee had sufficient authority to doe, and which his ancestors had not vied before him to doe.

(43) His title thus pleaded and passed without opposition, hee presently fell into other outrages; for *O Raylie* hee ouerthrew in the Field, tooke *Cai-ligh O Donel* Lord of *Tir-Comel* captiue, cast him and his children in prison, carried away his wife, and in adultery begat bastards vpon her, seizing vpon lands and goods at his pleasure, and bare himselfe as absolute King of *Ylster*.

(44) These his doings *Thomas Earle of Suffex* (the Lord Deputie) fought to redresse, whose preparations so strangely terrified him, that by the counsell of *Girald Earle of Kildare*, hee came into *England*, and cast himselfe prostrate at *Queene Elizabeths* feet, and vpon his submissive behaviour and promised allegiance, with her gracious fauour returned home; where for a while in his diet and apparell, hee conformed himselfe to all kind of ciuility, yea and did some office of seruice in driving the *Scots* out of *Ylster*, slaying their leader *Mac-Comel*, and in protecting the poorer sort from the violence and oppressions of the Nobles. In which his doings hee drew vpon himselfe their hatreds and complaints; and hee whole nature could digest neither, fell furious for reuenge vpon *Mac-Guir*, Lord of *Fermanagh*, fired *Armagh* the *Metropolitane* City, laid siege vnto *Dundalke*, and harried the Countrey on euery side.

(45) Against whom Sir *Henrie Sidney*, then Deputy of *Ireland*, came in person himselfe into the Field; and *Edward Randolph*, a renowned Coronell, with seuen Ensignes of Foot, and a Corner of Horse-men, encamped at *Derry* by *Lough Rell*, that so hee might charge the backe of the Rebell; which *O Neale* well perceiving, halted with his forces to remouue: where *Randolph* in a pitch field entred battell, and there manfully fighting with honour, lost his life, but gaue the *O Neale* so great an ouerthrow, as neuer after hee was able to make Head against his Soueraign, and in many other Skirmishes was so foiled, as hee evidently saw his owne dreadfull downfall. Wherefore hee minded once more to sue for the *Queenes* mercy, and with a halter about his necke, intended to humble himselfe to the Lord Deputy, for his fauour and mediation vnto her Maiesty.

(46) But making *Neale Mackeuer* (his Secretary) secret to thefe his designs, was by him counselled to try fortunes fauour yet another way; the occasion well fitting, and the persons of great hope (if hee could fasten amity with them) which were the wilde *Scots*, who held their standing Summer-Campe in *Claneboy*, vnder the conduct of two Brethren, *Alexander Oge*, and *Mac Gillaspie*, whose father and brother this *Shan O Neale* had lately slaine, in an ouerthrow giuen to the *Scots*. For the furer gaining of whose fauour, hee sent before hand *Surley-boy*, *Alexanders* brother, whom hee had taken and reueined prisoner a long time, and soone after, himself with the wife of *O Donel* (whom adulterously hee kept) repaireing vnto them was kindly welcomed and intertained in a Tent; where after their Cups, they fell to a brawle about *James Mac-Comel*, (*Alexanders* brother) whom *Shan* had slaine, as also about the honesty of his sister, whom hee had married and cast off, for the loue hee bare vnto *O Donels* wife. Whereupon after a signal giuen, in heat of reuenge, *Alexander* and his brother with many wounds hacked *Shan O Neale* to death, a few of his followers escaping their swords by flight; by whose death *Ylster* recovered their wished peace, after

The Law Tan-
istry in *Ireland*
what it is.

Shan O Neale's
outrages.

Thomas Earle of
Suffex daunts
O Neale.

O Neales sub-
mission to the
Queene.

O Neale doth
some good
Office.

O Neale againe
solleth off.

A.D. 1585;
Sir Henrie Sidney
L. Deputy of
Ireland.

O Neales power
broken.

Hee thinks of
submission.

O Neale elucted
from submission
by his Secretary.

* That is, *Alex-
ander* the younger.

Shan O Neale
slaine.

A.D. 1567.

Callis demanded
of the French
King.
April 28. 1567.The Towns Go-
uournours would
not be spoken
with.King Charles
speech to the
Ambassadors.Objections a-
gainst the Q.
of England.Answers to the
French objec-
tions.* An Addition
taken out of a
former treatise
written by Sir
Thomas Smith.

after a greuous distature of oppression and warres, in which let vs a while leaue them, and returne to the affaires of England.

(47) The time now expired for retention of Callis so forthright after, and so thirthingly kept; Queene Elizabeth presently sent vnto Charles the French King, to demand the deliuey according to covenants. He set in estate, accompanied with the Queene mother and others, the English Embassadors had audience, and the Title controuersed among them as followeth. The Queenes Letters read and attendance giuen what would more be said: Sir Thomas Smith (for he was the man) demanded in her Maiesties name, the Towne of Callis, the Forts, and other the appurtenances, the Cattle and Towne of Guize, and generally all such Cattles, Townes, and places as had bene taken by his Father Henry, the late French King in his last warres, from Marie late Queene of England, her Maiesties sister: which in a Treatie of peace made at Casseau in Cbrest the yeere of Christ, 1559. was agreed vpon, that his Soueraigne, Queene Elizabeth should permit the said French King and his successors to possesse, and peaceably to enioy the said Townes, Cattles, and places, the space of 8. yeeres, and those expired the said K. Henry covenanted for himselfe and Successors to deliuer the same intirely vnto the English, which being compleat and ended the second of that present moneth April, himselfe with Sir Henry Norris her Maiesties Ambassador vpon the third day of the same month demanded in her name the possession thereof accordingly, but could not attaine or get speech, either with Lieutenant or Gouverneur. Whereupon they were enforced to make repaire to his maiesty, whom hee doubted not but would accomplish the performance, and likewise keepe perpetuall amity with his Soueraigne Lady and Mistresse.

(48) King Charles but young, and altogether gouerned by the Queene-mother, hauing well learned his lesson, made present answer, That Callis was his, and that none had right thereunto but himselfe, neither should any deliuer it to any other, and that the Treaty, named by the English Ambassador, did wholly giue it him. Whereunto Sir Thomas replied, That neither her Maiesty nor Council did so take it, nor indeed could, the words of the Treaty being so plain and manifest. Why, Master Smith, quoth the Queene-mother, I maruell the Queene your Mistresse would now send for such a purpose, and especially you, who knoweth none better, how all things haue passed: you know that your Queene hath forfeited Callis, and all her rights in those places diuers waies. As first, by invading the Kings Subjects in Scotland, then most manifestly at New-hauen, where the King, my sonne, wasaine with an whole Army to recover it: and in the said Treaty was an Article as hath bene disposed; that if the Queene of England should invade any part of my sonnes Dominions, she should forthwith lose her right in Callis.

(49) Madame, said Sir Thomas: King Henrie and his successors were bound to lose Callis, if they invaded England, and yet did King Francis brother to the King here, doe it by the way of Scotland, as is most manifest, after the said Treaty at Casseau, not onely in assuming the Armes and Title of England and Ireland, but contrary to the Article of Peace, which concluded that both English and French should depart Scotland: which inconueniently her Maiesty performed, in reuoking thence her Lieutenant, Captaines, and Souldiers: whereas contrariwise Monsieur D'oisell their Chiefeaine abode therein still, and the French power daily augmented vnder the conduct of Monsieur de Martignes, and de la Brosse, and also by an other great Commander, whose Naue was dispersed by tempest, and whose strength his shipwracke did testifie, in Holland, Zealand, Norway and Denmarke, by the losse of Armour, Men and Munition: to let passe Britaigne and Normandy, then in preparing to invade England; and Lanzknights likewise hired in Saxony, and the Land of Lunenburg

to assit the French in that enterprise, when these Almans according to their nature loth to take Seas, and desirous to know whether their seruice intended, were told, they should no further then Scotland, and to the Land adioyning, which was plentifull of gold, siluer, and all kind of wealth, and where no Almane Souldier had made spoile for the space of an hundred yeeres before, and to some of them in plain termes it was told, that they should into England; which was likewise signified vnto her Maiesty, both from her neighbour Princes, warning her highnesse to take good heede vnto her selfe; as also by letters intercepted, that declared their intents; whereof thece did not onely admonish Monsieur de Seure then Ambassador in England for France; but also by her Ambassador to the French King, praying him to desist from such attempts so prejudiciall to her Highnesse, and so directly against the treaty of Peace. To colour which matter the said de Seure made a Protestation in print, the answer whereunto is likewise printed in English, French, Italian, and Latine, wherein may appeare the History of that time. And since her Maiesty hath had a more manifest prooffe by men which are yet aliue. For when the most part of the French power was arrived in Scotland, the Queene Mother, Monsieur de Oisell, and Monsieur de Martignes called the Scottish Lords with their Forces vnto Al-mouth besides Barwick; where they declared that their minde was to invade England; and to giue to the King and Queene the possession of the English Crowne; of which they now had the Titles and Armoies. But the Lords of Scotland vpon consultation, made answer, That they had often attempted to invade England, but they neuer got any good thereby; further affirming, it was against the peace newly concluded and sworn: so neere was it to execution. Vpon this there followed a treaty of peace at Edenborough, wherein the numbers of French Souldiers were to be lessened; the Stile and Armes of England left downe, and the treaty of Casseau renewed and confirmed: all which may appeare by the hands of them which were Commissioners, authorized by the French King vnder his Great Seale: which treaty when it was signed with all the Commissioners hands, the Queene my Soueraigne for the loue of peace being contented to seale and swear, the said King Francis did refuse the both, with which refusal her Maiesty doth, and hath alwaies taken that the right of Callis both propriety and possession was deuolued vnto her by reason of the attempt, and hath demanded it diuers times, yet was content to stay the time of composition; which now being clearly expired, it must needs bee hers, and cannot iustly be denied.

(50) Why (said the Queene) all this while you haue said nothing against the King my sonne, why he should forsake it; hee hath done nothing: and is the bearing of your Armes so great a matter with you? you beare the Arms and stile of ours, so do demany, beare others Armes also. No Madame said Sir Thomas Smith, the bearing of the Armes is not so great a matter, but that with other things doe declare the intent, and the attempt maketh the right forfeited by the treaty. And though the King your sonne did not forfeit it, yet the right being once lost from France, and accrewed to the Queene of England, how should it goe from her again? All this while (said the Queene Mother) you speake but of the King of Scotland, who did it in his wifes right, and there you must aske your amends, and not here, you beare what my sonne saith, and euery man seeth the right is his, your Queene hath forfeited it, and therefore I maruell my good sister will stand in it, or send to demand it. This is the answer said Sir Thomas which I shal carry to the Queene my Soueraigne. That Nay, said the King, I will take with my Council, and then shall you haue a resolute answer. Then were the English Ambassadors desired to absent themselves a while, and within an howre after were sent for againe.

The French charged with hard dealings.

Callis forfeited by Couenant.

Monsieur de Valence.

The Scottish Lords too wily to be led by the French.

The Roman religion a chiefe cause of thicke billes.

The French refused to come to the peace.

Sir Thomas Smith.

Queene-mother.

Sir Thomas Smith.

The Scottish Lords scandalized.

Queene-mother.

Sir Thomas. King Charles.

(51) The

The cause for Callis debated before the French King and his Council.

(51) The King set in Council with the Queene Mother, the Dukes of Anjou, Alençon, Montpencier, Amale, and Neuers, the Cardinals of Bourbon and Chastillon, the Bishops of Orkane and Lymoges, Monsieur de Valence and others, the Ambassadors of England were placed in the middle: vnto whom the Queene spake and said, Monsieur L' Ambassadeur I pray you say your minde before the King and his Council here assembled: which Sir Thomas Smith presently did in the same forme as hee had done before, adding with all, that this demand was grounded vpon the lapse of the time, by which without all controuersie after eight yeeres Callis was due to the Queene of England, and that by right, both the propriety, and the possession thereof was inuested vnto her long ago, by the forfeiture made by the attempt in Scotland, by the commandement and consent of Francis the second to invade England, seeing the King did not ratifie the treatie made at Edenborough.

(52) Monsieur de Valence said the Queene Mother, I pray you answer that, whereupon he standing vp saide, my selfe was sent to that treaty of peace, and am glad to heare Monsieur L' Ambassadeur confesse that the bearing of the English Armoies was but a small matter, & yet was that the chiefe thing imputed by their side, as for the men of warre, they were not above five thousand at the most, sent indeed because of a rebellion (for so must I learne it in plaine termes) then risen there. But the English men were about fifteen thousand that came against them at Petty-Lith. There was sent thither also the Bisshope of Amiens with the Popes Bulles, to reduce them againe to the Religion Romaine. And as touching these matters I spake with your Queene as I came through England, and offered her as much at the first as was done in that Treaty, if shee would breake the League betwixt her and the Scottish Lords, which were Rebels. But shee said shee could not. Now for the ratification and confirmation of that Treaty which was signed with my hand and others: there should haue come into France certain Scottish Lords to haue agreede and sworn to certain Articles, which did deferre to come till the King was sore sick, and could not attend them, who shortly after died, and so the Treaty was not ratified. And he being dead the King that now is, had nothing to doe to ratifie it: for the matters therein touched Scotland, and their Queenes doings and titles, which appertained nothing at all vnto him.

(53) To whom Sir Thomas replied and said, I am not ignorant that the Article saith, Armis innouare, attentare aut moliri, and doe not take Armis to signifie Armoies. But the Armes that I meant to weigh the most, and the attempt with them done was the Armed men, and the good Captaines whom I named D'Oisell, Brosse, Martignes, and others, their Ensignes and Companies, marry the Armoies and Titles did disclofe the intent and meaning. And if there had bene none other but them which the Bishop brought, and none other munition but the Popes Bulles, Queene Elizabeth should not haue needed to haue armed so many shippes, nor sent so many Souldiers to haue let their enterprise, nor would cuer haue complained of it: but it was farre otherwise as I haue declared. As for the league you speake of with the Rebels of Scotland, I thinke there was none, and the cunct did shew what Rebels they were. But this I thinke they were weary to haue so many of youthere, as wee were weary to haue you so neere vs. And therein I thinke the Queenes Maiesty and they did agree. And to excuse the refuse of the ratification, by the not comming in of the Scottish Lords, hath small reason to beare it: for the Treaty made betwixt the French King then, and the Queene of England might haue been ratified notwithstanding, whatsoeuer was betwixt him and the Scottish Lords his Subjects: for our fact and peace did not stand vpon their doings; which Treaty because it was not ratified, I say, the Queene my Soueraignes title to the possession of Callis, by reason of that attempt standeth whole and entire vnto her.

But sir said he (speaking to the King) to say the truth I haue no commission, nor any commandement or authority to dispute or answer in these matters, but onely to demand Callis and the other fortresses, and places according to the Treaty, which is so plain; that to mine opinion there neede bee no controuersie. And if there bee any doubt, now the time expired doth put it out of all doubt. But because you and the Queene haue charged mee that I know so much of the matter, as I cannot deny somewhat I doe, as hauing bene at the doing of a great deale & the dispute: Somewhat I must, and may say for my selfe, lest it should bee thought that there were nothing to be said. Marry as I said, as Commissioner from the Queene my Soueraigne, I haue nothing to say, but the demands onely, the matter being plain and in right iudgement, without controuersie, and also that I see no person here but such as be parties, and no competent person to bee iudge of the controuersie. Whereunto the Constable replied and saide, Who should bee iudge of that which is the Kings but himselfe? it is his, and none could take or giue it to any other but himselfe: with that the Queene mother asked Monsieur Chancelier, why hee did not speake.

(54) Who after some pause became a long and well composed oration, the sum whereof was this; That the present Kings right to Callis was long before any claime could be made thereunto by the English, which was not much about two hundred yeeres, and then was it got by the fortune of warre; but more anciently, that it had bene the inheritance of France none can deny, as being vpon the Continent thereof, and not vpon any English ground. King Edward (quoth he) wee grant want, and your father noble King reuante it to his Crown. But the English will say they haue possessed and enioyed it many yeeres: Why so they did Aquitaine, Gascoigne, and Guyen, and other dominions besides, which they claimed by our Elionor, the repudiate of the King of France, who was inheritrix vnto it: indeed some titles they had, yet so as they held them of the Crowne of France: for the whole which is Gallia appertained to you for our King: and so doth Callis which is of no great antiquity that I careuod of: for Countie Boloigne was the first that did inclose it, being afore but a Burgard, as the most part of the Townes of France then were. At the battell of Cressy, dolorous to vs, King Edward of England after nine monethes siege by composition had it surrendered, the poor inhabitants pardoned of life at the great suit of his good Queene, else had they died euery mothers sonne, and so with white wounds in their hands were expelled the towne: To whom the King of France was so merciful, that hee commanded of euery thing waicant, they should bee the first provided for. And I thinke when your Father King Henry tooke it, the English were likewise so serued. These claime two hundred yeeres possession, the others before them, about five hundred yeeres: thus God doth to punish, or to essay his seruants. And although the English claimed Gascoigne, and Guyen, by succession of Elionor, although Normandy by one William, and P'outieure by a Dowry of their mother, daughter of Philip de Bel. Yet to Callis they had no right, but onely by Armes, and by Armes your Father againe recovered it. But some will say, by the peace at Breigny, they haue right; I say no, for euery man knowes what exceptions were taken at that peace: and some, that so long a possession makes a prescription, I say no, for prescription is among priuate men, but among Princes prescription cannot stand, and yet theirs was not much about two hundred, ours about eight hundred yeeres. But to you Monsieur L' Ambassadeur, I will say, that at the peace of Troyes in Champaign, were your selfe and Monsieur Throgmorton, both of you most able in such affairs, and nothing therein done I doubt not without the Queen and Counsels consent: no one word was spoken of Callis, which chiefly was the cause of the warres, so that all standeth clear for at which was then talked vpon, and is a plain confession, that they did acquit their right thereunto. This Article I say is translatiue in the peace of Casseau in Cambresis, and is no more but such as forgeselfe, or

K k k k k k because

No Controuersie to argue the title but so demand Callis.

The Constable.

Queen Mother.

Monsieur Chancelier.

K. Ed. 3. the first that won Callis.

What Callis had been.

The French Kings composition vpon the expelled of Callis.

Among Princes Prescription as usualle not.

A pretty drift to deoe right.

because all small things cannot be mentioned in conference. But Callis was the chiefe point, which being omitted, I say by meaning it was acquited. But now to your reasons Monsieur L' Ambassadeur, the Article for the losse of Callis at that treaty was forced in by you the English, who of all nations bee the most wary and circumspect in making their peaces. Whereupon the Queene of England layeth to us a supposition, a zealousie, a conjecture, a gesse, that a King of France would have invaded England. But every supposition must not make a breake: for so whensoever any Prince should arme his men upon such occasion, his neighbours might say it was against him: And so doe you English lay gesses against the late King Francis the second. But the Queene of England with open face invaded the Kings Realme, with a goodly pretence to keepe the townes to the Kings use, yet when alwas reduced into their due obedience, she would keep the town of Newhaven as a pledge for Callis, by which deed she hath lost all her right in Callis, God indeed hath made a naturall separation betwixt you and us, a sure wall of defence, Et penitus toto divisijs orbis Britannos. So that naturally you ought to have nothing but peace and amity with ours. But doe not thinke Monsieur L' Ambassadeur that I say this as fearing what you can doe: for there was never any King of France since Charlemain so great as the King is now, had so many men of warre, so ready, and so good Soldiers: and yet his Highnesse doth desire the amity of the Queene of England, and the love of that nation: of which there is the more hope, if all the pretences and demands were cancelled, and Callis forgotten, which hath bene the continuall picket-quarrell betwixt these two Realmes. You never read Monsieur Smith, that the French ever invaded England, I speake it not to your dispraise which are English, but to your praise; yet this I thinke, had there not bene so easie a descent, so convenient a place, and so ready, for you to make warre here, yee would not (as I suppose) have come hither so often, and troubled our Country, nor the amity betwixt you and us: I dare boldly affirm and gage any thing, that the Queene of England shall gaine more by continuall peace with us, then shee shall doe by Callis, & therefore your Queene must leave off these demands and quarrels, and come to a perfect peace with us, which shall be more profitable for both the Realmes, and this I dare assure you, here is no Counsellor among us, that dare once open his mouth to render you Callis for my part I will not be one to moue or assent therunto. Nor I said the Constable, and so all the rest.

The French had rather make faults: then see faults.

A faire shew to shew the English.

Callis a continuall picket-quarrell.

The Constable.

Sir Tho. Smith.

The French ball for themselves, whatsoever they said.

Philip Comins.

Antistrophe, and turneth a great deale better vpon you. For if because our talke was of our right to Callis, by reason of the attempt in Scotland, you of the forfeiture of it by reason of the descent to Newhaven, neither condiscending to other, and not concluding thereupon, wee did agree vpon that Peace. And if that Peace doth make nonationem, then the forfeiture of our right by keeping Newhaven, which you impute to vs is wiped away, nouated and cled by this Peace, and our right which was not yet in esse, & cuius dies nondum venit, remaineth still. So as it toucheth you rather then vs, and by this means haue you nothing to say against vs, but wee still our right against you. But the truth is, as Monsieur Le Connestable here can tell, who was part the occasion that wee came to it, for when this was contended, that Callis was already due vnto vs, you, that wee had forfeited it, so that wee could enter into no other Article of peace, why said you, haue not wee the wit to make a peace, and make no mention of Callis? neither to speake of it one way, nor other: your time is not yet come to ask it, let vs liue in peace in the meane while, and let each Prince haue right such as it is, referred; whereupon you Monsieur L' Ambassadeur were one of the first that came with vs, and you know what passed.

The French the cause that Callis was not mentioned in the peace

(56) Tea (saith he) but wee would neuer grant that it should be put in, that you should haue Callis: you say true (saith Sir Thomas) nor wee that the Queene Maestie should acquit it, nor the hostages neither. But in the end when it came to the Conclusion, as the Bishoppe of Orleans, and Monsieur Bourdin can tell, it was agreed that expressly the right bee referred, aswell to that, as to any other thing, not expresse there mentioned. omnes alie petitiones & demandes & similitur exceptiones & defensiones as apperech by the Treaty. And as touching Newhaven, Monsieur Chancellor, note in it two things. The one, the first entrie, the other, the keeping after the peace agreed vpon amongst your felices. As for the first entrie, I deny that our men of warre made any inuasion or came by force. But being requested and desired aide of a great number of Noblemen, and other who were in perill and danger. And whether did they like inuaders (I aske for all the time that they were not assailed) spoile any, or robbe any? no, they tooke not an henne or an egge, but they paid for it: I, if any complain I offer to pay it: This is no inuasion, nor no hostility: but the act of a friend, and at their requests and pursuits: whose doings sir, aswell for matter of Armes, as for other things done in that tumult, you haue declared by Edict to haue bene done a bon finet pour vostre service, which may truly bee said, for by their means and defence a great number of your good Subjects, aswell men as women, aswell Capitaines as Soldiers, of whom Monsieur le Chancelier did now boast, as of other not Soldiers, are saved now to doe you service: which else should haue bene a prey and spoile to them which sought but the ruine of halfe or third part at the least of your Realme. For the conservation of whom, yee in part may thank the Queen my Mistresse. And this for the first dicent of our men. Now where Monsieur Chancelier saith that the Queene my Mistresse changed her pretence, I still doe say shee kept her first protestation. That she would appropriate no Land, Towne, nor Fortresse of the Kings to her, nor shee did neuer claime Newhaven as hers, but comming peaceably into it, hauing bene at great charge and cost, it was both wilddome and reason all other being satisfied and content, shee should at the least haue some reason offered her in her right to Callis. And otherwise shee did not hold Newhaven, which thing was manifestly declared at Gallion, where Articles were drawn not vnreasonable, and the matter so farre forward that they were signed with my hand, and tarried but for power and Commission to affirme them. But the mortality and pestilence growing so great in Newhaven,

The conditions referred.

No hostile attempt in entering Newhaven.

The benefite accruing vnto the French by the aide of the English.

Newhaven, gaue too much aduantage, which was taken; and the reasonable dealings in this matter broke off, other meaning her Maestie had none.

(57) No said the Constable, what means such preparation, and provision? I cannot skill of things, but in that arie wherein I haue bene brought up and exercised all my life, I can skill a little. There was such a number of Horse barreasse for the carie: such a number of Artillery, such provisions of Gamons of Bacon, Cheefe and other things, and about five thousand men, that am I sure went out of it, besides all those that were dead: can you make me beleue that all this was for Newhaven alone? No Monsieur (saith he) I know what belongeth to a Towne of Warre. Tea, said another, and the Ships also that came: Nay said the Constable they came too late. Why, said the Queene-mother smiling, will you make us beleue that all that preparation was for Newhaven alone?

(58) Wilddome would, Madam, quoth Sir Thomas Smith, because the sea and winde doe not serue at all times, that there should be good store of all manner of provision. No, no (saith shee) there was a further meaning, but as you haue quitted Newhaven, so must you quit Callis, and let vs be friends; neuer talke more of these demands, nor of the sums of money for which yee had hostages. All is gone from you quite. Your Queene in comming to Newhaven hath quitted all. Shee must forget that matter cleane, and let vs be friends still. The King my sonne doth offer as much friendship as need to bee, but as for Callis yee must neuer speake of it. It is hard, Madame, said Sir Thomas Smith, for a man to forget his right, or not to remember a wrong offered. Nays no wrong, said shee, you haue heard what Monsieur Le Chancelier hath said, and what all these of my Iohnes Counsell doe say. Madame, (quoth he) it is for the most part scene that men be partiall in their owne causes, I doe assure you, that the Queene my Soueraigne doth thinke that shee hath as good right to Callis as to any Towne in England: and so doe all her Counsell: and whatsoeuer yee haue heard, I am able to say for her right euen out of hand, but they a great deale more. But Sir, quoth Sir Thomas, is this the finall answer I shall haue? Tea, said the King. That yee will not render Callis vnto her Maestie, according to the Treaty, nor pay the five hundred thousand Crowns which is for the peine.

(59) No said the King, I will keepe them both according to the Treaty: well then said Sir Thomas I haue no more to say, but to bring this report to her Maestie, which I shall be forrie to doe: and thereupon himselfe, and Sir Henrie Norris, rose vp to depart, doing their obeisance. But you take not your leave, Monsieur L' Ambassadeur for altogether said the Queene. Yes forth said Sir Thomas. Doe you intend to come no more at Court? No Madame, except the Kings Maestie doe command me. But I am sorry to carry this answer so precise, and that there is so little regard of the Queene my Soueraignes right. No right, said the Queen, for if there were any, the King my sonne, would be loth to offer her any wrong: yee haue heard all the reasons, I maruell that you will take vpon you, you that are learned, to defend so vnjust a cause. Ah Madame (saith he) I see well, it is true on your part, that men bee blinde in their owne causes and aduantages. Surely (quoth she) the Queene (my good sister) shall haue more aduantage thus as it is, then to demand Callis. And I pray you persuade her. I Madame, against her right? You must not say so, I pray you commend me hartly to the Queene, my good sister, and desire her to keepe the amity and love which is betwixt her and my sonne, and I shall bee ready to doe her what service or pleasure I can quoth the Queen and so said the King. Thus this conference ended, and Callis kept still by the French.

(60) Now as these distaures fell betwixt England and France, and these broken Coucnants ministred occasions to set each against others: So at the same time, the affaires of Scotland was carried with so violent a motion as set the Lords at dissensions, and the land in ciuill fedition; so as not onely outrages were committed vpon the best Subjects, but euen

vpon the vertuous King and Queene themselves, him they shamefully murdered in a most barbarous manner, and her they tooke prisoner, forced her to resigne gouernment, and lastly to flye into forraigne parts for succour. But knowing that this Subiect is to be writ with a faire more noble pen, and our extant relations from vnertaine and suspected reports; we will forseeke to intermeddle in the particulars of that Queenes affaires, excepting onely in such intercourses of State, as are wouen in ours, and cannot otherwise be auoided without maine of History; this onely in generall.

(61) Mary Queene of Scotland hauing imbarcked her selfe for France, where shee well hoped to finde many friends; by contrary winde (accompanied with sixeteene persons) landed at Warkinton in Cumberland, and from thence was conuied to Carlisle, to Bolton Castle, and lastly to the custody of the Earle of Shrewsburie. Whose troubles and misfortune, Elizabeth both pittied and sought to redresse; writing in her behalf vnto the Regent of Scotland, and blaming the Lords of the many wrongs done to their Queen, which indeede were intolerable to roiall authoritie, and such, as other Princes could not but seeke to redresse, and reuenge; notwithstanding such was the distaure of those distempered Lords, or the frownes of those fatall times, that in England the remained euer after during her life.

(62) As the ielousies grew great betwixt these two great Queenes, Elizabeth and Mary, by the working instruments of the Pope, and forraigne Princes; by the like means, were the like discontents bred and nourished in some of the greatest English Peeres, towards their Soueraigne, whose Peace, vnder pretext of Religion, they irreligiously disturbed. Among these, the first in ranke, time and disoliation, were the two Earles of Northumberland and Westmorland, who with Leonard Dacres, Neill, Norton, Tempeste, Danby, and others, purposed on the sudden to haue surprized the Earle of Suffex, the Queens Lieutenant of the North, in his house at Camood; but therein preuented, they were enforced to keepe secret their intents, till some fit occasion should chance to be ministred. They had in readinesse against their rising, certaine English Priests, Morton, and others, with Bulles and instruments of absolution, reconciliation, and taking of Oathes to the Pope and his doctrine, which was not so secretly done, but that Queene Elizabeths vigilant Counsellors had an inkling thereof.

(63) Thomas Percie, (to was Northumberlands Earle named) lying at his Castle of Topleffe in Yorkshire, had gone so farre in his intended purposes, as he could not returne; who being sent for vnto the Court, strooke a great amazement and sudden feare into the other conspirators hearts: and his own guilty minde was much more distracted, vpon notice that some forces were approaching for his apprehension; whereupon all affrighted, he rose from his bed, and caused the Bels to be rung in a most confused manner, so that the Townesmen raised, all sought to defend and follow him their chiefe Lord.

(64) The next thus broken before the birds could well flye, he departed to Branpeth, where hee met with Charles Newill Earle of Westmorland, and his following consorts; who ioining in Counsell, made no conscience to vndoe many true subiects, and innocent men: For abusing the Queenes name in their Proclamations and Commissions, they commanded the Countrey to follow them in Armes; sometimes pretending the safety of her Maesties person, in danger (they said) by Treasons in working; and sometimes in case of Conscience for restoring their former Religion, which if themselves should neglect, other forraigne Princes (said they) would doe, to the no little perill of the Realme.

(65) In this zeale they hasted to Durham, with as forward an intent as Ierobam did to Bethel, to set vp

The King of Scots barbarously murdered. The Queene of Scotland oppressed by her owne Subjects.

Queene Mary of Scotland arrived in England.

Queene Elizabeth followeth the Scots in her behalfe. Anna, lib. 19.

The Pope's instruments nourished discontents in the English towards their Soueraigne. The Earles of Northumberland and Westmorland in Rebellion.

Morton a Popish Priest aduanceth the Rebellion with Papall Bulles.

An. D. 1569 The Earle of Northumberland sent for to the Court, strengthned himselfe. Nouem. 14.

The pretences of the Rebels.

K. King. 12. 33.

The outrages of the rebels, &c.

The strength of the Popish Rebels.

The Rebels fauouring their Soueraigne, M.S. of Parliament, * The Dutcheffe of Ferrara, &c.

The Earle of Suffex leads against the Rebels.

His Holinesse promoueth treaue to the rebellion.

The Rebels desperate estate.

The chief Rebels flye into Scotland.

The remaining ring-leaders executed.

Leonard Dacres renoueth the Rebellion.

An.D. 1570 Februar. 22. The Rebels embattel themselves.

vp his golden Calues, where they rent and tare the Bible, in as great a contempt, as *Ioachim* did the rowle that *Ieremy* wrote: at *Darlington* they besprinkled their Host with holy water, for feare of spirits, and at *Rippon* heard Masse, to forward their Treason, with the assistance of that Propitiatory Sacrifice. Whence, with Banners displayed, they entered *Borowbridge*, old *Norton* being their *Ancient*, whose Ensigne was the Crosse, and five wounds of our Lord.

(66) From thence they went to *Tadcaster*, *Wetherby*, and *Bramham Moore*, where they mustered sixteene hundred Horsemen, and foure thousand footmen, intending therewith to march vnto *York*. But their mindes altering, they fell vpon *Barnard's Castle*, which after cleuen daies resistance, was yeelded vnto them: which fortunate entrance did soaninate their rebellious conceits, as that in their letters sent to their fauourers, they daigned their Soueraigne no better stile, then *Elizabeth the late Queene*, pretended *Queene*, and no *Queene* indeede: as likewise did the Countesse of *Northumberland* in her Letter sent vnto *Stuckley*, and * others of the faction, in far worse termes.

(67) These things diuulged, and their rebellious still going on, *Proclamations* came forth denouncing them *Traitors* to their *Queene* and *Country*; and the Lord *Seroupe* Warden of the *West-Marches*, with the assistance of the Earle of *Cumberland*, and other Gentlemen of the Country, kept the Castle of *Carlisle*, while Sir *John Foster* warden of the *Middle-Marches*, accompanied with Sir *Henry Percy*, exercised their manlie resistance against these proud Rebels.

(68) To withstand their still-growing outrage, *Thomas Earle of Suffex* (her Maiesties Lieutenant General of the North) gathered some forces; whose Lieutenant for the footmen was *Edward Earle of Rutland*, and for the Horsemen, was *Henry Lord Hunston*, Lord Warden of the *East-Marches*, *William Lord Eure* leading the reeward. These followed the enemy to *North-Allerton*, *Crosbybridge*, *Akle*, *Durham*, *Newcastle* and *Hexam*, euen close at their heeles; whose power was so weak, and purle so empty, (being defrauded of an hundred thousand Crowns, promised them by the Pope, to maintain the Rebellion) as that those Rebellious heads entered conference with *Edward Dacres* at *Naworth*, of their desperate estate, being both monileffe and powerless to withstand the puiffance of the Lord General, now on their backs, as also the Earles of *Warwicke*, and *Lincolne*, the Lords *Ferrers*, *Willowbie*, and *Howard*, approaching very neere them, euen at *Borow-bridges*. No other succour their consultations could pitch on, then by flight into *Scotland*, vnto those Lords that there stood out for the Romish.

(69) So the Night following they put it in practise, not bidding their intrapped traine once farewell, which as Sheepe without a Shepherd, stood gazing at their owne destructions, whilest *Suffex* surprized them without any resistance. Vpon whose ring-leaders, Iustice so seized, that at *Durham* died, by *Marshall Law*, an *Alderman*, a *Priest*, and sixtie fixe *Constables*; and in the Country for a great Circuit, a great number of such as were forward in the Action.

(70) Not warned by these successes (which vsually proue vnhappy, in such disloyall attempts) *Leonard Dacres* of *Harley* began to gather head againe; whose aduers were the more resolute, in reuenge of their friends executed; and women also became stout souldiers in quarrell of their husbands, all forward enough, and too forward to mischief. These vpon a More neere vnto *Naworth*, to impeach the Lord *Hunston* that made hitherward, had set downe their battell in a triangle forme, where they continued a long and most desperate conflict, but in the end were forced to giue backe, and *Dacres* to flee from his flaine, wounded, and scattered people, towards

Scotland, the then-Refuge of Traiterous transgressors.

(71) *Scotland* thus harbouring those disloyall English, and their owne Lords diuided into seuerall factions, some of them sought to concale, and some to apprehend these guiley Earles; so that *Westmorland*, was shifted away into *Flaunders*, but *Northumberland*, taken by the *Kent*, and committed to *Custody*, was afterwards sent into *England*, where having bene attained by Parliament, vpon the twentie two of *August* was beheaded at *Poynt*: vsing liberty of speeches, in auowing the *Pope* Supremacy, denying subiection vnto his Soueraigne *Queene*, affirming the Realme to be in a *Schisme*, and her obedient Subjects no better then *Hereticks*. *Charles Westmorland* his consort, a person vterly wasted by loofenesse of life, euen by Gods iust iudgement, in the time of his Rebellion, was beheaded of children, and afterwards wandering in forraigne parts, had his body eaten with vlcers of lewde causes, as is most constantly reported. But from these temporal proceedings (being the Domesticke effects of a forraign cause) let vs a while behold the spirituall flourish of the *Popes* leaden Sword, vntheated at *Rome*, to enspirite and enflame such traitorous dispositions against *England's Queene*.

(72) *Nicholas Maureton* an Englishman, made Bishop by *Pius Quintus*, that Pontificall and furle Pope of *Rome*, who now hauing turned the key of his Consistorie, and set wide open the doores vnto the complaints of his Clergy, against those Christian Princes, that vrge subiection to their positue Lawes (a Note indeed ill founding in the eares of his sonnes) among others, this puppet Bishop, commenced a feined suite and plea against *Queene Elizabeth*, whom thereupon *Pius* (like a transcendent Iudge) deputed from all Princely authoritie, as one vncapable either of Crown, or Government, and with the curle of his impious mouth, sent forth his Bull to goate her *Maiestie* like to those of *Nathan*, that encompassed *David*; the tenour whereof (if the words corrupt not the aire, and the inke the eies of the beholders) shal stand for euer as a *Pillar of Salt*, and Monument of shame to that *Man of Sinne*; the transcript whereof, taken from the original it selfe, is as followeth.

Pij Papa 5. Pontificis Maximi Sententia declaratoria contra Elizabetham, pratenfam Anglie Regnam, & ei adhaerentes H. ueticos. Quia etiam declaratur absoluti omnes subditi a iuramento fidelitatis, & quocunque alio debito, & deinceps obediens Anathemate ilaqueantur.

Herein was Saint Peter picture out with a key in his right hand, with his left hand he pointeth to a City, and hath a long garment, & is bare footed.

Herein the Pope is picture out, with a key in his right hand, & a Canopy set vpon a throne, & is bare footed.

Herein is Saint Peter picture out, with his right hand two swords, in his left a Booke, with a long garment, and a bare footed, & a pillar set before him, &c.

Pius Episcopus seruus seruorum Dei, ad futuram rei memoriam.

(73) *Regnans in Excelis, cui data est omnis in celo & in terra potestas, vnam sanctam Catholicam & Apostolicam Ecclesiam, extra quam nulla est salus, vni soli in terris, videlicet, Apostolorum Principi Petro, Petri, successori Romano Pontifici, in potestate plenitudine tradidit gubernandam. Hunc unum super omnes gentes & omnia regna principem constituit, qui euellat, destruat, dissipet, disperdat, plantet, & adificet, ut fidelem populum mutua charitatis nexu confectum, in unitate spiritus contineat, (alumnus, & incoleum suu exhibeat Saluatori. Quo quidem in munere obundo, nos ad predictam Ecclesiam gubernacula Dei benignitate vocati, nullum laborem intermittimus*

Northumberland sent into England, & beheaded, 22. of August.

A.D. 1570.

Execution of Justice, &c.

The Popes in Attendants & co-deputes to his name, Queene Elizabeth.

Maureton, commencing suite against Queene Elizabeth before Pope in Pius Quintus.

P. folm. 22. 11.

The Bull of Pius Quintus to de-throne Queene Elizabeth.

termittimus, omni opera contententes, ut ipsa unitas & Catholica Religio (quam illius Author, ad probandam suorum fidem & correctionem nostram, tantis preclis confectis permixtis) integra conseruetur. Sed impiorum numerus tantum potentia inualuit, ut nullus iam in orbe locus sit relictuus, quem illi pessima doctrina corrumpere non tentari, aduente inter ceteros flagitiorum Seruati Elizabetha, pretenso Anglie Regina, ad quam veluti ad Asylum omnium infestissimi profugium inueniunt. Hae eadem, Regno occupato, Supremi Ecclesiae capitis locum in omni Anglia, eiusque principum auctoritatem atque iurisdictionem monstruose sibi usurpans, Regni ipsius, iam tunc ad fidem Catholicam & bonam frugem redactum, rursus in miserum exitium reuocant. Vsu namque vera Religio, quam ab illius deservore Henrico octavo olim cursum, clara memoria Maria Regina legitima huius sedis praedio reparauerat, potent manu inhibita, fecitque & amplexis haereticorum erroribus, Regium Consilium ex Antiqua Nobilitate confectum diruere, illudque obsequis hominibus haereticis compleuit, Catholicae fidei cultores oppressit, improbos concionatores atque impietatum administratores repositit. Missetque, sacrificium, preces, ieiunia, ciborum delectum, calitatem, rursusque Catholicos aboleuit. Libros manifestam haereticis continentes toto Regno praeposita impia misteria & instituta ad Caluini praescriptum a se suscepta & obseruata, etiam ad subditi seruari mandauit. Episcopos Ecclesiarum, Rectores, & alios Sacerdotes Catholicos, suis Ecclesiis & Beneficiis eiecit, ac de illis & alijs rursus Ecclesiasticis, in haereticos homines dispoit, deus Ecclesia causis decernere ausa, Praelatis, Clero & Populo, ne Romanam Ecclesiam agnoscerent, neque eius preceptis sancti iuris, canonibus obtemperarent, interdixit; persequi in nefarias suas leges venire, & Romani Pontificis auctoritatem atque obediens abinurare, seque solum in temporalibus & spiritualibus Dominum agnosceri iure iurando coegit; penas & supplicia in eos qui dicto non essent audientes imposuit, easdem ab ipsis quini unitate fidei & praedicta obedientia perferuamur, exigit; Catholicos Antipostis & Ecclesiarum Rectores in vincula coniecit, ubi multi diuturno languore & tristitia confecti, extremum vite diem misere finiunt. Quae omnia cum apud omnes nationes perflus & notoria sint, & grauissimo quod plurimum testimonio ita comprobata, ut nullus omnino locus excusationis, defensionis, aut tergiversationis relinquatur; Nos, multiplicibus alijs atque alijs super alias impietatis & facinoribus, & praeterea fidelium persecutione, Religionisque afflictione, impulsu & opera dicta Elizabetha quotidie magis ingrauescente, quoniam illius animus ita obfirmatus atque induratus intelligimus, ut non modo pias Catholicorum Principum de sanitate & conseruatione preces, monitionesque contempserit, sed ne huius quidem sedis ad ipsam hac de causa nuncios, in Angliam traicere permiserit, ad arma iustitiae contra eam de necessitate conuersi, dolorem lenire non possumus, quod adducamur in unam animaduertere cuius maiores de Republica Christiana tantopere meruerunt. Illius itaque auctoritate suffulti, qui nos in hoc supremo iustitiae Throno, licet tanto oneri impares, voluit collocare, de Apostolica potestate plenitudine declaramus predictam Elizabetham haereticam, & haereticorum fauorem, eique adhaerentes in predictis, Anathemati sententiam incurrisse, esseque a Christi corporis unitate praefos. Quinetiam ipsam praetense Regni praedicti, nec non omni & quocunque Dominio, dignitate privilegioque priuam, & item Proceres, subditos & populos dicti regni, ac ceteros omnes, qui illi quomodocumque inuenerint, a iuramento huiusmodi, ac omni prorsus Dominij, fidelitatis & obsequij debito perpetuo absolutos, prout nos illos praesentis auctoritate absoluiimus, & priuamus eandem Elizabetham praetense iure Regni, alijsque omnibus supra dictis. Praecipimusque & interdicimus vniuersis & singulis proceribus, subditis, populis, & alijs praedictis, ne illi eiusque monitis, mandatis, & legibus audiant obedire. Qui secus egerint, eos simili anathematis sententia innodamus. Quia vero difficile nimis esset praesentes quocunque illis opus erit perferre, volumus ut eorum exempla, Notarij publici manu, & Praelatis Ecclesiasticis, eiusque Curiae sigillo obsignata, eandem illam praesentem fidem in iudicio, & ex tra illud, ubique gentium faciant,

quam ipsa praesentes facerent, si essent exhibitae vel ostensa. Datum Roma apud S. Petrum. Anno incarnationis Domini, 1569. Quinto Calend. Martij, Pontificatus nostri Anno quinto.

The same in English.

The declaratorie sentence of the Vniuersall Bishop, Pope Pius the fifth, against Elizabeth the pretended Queene of England, and against the Heretikes that take her part.

Wherein also all her subiects are declared to be absolved from the Oath of Allegiance and any other dutie whatsoever, and besides they that doe obey her are pronounced accursed.

Pius the seruant of the seruants of God for remembrance thereof in time to come.

(74) He that reigneth aboue, to whom is giuen all power in Heauen and Earth, hath committed in fullnesse of power to be gouerned, one holy Catholike and Apostolike Church (where-out is no falsation) to one onely in Earth, namely, *Peter* the Prince of the Apostles, and to the Romane Bishop the Successor of *Peter*. And him alone hath he made Chiefe ouer all Nations and Kingdomes, who may roote out, destroy, scatter, waste, plant and build: that the faithfull people knit together with the band of mutual Charity, might be kept in the vinity of the Spirit, and presented in health and safety vnto their Sauour. For the vndergoing of which office we being called by the goodnesse of God to the government of the said Church, doe refuse and omit no paines, labouring by all means that this vinity and Catholike Religion (which the Author thereof for the trial of the Faith of those that be his and for our correction and amendment, hath suffered to be tossed with so great afflictions) might be preferred whole and entire. But the number of the wicked hath so much increased in power, that now there is no place in the world left, which they haue not attempted to corrupt by most wicked doctrine among the rest, *Elizabeth* the seruant of sinfulness, the pretended and vnlawful Queene of England, with whom, as in a Sanctuary the most wicked persons of all doe finde a refuge. This Queene, ruling the Kingdom, and monstrously vsurping to her selfe the place of the Supreme Head of the Church throughout all England, and the chief authority & iurisdiction of the same, hath reuoked againe to miserable ruine this very Kingdom which was in a manner recovered againe to the Catholike faith and good deuotion. For the vse of the true Religion (which the most lawfull Queene, *Mary* of famous memory by the helpe of this Seate, had repaired, being before by the Apostata, *Henry* the eighth, ouerthrowne) now by strong hand restrained, and the errors of hereticks embraced and followed; shee hath removed the Councell of State that consisted of the English Nobility, and sild the same with obscure heretick fellows; shee hath oppressed the Professors of the Catholike faith, and hath set vp wicked Preachers and Ministers of impieties. Shee hath abolished the Sacrifice of the Masse, Prayers, Almes, difference of meate, single life, and Catholike rites. Shee hath commanded bookes to be set forth containing manifest Heresie, and her selfe vsing and obseruing wicked Rites and Institutions, according to *Caluins* prescription; hath also commanded them to be obeyed by her subiects. Shee hath presumed to cast our Bishops of Churches, Rectors, and other Catholike Priests, from their Churches and Benefices, and to dispose of them and other Ecclesiasticall liuings among Heretick men; presuming also to iudge of Church matters; shee hath forbidden the Prelates, the Church and people, that they should

K k k k k k 2 not

not acknowledge the Romane Church, nor that they obey his Precepts and Canonall Instructions, shee hath compelled many to yeeld to her wicked lawes, and to forswear and abiure the authority and obedience of the Romane Bishop, and to acknowledge her by their Oath the onely Governour in temporal and spirituall matters; shee hath imposed penalties and punishments vpon those which were not obedient to her command, and hath exacted the like vpon them which persecuted in the vinity of the Faith, and in the aforesaid obedience; shee hath cast into prison the Catholike Governours and Rectors of Churches, where many, laden with daily languishings and sorrow, haue wofully ended their liues. All which things forasmuch as they are notorious and manifest to all Nations, and so approved by the most graue testimonie of very many, that no way is left them, for excuse, defence, or euasion. We moued by the impieties and mischiefs that more and more multiply, besides the grieuances of the faithfull, the affliction of Religion which groweth daily more intolerable by the meanes and working of the said Elizabeth, whose minde is so hardened and indurate, that shee hath not onely contemned the godly praiers and admonitions of Catholike Princes for her health and conuersion, but also hath not suffered the messengers of this See to come into England to her about this business; We, I say, moued by these causes, haue of necessity beaken our selues to the weapons of Iustice against her, not being able to refrain from griefe and sorrow, that wee must needs punish such a one, whose Ancestors haue so well deured of the Common weale, and of all Christendome. Being therefore strengthened with his authority, who hath pleased to let vs in this supreme Throne of Iustice, though vnfit for so great a burthen, we by the fullnesse of our Apostolike power, doe declare the foresaid Elizabeth an Hereticke, and a maintainer of Heretikes, and those that take her part in the things aforesaid, to haue incurred the sentence of *Anathema*, and to be cut off from the vinity of Christs body. And moreover that shee is deprived of the pretended right of her said Kingdom, and also from all Rule, dignity, and preheminent whatsoeuer, and also her Nobility, Subjects and People of the said Realme, and all other which haue sworn vnto her, by any manner of meanes are absolved for euer from such Oath, and from all duty of Empire, fidelity and obedience, in such sort as we doe absolve them by the authority of these presents, and deprive the said Elizabeth of the pretended right of the Kingdom, and of all other things aforesaid. And we doe command and forbid all and singular of the Nobility, Subjects, People, and other aforesaid, that they presume not to obey her admonitions, commands, nor lawes. Whosoever shall doe otherwise, we doe enwrappe them in the like curse. And because it were too difficult a matter to beare these presents to euery place where there is need, we will that the Copies of them being signed with the hand of the publike Notary, and the Ecclesiasticall Prelate, or with the Scale of his Court, haue the same credit and authority in Court, and without it with all Nations euery where, that the presents themselves should haue if they were exhibited. Given at Rome at Saint Peters in the yeere of the Incarnation of our Lord 1569. the fifth of the Calends of March, and of our Papacie the fifth.

Isaiah 59. 5.

The fruits and effects of the Popes Bull.

my selfe, that many more attempts were plotted then euer were displayed. For the thunderbolt of curses throwne from that *Iupiter of Rome*, denouncing her Maiesty vn capable either of Crowne or Kingdome, rooke such rootes in the hearts of these Locusts, that they both armed themselves openly to battel, and secretly fought to imbrue their barbarous hands in their Princes blood.

(76) For this Brutish Bull, calued in the Popes Conclitoy (or rather Cow-house) and now able to trauell from Rome; in London, and at the West ende of Pauls, first put forth his hornes, being there hung vpon the Bishops Pallace gate, by a lewde person imploied as an Ieraulm from the Pope. Moreouer an old English fugitive (as hath bene said) had procured it: brazen faced *Sanders* in his writings maintaineth it; *Briflow* in his Motiues approued it, *Northumberland* and *Newill* had put it in practice, *John Felton* had diuulged it, the two *Nortons* supported it, and many after-followers assaid to execute it; all which, like Serpents bite the bosome, wherein themselves lay, but neuer could hurt her, the Lords beloved, and holy Anointed, who in peace & glory came to her graue, and in a full age, as a ricke of Corne into the Barne in due season.

(77) The Marshallists, besides them in the North, were *John Brockmorton*, *Thomas Brooke* and *George Redman* with others, who intended with found of Trumpet and Drumme, to proclaime their diuallish designe at *Harleston* Faire in the County of *Norfolke*; their shew being for the suppression of Strangers, but their maine end, to make a strange alteration in the State; whereby they hastened their owne ends, suffering a death due to Traitors.

(78) But more dangerous were those Conspirators, which secretly plotted to bring in *forraigne powers*, or publicly by their writings animated men thereunto, defaming the faire face of *Elizabeths* Government; in which kinde *Sanders* and *Briflow* two English fugitives, were the *Tamnes* and *Lambes* that withstood *Moses*; men of corrupt mindes, and enemies to the Faith & Traitors, heady and high minded, hauing a shew of godlinesse, but denying the power thereof; as the Apostle prophesied, that in the last daies such should arise: both of them approving *Pius Quintus* his proceeding about her Maiesties deprivation, and iustifying the wicked in their rebellions, contrarie to the doctrine of that Apostle, whose Chaire they pretend to vphold. From which sinke of iniquity, issued those corrupt streames, that became bitter as wormewood, the taste whereof brought many to their vintimely, but well-deserued, deatnes: among whom, first was *Felton*, the two *Nortons*, *Kenelm Barne*, and *Edmund Mather*; not long after whom, followed Doctor *Story*, who may not bee forgotten in our Story.

(79) This man by birth was English, though an Alien in heart, by profession a Ciuitian, and Doctor of the Canon Law, a persecutor of Gods Saints in the daies of the last Queene, and in this Queenes raigne, a turbulent inuigher against the Religion established in the English Church. For which being apprehended and committed to prison, he found means of escape, and in *Antwerpe* received Commission vnder Duke *D'Alua*, to search all Shippes comming thither, for English bookes; not forgetting his tyranny wherein he had bene trained, nor to further traitorously many and great attempts to bring in *forraigne powers*, for *Englands* ouerthrow. But the pit that he digged, he fell into himselfe, and the destruction prepared for others, light on his owne pate; for one *Parker*, an English Marchant, loially affected to his Prince, trading to *Antwerpe*, laid his snare faire to catch this foule birde; causing secret notice to be giuen vnto *Story*, that in his Ship were store of Hereticall bookes, with other intelligences, which might stand him in steede.

(80) The Canonist conceiuing that all was Cock-sure

Cock-sure, hasted to execute his Commission himselfe, where with lookees very bigge vpon the poore Mariners, each Cabbin, Chest and Corner, about borde were searched, & some things found to draw him further on; so that the hatches must bee opened, which seemed to bee vnwillingly done, and great signes of feare was shewed by their faces. This drew on the Doctor to defend into the hold; where now in the trap, the mouse might well gnawe, but could not get out; for the hatches went downe, and the sailes hoisted vp, which with a merrie gale were blowne into England, where ere long hee was arraigned and condemned of high Treason, and accordingly was executed at *Tiborne*, as he had well deserved.

(81) To the like end came *Sherwin*, *Campion*, *Kirby*, with others seditious trumpetters of this infamous Bull, and *Sanders* the Irish Legate, and greatest maintainer of his goring authority, though hee escaped the Barre of iustice, yet was found out by a rauiing *Phrensie*, as he wandred fuccourlesse in the waste mountaines of Ireland, wherein lastly he miserably died. But to leaue these poisonous tongue-men and libellous pen-men to register their owne shame, and feare their consciences with the brand of sinne; let vs discouer those other daring and swarding Monsters, who actually imploied themselves, to lay, either violent hands vpon her Maiesties person, or the Land open to *forraigne inuasions*.

(82) The first of them (or first manifested) was *John Sommersuile* of *Essex* in *Warwickshire*, a furious young man, who like a tempest that threatened destruction, came ragingly forward towards the Court, with intent to murder the Queene; the progresse of which attempt summarily was thus. Keeping his *Whitford* with *Arden* (his viues father) he was there so wrought by *Halla* Seminary Priest, as hee conceiued a desperate rage against her Maiesty, holding it a matter (seeing there was no hope of alteration during the life of the Queene) meritorious to make her away; to which bloody resolution, he was further intigated by his wicked wife. Whereupon returning home, hee grew much perplexed, hauing many feares and conflicts in himselfe, which caused his wife to write vnto *Hall*, to come and strengthen the man with firmer resolutions. But he, busied elsewhere with the like purposes, by letter excused his not comming, yet therein aduited him to goe forward, promising hee would assit him with his praiers to God for his good successe.

(83) This letter received, hee grew fully resolved to aqtuate the designe, and hasted his journey a-mayne towards London, who no sooner departed, but that his wife sent *Halls* letter vnto her mother, and shee presently made it knowne to *Arden* her husband, which letter hee caused to bee burnt as soone as himselfe was called in question. But *Sommersuile* discouraged by the way, was indited in *Warwick*, and those his Associates condemned of high Treason in London; *Sommersuile* confessing his intent said, that hee had bene moued thereunto by his wicked spirit, and by the inticements of certain seditious persons, his Kinsmen and Allies, together with the often reading of pernicious bookes, published against her Maiesty. This desperate Ruffian committed to *Newgate* after his condemnation, most desperately strangled himselfe to death, an example of Gods seuerity against such sonnes of diabolicalty.

(84) Of which litter in the daies of this blessed *Deborah*, not so few as one hundred and twenty of knowne *refuites* and *Seminaries* scrawled like frogs, through her faire soile, croaking, and spawning their doctrine to recall obedience to the Pope, and dissuading the Subjects from the allegiance vnto their Queene: Of this number fifty three with pardon of life were banished the land, and the rest as Traitors died for conspiracy against her person, and breach of the law in that case enacted for the

indemnity of the State. To shrowde themselves and their Disciples from that danger of law, at the suite of *Campion*, *Perjoss*, *Haywood*, and *Hart*, a dispensation was giuen to the *Catholikes*, from the rigor of the extent of the foresaid Bull: so that most of these *Seminaries* imploied for England, cast off their *Serpentine* skinner, and shewed themselves abroad in the attire of *Gallants*, the more safely to vent their enuemed drugges, and to keepe their Coules from preaching at the Gallows.

(85) To which end faculties were granted to *Robert Persons* and *Edmund Campion*, vntill they could make their party strong in England; which faculties were engrossed on this wise:

Petatur a Summo Domino nostro, explicatio &c.
Let there be defered of our most high Lord an explication or meaning of the Bull declaratory, made by *Pius the fifth* against *Elizabeth*, and such as do adhere or obey her: Which Bull the *Catholikes* desire to be under flood in this manner, that the same Bull shall alwayes bind her and the Heretikes, but the *Catholikes* it shall by no meanes bind, as matters doe now stand or be, till hereafter, when the publike execution of that Bull may bee had or made. And in the Conclusion thus, The highest Pontiffe granted these foresaid Graces to Father *Robert Persons*, and *Edmund Campion*, who are now to take their way into England the fourteenth day of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1580. being present, the Father *Oliuerius*, *Manrique* assistant. And though the one of these *Spiders* spinne his Webbe in corners, as hee could not be found, yet was the other swept downe by the hand of Iustice, and drew his last thread in the Triangle of *Tyborne*. After whom others, as some likewise before them, ploughing with the same Heifer, and sowing the furrowes with the same seed, reaped their harvest with no better increase then tares or darnell could yeeld, as was seene by their successe.

(86) Wherein *Cuthbert Mayne* in *Cornwall* had (before this time) borne a part, who armed with *Agnus Dei*, and an old Copie for a new Iubile, with some other *Writings*, maintaining the authority of Rome, dissuaded the naturall Subjects from their due obedience, deliuering diuers holy *Graines* (as hee termed them) by which, hee that had such should bee knowne to bee sure of that side, and thereby to bee defended in the bloody day, as by his inditement flatheth vpon Record, and confessed vnder his own hand.

(87) *Nelson*, *Hanse*, *Lacies*, *Briant*, *Cotam*, and a great number of others, were all of them imploied, to draw the hearts of the Subjects from their Soueraigne, and to prepare way to an intended inuasion. And left massing Priests should bee wanting to make easie the trues of their winding deulies, when their Cobwebs were wouen, *Thompson* brought *Holy Oyle* to besmeare their shaven Crowns; *Hemford* a dispensation of *Pius Quintus* his Bull, not to extend to the *Catholikes*, untill oportunitie serued; and *Haydocke* was doubly employed, both to prepare aides to assit the enterprise, and to note the fittest landing places, for forraigne forces, which himselfe first word to Doctor *Allen* hee had done.

(88) But *John Paine* a Priest stepped yet somewhat further, in practising the death of her Maiesty, who with fifty *Refuites*, furnished at the Popes charge, was appointed violently to assaile her, being slyly guarded as shee tooke her recreation abroad. These and such others are the men that are made *Martyrs* in the Popes Bead-rolle, as chosen vessels to suffer for the *Romish* cause, of which number *Sanders* was not worthy to be, as himselfe Doctor-like signified in his letter vnto *Allen*, which here I insert, according to the original, so shew what honest hearts he & his Mates did beare towards their Native Country.

To the Right Worshippfull M. Doctor Allen
Iesus, S. P. in Domino.

(89) Yours of the seuenth of Iune came to my handes

E. Reg. 27.

A dispensation obtained from the rigor of the Bull.

Faculties granted by the Pope to his adherents.

The Romanists suite to the Pope

The Popes grant to his Agents.

A.D. 1577.
Cuthbert Mayne, Treason.

The vertue of holy Graines.

Nelson and other instruments of Rebellion.

Thompson.
Hemford.

Haydocke.

Paine.

The Popes holy Martyrs.

A Letter of Sanders vnto M. Allen.

Secret Chara-
cters.A. Seemeth to
signify the Pope.Luke 6. 43.
Matth. 7. 16.The long consul-
tation about an
Inuasion draw-
eth towards an
issue.
Throgmorton's
Treasons.A.D. 1583.
See the Discov-
ery of Treasons.His designe and
prosecution of it.

Charles Paget.

Sir Fr. Englefield.

Arundell the har-
bour appointed
for landing.Bernardine Men-
doza.Throgmorton ap-
prehended.

to greater comfort, then the successe that followed could maintain. O pittifull change of things, the more need of peace within, to withstand such troublesome perfec-
tions as you there have suffered. I am not worthy to partake them: they are for more chosen vessels. God grant you all there to know your owne blessing, and to thank God of it. I had as much before my eyes long be-
fore, and still thinke that wee shall have no steady com-
fort but from God: a x. A. A. not o. x. Therefore I beseech you to take hold of the Pope, for the King of Spaine is as fearefull of warre, as a Child of fire: and all his endeavours is to avoid all such occasions. A will give two thousand when you there shall be content with them. If they do not serve to goe to England, at the least they will serve to goe into Ireland. I thank you hartly for the favour you have shewed to Gibbons brother, it seemeth to be a blessed boord for Gods sake continue your favour still this way, albeit I feare mee your Seminarie will againe fall to dispersion. I have none other thing in this world so at the heart as to be with you: nor can I get leave to depart hence. Therefore if it so fall that it be no hinderance for you to come hither, lose not the occasion. Vale in Christo Iesu vicerame, ego te tuar in Domino, qui te in eternum tuatur. From Madrid the 6. of November, 1577.

(90) By this wee see, what plottes were intended for the subversion of England, and what fruits those Italianate Fugitives brought forth; but as men cannot gather grapes from the Thorne, neither do finde the figges on the Thistle, so let these brambles bring forth their owne berries, and let their handes be prickt that seeke to plucke them; as indeed they did theirs, of whom wee are to write; whereof Francis Throgmorton a Gentleman well educated and of a good witte was one; who weary of longer delay, after for many yeeres plotting and consulting of an Inuasion, resolved to be the man himselfe, to bring the matter to an issue.

(91) This man solicited by Barnardine Mendoza, the Spanish Leager-Ambassador lying in London, undertooke a most dangerous designe against his dread Soueraigne, and native Country, which was to bring in a forraigne Army, and to alter Religion, with alienation of the Crowne and State. His imploiment was to sound the hauens for entrance, and to collect a Catalogue of the names of such great men in every County of England, as stood for the Papall cause, vnto whom Charles Paget (masked under the names of Mope and Spring) was ioyned for an assistant. Sir Francis Englefield in the Low-Countries, and others elsewhere had vehemently solicited the King of Spaine to attempt Englands Inuasion, and the Duke of Guise, undertooke to be the principall leader, conditionally that Rome and Spaine, would beare the charge of the warre.

(92) For compassing this ploit, Throgmorton (for his part) had plotted a chard of the hauens and harbours of England, and gathered his Catalogue of Catholike aiders, which hee presented vnto Mendoza. In this his Suruey no place was held fitter to land these forraigne powers, then was Arundell in Suffex, both for the neere cutte from those parts of France, where the Guise meant to muster his men, as also for the opportunity of assured persons, to giue them assistance, as they did presume. The want was onely Money; for which, messengers were employed vnto Rome and to Spaine, whose returne was daily expected with bagges and Bills of Exchange, as they wished and hoped, which confidently was assured by Barnardine Mendoza, promising that the King his Master would beare halfe the charge of the enterprize.

(93) The treason thus forwarded and ready for execution, the Watchman of Israel, who cuer waked for the defence of his Anointed, and walled her Vineyard with his owne protection, shooke out the fruit of this ill-conceiued seed from the huske, before it was ripe. For Throgmorton sodainly apprehended, and his study searched, the Catalogue of

Romanized Gentlemen of euery Shire, and the Hauens for landing of forraigne power, were therein found: with certaine Petigrees touching the title to the English Crowne, and some infamous libels published beyond seas against her Maiesties person. But a certaine Casket couered with greene veluet, was cunningly conuaued from vnder a bed, and carried to the Spanish Ambassador, wherein many things lay hid that neuer after came to light; as also a letter which himselfe was then writing in Ciphers, hee conuaued from the fight of the searchers: all which himselfe confessed, and with his owne penne wrote the whole Conspiracy, for which, after iudgement hee most worthily died.

(94) Not warned by these, William Parry (as he named himselfe) a man of a profuse wastfulness, riot, and prodigality, hauing consumed two widows wealthes, and wounded his Creditor, by committing Burglarie, was for the fact condemned to die, but fued and obtained his pardon of life by the compassionate mercy of Queen Elizabeth, which he, vngrateful man, sought to requite, by vowing her death, that faued him from his. For traueilling into forraigne parts, and there obtaining the title of a Ciuillian Doctor, he fell from his naturall allegiance (as riotous Malecontents usually doe) and reconciled himselfe vnto the See of Rome, then hauing frequent acquaintance and conference with certaine leuiticall Priests, was finally inspired with a hellish resolution to kill her who had giuen him life.

(95) Whereunto hee was further incited by Beneditto Palmio a father Iesuite, Christopher de Salazar, Secretary to the Catholike King, and Thomas Morgan an English Fugitiue, Anniball a Coadiutor his Confessor, approving the diuillish designe; and Ragazzoni the Popes Nunzio, promising that this Catholike seruice should be remembered at their Altar. Two things were yet wanting, to strike vp this Catastrophe, which were the Popes approbation, and his Absolution from all his sinnes: to procure which, Cardinal Como was employed, who for effectually followed the business, that both were shortly procured, and sent him into England with a warrant to proceed in his Holinesse name.

(96) Thus armed from Rome, his promises on earth, and his vows in heauen, the worke seemes meritorious, and the Queene must die: to effect which, no fitter way could be found, then to faine himselfe a false Traitor indeed. For hauing priuate access to her presence, was heard at large, that hee was the man who had undertaken her death, which to sound the deepe waters, and to beare faile with the fairest hee promised to doe, with no intent, as hee constantly affirmed, to act that imposed charge, but onely to discouer those who laid for her life. Her Highnesse (whose piercing vnderstanding was not easily blinded or beguiled with words) seemed to doubtfully to interpret his confessed fact (which yet hee kept secret from her nearest Counsellors) that he in great feare departed; as how can a confidence so clogged but feare? Whereupon his late letter from Como hee shewed; which seeming also to be little esteemed, and his suit to be M^r. of S^t. Katherine, vterly reiectet, confirmed more desperately his resolution to kill her and often hauing weapon, presence, place & opportunity, purposely thought to performe it, but cuer was daunted when he beheld the glory of her presence, and Maiefty in her face, wherein to his seeming the Image of God, in her his Vice-gerent, was portraied, commanding him obedience, and threatning destruction to those who intend violence against his holy anointed.

(97) This Sinners part thus sayling, he sought to vndermine the walles yet another way; his vows resting in heauen were holy motives (forsooth) to this hellish act, and Allens booke redoubling his former resolutions (wherein euery word was a warrant for his prepared minde, and euery line taught, that Kings might bee depriued, excommunicated, and violently

A.D. 1584.
Parrys Treason.M. Hugh Hale is
the Temple.Parry formerly
had his life by
the Queens
pardon.The instigators
of this diuillish
attempt.Cardinall Como
solicited the
Pope for the ex-
ploit.Parry treache-
rously countelli
himselfe a
Traitor.Parry shewed
the Queene Cat-
tinall Comos
Letter.
Parry incited
with deniall of
his suit for Saint
Katherine.The maine body
of Queene Eliza-
beths presence
often dashed
Parrys attempt.Parry animated
by Allens booke.Mendoza's
Nunzio.Parrys Treason
disclosed.Sir Francis Wal-
ingham the prin-
cipall Secretary
of that age
for Intelligence
of State.
Parrys Treasons
confessed vnder
his owne hand.Parrys letter to
the Lords of the
Council.

violently deposed, in case of the religion of Rome) vpon these spurrees hee posited to a worthy Gentleman, whom hee supposed as discontented as himselfe, opening his Treasons for the bringing in of forraigne inuaders soliciting his assistance, and threatening with dagge or dagger to kill the Queene.

(98) The Gentleman, loathing this horrible intent, revealed the Treason vnto two principall Priue Counsellors, and they vnto her Maiefty, who committed his examination vnto Sir Francis Walsingham her principall Secretary, a man of exquisite iudgement, integrity and industry in all state affaires and intelligences; the Treasons then found out, and confessed by himselfe, were diuulged by his voluntarie pen, and subscribed vnto, with his owne hand, with many other circumstances vnkowne before, and againe were seconded by another letter, written to the Lords of the Council, which heere out of the Originall, I haue inserted.

(99) My Lords, now that the conspiracy is discouered, the fault confessed, my conscience cleared, and minde prepared patiently to suffer paines due for so heinous a crime: I hope it shall not offend you, if crying, Miserere, with the poore Publicane, I leane to despair with cursed Caine. My case is rare, and strange, and for any thing I can remember singular: a naturall Subject solemnly to vowe the death of his naturall Queene, (so borne, so knowne, and so taken by all men) for the reliefe of the afflicted Catholike, and restitution of Religion. The matter first conceived in Venice, the seruice (in general word) presented to the Pope, continued and undertaken in Paris, and lastly, commended and warranted by his holinesse, digested and resolved in England, if it had not bene preuented by accusation, or by her Maiesties greater lenity and more grations vnto her Catholike Subjects. This is my first and last offence conceived against my Prince, or Country, and doth (I cannot deny) containe all other faults whatsoever. It is now to be punished by death, or most graciously (beyond all common expectation) to be pardoned. Death I doe confesse to haue deserued: life I doe (with all humilitie) craue, if it may stand with the Queens Honour, and policie of the time. To leaue so great a Treason unpunished, were strange; to drawe it by my death in example, were dangerous. A souldier seruant to take vpon him such an enterprize, vpon such a ground and by such a warrant, hath not bene seene in England. To indite him, arraigne him, bring him to the Scaffold, and to publish his offence, can doe no good. To hope that hee hath more to discouer then is confessed, or that at his execution he will on any thing he hath written, is in vaine. To conclude, that it is impossible for him in time to make some part of amends, were very hard and against former experiences. The question then is, whether it be better to kill him, or (lest the matter be mistaken) vpon hope of his amendment to pardon him. For mine owne opinion (though partiall) I will deliver you my conscience. The cases good Queene Elizabeths; the offence is committed against her sacred person; and shee may (of her mercy) pardon it without prejudice to any. Then this I say, in few words, as a man more desirous to discharge his troubled conscience, then to liue. Pardon poore Parrie, and releue him: for life without liuing is not fit for him. If this may not be, or be thought dangerous or dishonourable to the Queenes Maiefty (as by your fauours I thinke it full of honour and mercy) then I beseech your Lordships (and no other) once to heare me before I be ended, and afterwards, if I must die, humbly to entreat the Queenes Maiefty to hasten my trial and execution: which I pray God, with all my heart, may proue as honourable to her, as I hope, it shall be happy to me. who will, while I liue (as I haue done alwayes) pray to Iesus Christ for her Maiesties long and prosperous raigne. From the Tower the 18. of February. 1584.

W. Parry.

Febru. 27.

(100) And according to this his last request, his inditement was framed, and arraignment performed at Westminister, where hee pleaded himselfe guilty

and had iudgement of a Traitor. Which accordingly was executed in the Palace at Westminister, vpon the second of March following; where (whether for feare of preiudicing and discrediting the Romanists cause, or by whatsoeuer other perswasion) he impudently denied, that hee euer had an intent to kill the Queene, notwithstanding all his owne former confessions, witness of the fact, and other cleare evidences of truth amongst which the letter receiued from Cardinal Como is not vnworthy to be here annexed, whose translation from the originall, written in the Italian tongue, is as followeth.

(101) Sir, his Holinesse hath sent your letter of the first, with the assurance included, and cannot but commend the good disposition and resolution, which you write to be towards the seruice and benefit publicke: wherein his Holinesse doth exhort you to perseuer, with caution to be brought to effect that which you promise. And to the end you may be so much the more helped by that good spirit which hath moued you therunto, his holinesse doth grant you plenary indulgence, and remission of all your sinnes, according to your request. Assuring you that besides the merite that you shall receive therefore in heauen, his Holinesse will further make himselfe debtor to acknowledge and requite your seruings, by all the best means he may. And that so much the more in that you use the more modesty in not pretending any thing. Put therefore to effect your holy and honorable determinations, and attend your health. And to conclude, I offer my selfe vnto you hartly, and wish all good and happy successe. From Rome, the xxx. of January, 1584.

At your disposing

N. Card. of Como.

(102) Had not then her Maiefty iust cause to complaine, as shee did it when in the honourable assembly of Parliament, the openly professed, that shee knew no creative breathing, whose life stood howe in more perill then her owne; and that euen at the first entrance into her estate, shee entred into infinite dangers of life, as one that had to wrestle with many and mighty enemies. And yet, in confidence of her celestiall Protector, and of her owne innocency, shee often seemed somewhat too remisse and neglectiue in the care of her selfe and life as appeared manifestly by her proceedings with this last Traitor, in keeping his conference of that importance, from the knowledge of her Counsellors, and often admitting priuately his access, though hee had tolde her, hee was the man appointed to worke, her death. And indeed such was this Princeesse Magnanimity, that in an apparent danger, as great, though not so traitorous as this, she shewed a resolution of courage farre above her sexe; when being in her Barge vpon Thames to take the aire, accompanied with the French Ambassador, the Earle of Lincolne, and others, a Seruingman in the Court with his Calliur discharged a Bullet, and shot the Waterman, within five foote of her seat; (the second to her Bales) through both the armes; whereat all other being amazed, and the man abundantly bleeding, shee threw him her Garffe, and with words of comfort bad him be of good cheere, he should not want, for the bullet was aimed at her, though it hit him; and with such resolute courage bare it out, as all present, admired. Neither so onely, but knowing afterwards that it was done casually at randome, shee both pardoned the partie of his life, when he was to die, and commanded his Master to retaine him againe into his seruice.

(103) And indeed, of so singular clemency, and inbred lenity was this Lady, that shee neuer heard mention of the capital (though neuer so deserved) punishment of offenders, euen of such as had sought her owne death, but it bred a kinde of horror and sorrow in her; whereby, had not her Counsellors earnestly inculcated the necessity of such exemplary Iustice, many dangerous attēpters had escaped their

Mr. Parrie ex-
cuted.
Denieth his owne
confessions.Cardinall Como
his letter to
Parrie.Ex Patia, in Feb.
1584.
The hazards and
troubles that at-
tend Crownes.Queene Eliza-
beth her vnder-
standing confidence.Thomas Appletree
shoot the Queene
Bargeman. 1579.
July 17.The Queen par-
dons the offan-
der.Her singular cle-
mency towards
offenders.

* D.R. of C.C. in Oxford.

Her gracious loue to her people in generall.

Her earnest command to her Counsellors and Iudges.

Apoc. 9.2.

A.D. 1585.
Henry Percie Earle of Northumberland.

His violent death.

Out of the Record.

Philip Earle of Arundell dieth in the Tower.
Sir John Perce dieth.

An.D. 1589

A.D. 1592.

A.D. 1586.
Babington and his fellows Treasons.

duc punishment. Which moued her to say, being once questioning with a great Diuine of Oxford, about bookes meetest for Princes to study on, that her Reading of Seneca de Clementia, had done her much good, but some would perfwade her, it had done her State as much harme. But for her loue to her people in generall, and tender care ouer the poorer sort, or any waies oppressed, it was incomparable; whose cares were not only open at all times to their complaints, and her hands ready to receiue their petitions; but her manner was also to commend their cause vnto her Counsellors and Iudges, giuing these and the like earnest charges; *I haue care of my people, you haue my place: do you to them that which I ought to do they are my people, yet euery man oppresseth and spoileth them without mercy. I myselfe can neither helpe themselues nor reuenge their quarrells: See vnto them, I pray you, see vnto them, for they are my charge, them therefore I charge you with, euen as God hath committed them vnto me. I care not for my selfe, my life is not deare vnto mee, my care is for my people; I pray God my Successor bee as carefull for them; and surely they which might know my cares for my people, may likewise conceiue, that I take no great ioy in wearing the Crowne.*

(104) What heart then could conceiue so great mischief, or haue could bee so barbarously violent, as to worke the destruction of ioy louing a nursing Mother, but onely those obdurate and venomous Vipers, which eat forth the way from the wombe of their owne conceptions? Or rather those sting-tailed Locusts, arising with foggy smoke from the bottomlesse pit, who to reare vp their Dagon or great King Abaddon, cast downe Princes with the wings of their warre, and execute their damnable doctrine in the murders of the Lords anointed; whereas Dauid durst not touch Saul, though he was abieted by God.

(105) Those Profelites to vncessantly, yeere by yeere, prosecuted the *Romane cause*, that many of them thereby deservfully came to their deaths; amongst whom was Henry Percie Earle of Northumberland, gone so farre in such disloyall enterprizes, as being vpon suspicion of Treason committed to the Tower of London, he laid violent hands vpon his own life, by discharging a Dagge, charged with three bullets, vnder his left pappie, wherewith he pierced his heart, and presently dying, was by a Iurie found guilty of his owne death. The Treason laid against him (besides the former of the insurrection in the North, by himselfe confessed, and by the Court fined at five thousand Markes) was, that he had been priuy to the Plots of Throgmorton, for the bringing in of *Forreine powers*, to the destruction of the Queen and Realme; which truth being revealed by other conspirators, he so deeply apprehended, as in that desperate manner hee preuented his further iudgement.

(106) In the same place (though after the Spanish attempt for Inuasion Anno 1583. which purpose we yet passe over, to auoide interrupting of particular mens Treasons and designs) Philip Earle of Arundell, and Sir John Perce late Lord Deputy of Ireland, both of them condemned of high Treason, by course of nature ended their liues; the one, seeking to escape the Land, was first fined at ten thousand pounds, and afterwards found guilty of a higher offence, had sentence of death: the other likewise, for plotting with Spaine, to open their way into Ireland, gaue way to the Law to take hold on his life.

(107) Neither were these great ones drawne alone into the confederacie of Romes irreligious purposes, but others also, thirsting for Englands destruction, of lesse quality or place, had parts appointed to be actors in the Scene; which parties themselves shal now enter the Stage, euen foureteene in number; wherof Anthony Babington Esquire, was the principall, the others were Chiscole Tichborne, Charles Tilney, Edward Abington, Thomas Salisbury, and Ed-

ward Jones Esquires, John Saunge, Robert Barmeswell, Henrie Dun, John Trauerse, John Charnocke, and Richard Gage, Gentlemen, and John Ballard a Seminary Priest; for can there be any conspiracies hatched without them? The plot was the more dangerous, by how much the more secretly carried, and the parties resolute to venture therein vnto death, wherof fixe undertooke to murder the Queene, and Saunge bound himselfe for her death.

(108) The few must be against the precise Puritanes, whose chiefe or * head in the Low Country, not only threatened (as was pretended) the destruction of all Romish Catholikes, but also to vsurpe the Crowne from the Queene; and therefore for the security of both, they were thus enforced to make ready for armes. Their riders in England were many, as Babington beleueed, who wrote that the West parts, the North parts, all Wales, the Counties of Lancaster, Darby, and Stafford, were in great forwardnesse, and had giuen fidelity to giue aide to the enterprize. That Lord Percy could doe much in the North, Arundell in the South, and the Lord Paget in the heart of the Land, though two of them were then in Prison, and Paget in Spaine; their onely want was of a Nobleman to leade them, wherof they were destitute, as Babington complained, vnlesse it were Westmorland, and he out of the Realme.

(109) Their forreine assisers were many and strong, especially Spaine, as Mendoza assured them. The Ports were appointed where the Inuaders should land; and once landed, should be seconded from all parts by the Italianated English, as they vainly hoped; the Statists surprized which held not for Rome; the faith restored that had beene abandoned; and the vsurping Competitor (for so they termed the true appointed Soueraigne) dispatched by murders themselves the onely men marked (if euer) now to redeeme the Land, from the seruitude and bondage, which Heresie had brought, with the losse of thousands of Soules. These were their gloses vpon Pius Quintus his alleged Text, and the faire viſards that hid their foule faces; whom God himselfe vnmasked to their following shame.

(110) For Ballard being sent to Mendoza, to signifye all things now in a readinesse, and ready to embark himselfe for France, was suddenly apprehended; and part of the conspiracy discouered. Whereupon Babington, with Charnock and Saunge, enters a new resolution, which was immediately to kill the Queene, whereas of their bounty it had beene ordered before, that shee should liue vntill the Inuasion, which was appointed to bee in September following. But being intercepted before he well wist, he was committed to Custody, yet so as hee went abroad with his Keeper, from whom hee shortly made his escape; and thinking to recover the Seas, disguised himselfe like a Labouring man, staining with wall-nut-tree leaues his hands and face, which shadowed neither his shame nor sinne, neither yet could hide him from the eye that called him to account; for being desired and brought backe to London, he was with curses of the people committed to the Tower, whence he could not so easily start.

(111) The other conspirators, hearing of these their confederates successe, dispersed themselves and plaid least in sight, yet were they found out, indicted and brought to their tryals, all of them confessing their treasons without any torture. Yet at their arraignment (perswading themselves belike, that what they did by papall warrant, could not be called Treason,) they pleaded not guilty, which the Iury vpon manifest proofes finding otherwise, they worthily receiued iudgement of death, and died accordingly in Lincolnes Inne fields, euen in the place where they had often conferred for the execution of their Treasons.

(112) The nest of conspirators thus broken in England, and their innes still failing though neuer so craftily laid, was a forecourse to the English fugitiues

Babingtons letters.

Their pretence, * Earle of Leicester.

The false imaginations which Treason haue of Abbutts and friends.

Their forreine assisers.

Ballard a Seminary.

Babingtons and his resolution.

Iuly.

The Traitors executed.

Apoc. 9. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100.

Proceeding against Traitors.

Iuly.

Perce Cullen. A.D. 1592.

Perce Cullen. A.D. 1592.

A.D. 1594.

A.D. 1594.

Lopez his treason.

His first bayte, his instigation, Christopher de Mox.

And Andrada de Fuentes.

Stephano Ferrera.

Queene Elizabeths most chiefe Counsellors.

Lopez put to rest.

tiues in other forreigne parts; especially to the Iesuits, whose griefes were as great, as is the paine of a Scorpion when he hath Runge a man. Among whom Iagues Frances a perfidious Traitor, and bafe Laundresse sonne, seeing the Catholicks thus cast downe and their case desperate, if treasons thus thus preuented and punished, pronounced this maxime out of his vnswathed mouth, that the State of England then was, and would be so, as vnlesse *Mistress Elizabeth* (for so he termed his dread Soueraigne) were suddenly taken away, all the Duels in Hell would not be able to preuaile against, or shake it. And Stanley that transgouerning Champion for Spaine and Rome, so impatient was of these vnprospered proceedings, that he hired Patrick Cullen, an Irish Fencer and Ruffian, to undertake the death of the Queene; which he did for the summe of thirty pounds, but had no more for his money then the report of a Traitors death, which deferuently hee suffered at Tyburne.

(113) To accompany and second these treasons of Cullen, Cresswell the Legier Iesuite in Spaine, writ his traitorous booke vnder the name of Philopater, as after him Campbell alias Parfons, another Iesuite, and Rector at Rome, did the like, vnder the name of Doelman, concerning titles of the Crowne, both full of falshood, treason, and impudencie, as (though the Authors be vnnamed,) whoeuer looketh on the brats, will easily know their Fathers by the resemblance.

(114) This desperate designe failing, another as diuillish was assaid to bee practiced, wherein, no English man was yet knowne to haue had any hand, the Actors being onely Spaniards and Portugals, the onefolliciting by promises of great rewards, the other vnder taking to worke the death of the Queene, which was contriued, that poison should be giuen her in Physicke, a designe indeed most fezible and in-cuitable, had not that heliath hand bene laid by a heavenly. Rodericke Lopez was the Physitian, a Doctor of that profession and a Portugall by birth, in especiall trust and practise for the state of her health.

(115) Hee a fit instrument to act without suspect, receiued for an earnest, a Jewell of gold, of good value, garnished with a great Diamond, and a large Rubie, from Christopher de Mox, a speciall Counsellor of the King of Spaine, whose lustre so dazzled his eyes, as the practise of treason possessed his heart, and vpon farther payment of fifty thousand Crownes, hee couenanted to take away her Maiesties life, in a potion giuen her vpon pretence of health. For the assurance of which money, Manuel Andrada, the bringer of the Jewell, conferred with the Conde de Fuentes at Callis, and Stephano Ferrera, a Portugall also, delt likewise by letters with Stephano Ibarra the Kings Secretary at Brussels, to make the same readie. Lopez himselfe assuring them the deed should bee done, when the money was paid, which daily was promised and daily expected; the onely flay pretended was, that King Philip did not well like, that so bafe a person as Andrada was, should be employed in so waighy a cause.

(116) Whereupon Ferrera of better repute with the King, receiued bills of exchange for the money, deliuered by the Conde Fuentes, and from the said Conde, Manuell Lewis another Portugall, was profusely sent into England to conferre with Ferrera, and they both with Lopez, who faithfully promised vpon the payment of the money to performe the villanie. At which very instant Gods mercy did bring to light the conspiracy, through the continuall vigilancy of some Lords of the Counsell, in which number neuer any Prince had more, Sapient, Sedulous, Proudident, and experienced Sages, then shee had.

(117) And to make experiment of his intendments, Lopez was appointed to giue the Queen Physicke, who made ready the potion, and brought it to her presence. But her Maiesty knowing what hee

least suspected, told him, hee must goe minister to the Lord Treasurer, Cullen, who at that present had more need of Physicke then her selfe; wherupon Lopez with double diligence repaired vnto him, signifying his comming was to minister his Lordship Physicke, so commanded him by the Queene; yea marry said the old man but what is your Physicke? a purge Master Doctor said the Lord Treasurer, I thinke I must become a Physitian to purge you, and thereupon hee apprehended him for a Traitor, who stood so perplexed with feare, that his presence was scarce tollerable for the smell. Then other Doctors of Physicke were called; for to examine the ingredients, who easily found that the potion was poison, for which hee was indicted and arraigned at Barre, where hee pleaded not guilty, and his two Comforts by long circumstances sought to faue their liues, yet their former confessions subscribed with their owne hands, gaue sufficient testimony of their guilt, for which at Tyburne vpon the seauenth of Iuneth they suffered death.

(118) Stephano Ibarra thus failing of his purpose, by these Portugall fals, sought yet to raise the fabrick of his wicked intents, vpon the resolutions of some English fugitiues, among whom none were held more fit then Edmund Torke and Richard Williams, souldiers by profession, and two desperate Champions for the quarrell of Rome, vnto whom Hugh Owen an English Rebell, and Spanish Pensioner, shewed an assignation, vnder that Secretaries hand, of foure thousand Crownes to bee giuen them for to murder their Queene; and for assurance that the same should be forth coming, the assignation was deliuered in Deposite, to Holt an English Iesuite, who producing the Sacrament and kissing it, tooke solemne Oath to pay the money as soone as the fact was done.

(119) To forward this enterprize, three seuerall consultations were held at Brussels, wherein Holt fate as President, and William Stanley Professor for this diuillish designe, animating Torke by his vnles example, to be constantly resolved, as a man ordained for his Countries good, and though many had miscarried in attempting the Act, yet that it was meritorious and easie to be done. Thomas Throgmorton, Michell Moodie, Charles Paget, Henry Owen, Edmund Garret, and the two diuine Doctors, Gifford and Worthington, were principall speakers in this impious Parliament; all of them eager to egge on the two vnder takers, and to ioyne to them a third man, named Young, whose taske should be to kill the greatest Counsellors, as soone as the Queene should be dead. The last that spake was Holt the President, who after hee had ministered these Traitors their Oathes in threatening wise, menaced to take from the English this high and acceptable seruice, and to employ therein Strangers, who were farre more worthy; and so sent the two former into England with his blessing, which neuertheless could not faue them from the Gallows: their purposes were to get entertainment of some great Courtier, the better to effect what they intended, and to seeme men of some note for intelligence, sent from Callis to procure their passport, but the vigilant eye of the English state had found out their treasons before; & bringing them afterwards to their trialls, they were found guilty, iudged, & died like traitors.

(120) The last publicke attempt, that assailed the Queenes death, was Edward Squire, a Scriuener of Greenwich, who by deputation had employment of a Purueyer in the Stable, but being in wite about his vocation, and carrying his falles about his fortunes, put himselfe in action for Sea in the last voyage of Sir Francis Drake made into the Indies. Embarked he was in a small shippe, called the Frances, who looting the Flecte about Guadalupe, was taken by five Spanish Frigates, and with other brought Prisoners into Spaine: where falling in acquaintance with Richard Walpole an English fugitive by order a Iesuite, in great credit, and vicar Generall to Parson,

Lopez apprehended of treason.

Februa. 28.

Stephano Ibarra.

Torke and Williams Treason.

Owen.

Confessed by themselves. Holt the Iesuite.

Consulters about furthering the Treason.

Young.

Edward Squire Treasons.

A.D. 1597. Walpoles the Iesuite.

in his absence, was by him obserued to be of more capacity then commonly was found in a man of his quality or education; for yeeres, mature, and passed his middle age; for carriage well aduised, and resolute enough, if not too much, in not apprehending his eminent danger.

Squire a fit subject to worke vpon.

(121) Vpon him *Walpole* therefore meant to worke, conceiuing for his purpose two speciall aduantages: the one, that coming into *Spaine* a Prisoner, and not a fugitive, his returne into *England* would be without suspect; the other, that *Squire* had beene employed in the *Queenes Stable*, and therefore had liberty of free access: But the more to inuolue what hee intended, hee subtilly caused *Squire* to be apprehended by the *Inquisition*, and put prisoner into the *holy House*: where mollified by distresse, hee got his heart into his hands, so that of a Neuter he became a fixed Romanist.

(122) This first assay prouing effectfull, for an introduction to his further intendments, he fell into the old fong; whose burden was the tyrannies vied, and the persecutions exercised in *England* against the poore Catholikes; vpon his few persons the English State did stand, and how easily those props were to be remoued, if any deuoted would put to their hands. *Squire* who wanted no wit to perceiue whereat he ayimed; first, gaue some slight signification, and after a more serious protestation, that hee was the man, that would sacrifice himselfe and his seruice in the cause.

(123) The good Father hauing thus got him into the circle, began then the charme: *It were said he no doubt a worke meritorious to kill the Earle of Essex; but vnum necessarium, one thing is necessary:*

And then would him plainly, that he meant to put a seruice vpon him of great worth, and reward; which he might accomplish without any euident perill of life, because it was to be done not immediately vpon her person, nor in her presence, neither yet in doing it (though hee were seene) should be endangered, being asked as hee would prescribe; and that was, to impoison the pommel of the *Queenes Saddle*, at such time as she should ride abroad, the Pommel being the place, whereon she would rest her hand, and her hand not vnlily to touch her mouth or nostrils, would giue access to the forcible poison. This, said he, might easily be performed, he hauing familiar acquaintance in the *Quirry*, yea and that very safely; but if otherwise, and immediate death happened, he should be assured, that for the exchange of this present and transitory life, to enioy the state of a Glorious Saint in *Heauen*.

(124) Which *Syrens song* ended, and *Squire* inueigled; confessions, vowes, promises, receite of the Sacrament, and all, confirmed the resolution of the diuillish attempt; and to prevent varying from this Center, *Walpole* told him, that now he stood in the state of damnation, if hee did not his uttermost endeavour to performe his vow, bidding him remember, how that the sinne of backsliding did seldom obtaine pardon; and if hee did but once make doubt of the lawfulness or merit of the act, it was enough to cast him head-long downe into hell; and if hee did conceiue any difficulties, hee wished him to consider what it auailed a man, to win the whole world, and to loose his owne soule.

(125) *Squire* thus armed (though not with that complete Armour of the Apostle) fell downe in confession before this *Iesuite* secte; whom he lifted vp, hugg him about the necke, with his left arme (such were *Squires* owne words) and crossing him with his other hand, mumbled a few words in Latine, and then distinctly in English spake thus: *God blesse thee, and giue thee strength my sonne; bee of good courage, I pawne my soule for thine, and thou shalt haue my prayers dead and aliue.* Thereupon deliuering vnto him the poyson, directed how it should be vsed, and shewed him the nature of the confectiō, which was, to bee put into a double bladder, and when it was to bee employed, to be pricked full of

holes, and so pressed out vpon the pommel of the *Queenes Saddle*; the operation whereof was such, that vpon his hand hee must haue a thicke double gloue, least the poyson thereof should infect himselfe; whose vigour also was such, as neither continuance of time, nor subtilty of ayre could checke or vnuertuate the strength: And that the matter might be carried without all suspect, an exchange was accepted of two Spanish prisoners in *England*, for *Roxley* and *Squire*, to be released from *Spaine*.

(126) Thus himselfe poysoned in heart, and minding to poyson others, being monied by the *Iesuite*, arrived in *England*, not long before the expedition for *Cadix*; which action (as he thought) fitted him well, and thereupon made suite and obtained it, to attend the *Earle of Essex* in his owne ship; as well to be absent when the poyson should worke on her Maiesty (which he meant to bestow before his departure) as to haue opportunity thereby, to poyson the *Earle* himselfe. Occasion being giuen by the *Queenes* riding abroad, and her Horse made ready and attending in the Stable-yard, thether *Squire* repaired, full of euill spirits; and laying his hand vpon the pommel of her Saddle, bruised out the poyson in the bladder, saying cheerfully, *God save the Queen*; with no better affection then *Loab* bare to *Amasa*, when with his hand hee took him to kiss him, but with his sword strooke him to the heart. His part thus plaide, *Gods* wanted and wonderfull protection beganne, who vnder his Canopy or wings of mercy had euer shadowed her from the stroke of daungers; for albeit the season was hot, and the veines open to receiue any malignant tainture, yet her body felt no distemperature, nor her hand felt no more hurt, then *Pauls* did, when hee shooke of the Viper into the fire.

(127) The deed thus done, without all mistrust, *Squire* taking the remaine of the poyson, within fixe daies after departed to the Sea, and had his entertainment in the *Earle of Essex* his owne Ship, where seeking to finish his diuillish designe betwixt *Faial* and *Saint Michaels* bestowed his confectiō, vpon the pommels of a wooden chaire, wherein the *Earle* vsually fate at meales: which in like manner (the Lord so working) tooke not effect, to the little admiration of *Squire*, though very well satisfied, that the default was not his, but rather in the poyson it selfe; and his vow now discharged (as he thought) he slept the more quiet.

(128) *Walpole* the Iesuite ouer-tickled with ioye of his hoped successe, and notable longer to keepe secrecy, imparted his treasons to his companions in *Spaine*, who together with him daily expected the issue thereof, but all things silent, and no newes of the *Catastrophe*, they chaunged their opinions, and held *Squire* for a false brother, when as also their longing hearts beganne to feare, least the maine cauld would bee mard, being cast into so bad a mould. Whereupon a consultation was called, and the *Sicophant* condemned in the highest degree, whole end must be speedily wrought, or else those Catholike proceedings would surely come to wracke; for that he knowing much, would (as was feared) reucale much more; and therefore it was politickly concluded, that one should be let slip from them into *England*, to giue information of *Squires* treasons.

(129) This man to haue the more credit brought two letters in his budget, the one he affirmed, himself had stolne out of a *Reisits* study, & the other brought from another person, both which indeed were found to be counterfeit, and *Squire* for the present reputed an honest man. Yet because the matter was tender, and touched nere the quicker, *Squire* was sent for, and examined; at first he denies all, but coming to circumstances, something was found, hold taken, and the Traitor committed to Prison; who left alone, began to bethinke him how farre his Confessors Confession might extend, and therefore by good Counsell (the truth withall working) therein

Squire arriving in England.

Squire priued for the Queen, falsely, when he attempts to poyson her.

* In July.

Squire endeavours to poyson the Earle of Essex going to Cadix.

Squires Treason succedeth.

Squire misleads the Earle of Essex by a false brocher.

A counterfeit letter brought from the Duke of Norfolk.

Squire voluntarily confesseth his treason.

The last module: some state to make sharp Laws to prevent Treason.

1598. 10. 3.

So many and so continually were the conspiracies.

Any more conspiracies then came to light.

The affairs of Ireland.

Or General comes into Ireland.

The Earle of Lennox sent into Scotland by her Maiesty.

He is murdered.

The Duke of Norfolk troubles.

The good estate of the Duke.

Squire voluntarily confesseth his treason.

he disclosed the Treason, and how true he had therein gon, which indeed no man had knowledge of but himselfe, and this confessed at the Tower, without torture, and at the Barre with remorse of conscience, he had his sentence of death, which he accordingly suffered.

(130) Had not then the wife *Statists* of the Land, cause to enact such Lawes as they did; to set the shakingsword in the entrance of this faire *Eden*, and to stoppe out the wilde Bore that would lay the vineyard wast? their *Queene* and lamp of Glory, hauing thus often and narrowly escaped extinguishing, by as many hands of murdering Priests and Iesuites, as *David* had pursuers of his life, when to *Jonathan* hee complained that there was but a steppe betwixt him and death? So that iustly in a conference of Parliament, for meane to be had against the many conspirators, daily leuellling at her royall heart, one of good repute, hauing experience of their desperate designs, in the open assembly, with a feeling affection, thus vttered his minde: that every night when hee awaked, hee feared to heare some newes of desperate mischief, and protested before God, hee neuer saw the light of the day, but that hee feared, before the Sun set, to heare of some strange attempt.

(131) For as the Pope had denounced vnder his Bulls, an absolutiō to him that would dethrone *Elizabeth* *England* faire *Queen* so were there many foule minded Profelites, that reputed her blood as an acceptable sacrifice, which many times they sought to offer vnto their God: but hers and our God, the *Watchman* of *Israel*, neither stumbled nor slept in protecting her Person as the apple of his eye; whose iust defence, her innocency, and their bloody guilts, haue often divulged to the whole world; neuer any Prince escaping so many dangers, as this most milde and mayden *Queene* in her daies had done, and many more no doubt were put in practice, which lay groueling in darkenesse, and neuer came to light, and as the *works* of darknessesse, loe them lie, and let vs hasten to our former, and farre more pleasing Subiect. Hauing therefore from the yeere 1570. made our digression, for the closer relation of all those treacheries together; let vs thence pursue the ensuing occurrents of her reigne and life.

(132) The troubles of Scotland were about that time, great and many, and much the more by the death of the new *Regent*, who was slaine by the hand of Treason, with the shot of an Harquebussie, as he rode through *Lithgow*, mistrusting no danger, at which time a Road was made into *England*, by such as little regarded the peace. Wherevpon *Suffex* the *Earle* Generall, accompanied with the Lord *Hunsdon*, *Gouernour* of *Barwicke*, in Hostile manner entered that kingdom; and in *Tiuidale* did much hurt to the Inhabitants.

(133) New troubles then arising for the death of the *Regent*, and the Land full of factions, threatening ciuill broiles, the English *Queenes* aide was sent for, by some of the Lords, who with their helps, prevailed in winning and demolishing many strong and faire Castles. And the *Earle of Lennox* sent into Scotland by her Maiesty, was first made Lord *Gouernor*, and after *L. Regent*, by the election of their three estates, who afterwards was trayterously murdered, as the other before him had beene, which caused great troubles in Scotland; yea and some Nobles of England were not exempted from the same.

(134) For Lord *Thomas Howard Duke of Norfolk*, intending some fauours for the Scottish cause, proceeded so farre therein, as the letter of the Law took aduantage of his life, to the great sorrow and lament of very many. For being a man filled with fauour, both of his Prince, and of the People, fortune at length made him a Ball for her banding; who first from *Burnam* besides *Windfore* was brought to *Westminster*, and thence by water was left prisoner in the Tower, where he remained from the eleventh of *October*, vnto the fourth of *August* follow-

ing, and then was remoied to the *Charter-House* neere *Smithfield*, where he abode thirteene moneths space; till lastly he was sent backe againe into the Tower, where vpon the hill and Ordinary Scaffold, he penitently suffered death; being the first vnforgotten English Noble that for offence lost life since *Queene Elizabeth* came to the Crowne.

(135) About which time, a strange case (which we will infer, rather to shew the course of Iustice and mercy of the *Queene*, then for any other great vie in Story) happened at the Common-law barre: where *Simon Lowe*, and *John Kyme* were Plaintiffs, for a certaine Manor and demaines in the life of *Harry*, adioyning to that of *Sheppey in Kent*, wrongfully possessed (as they alleged) by *Thomas Paramour*, against whom they brought a writ of right: the defendant offered to maintaine his title by Combat, which the Plaintiffs accepted, and brought their Champions before the Iudges to the Barre. For *Paramour* was *George Thorne*, of a bigge and broad fer, who cast downe his Gauntlet as Challenger, to iustifie *Paramours* right, which was taken vp by *Henry Naylor* Master of defence, a man proper and slender, and not very tall, who appeared for *Lowe* and *Kyme*, to make good their claime.

(136) The place appointed for Combat was in *Tuttle-fields*, where a plot of ground of one and twenty yards square, was doubly rayled, and without the West-square a stage set for the Iudges, representing the Court of Common Pleas, behind the which two Tents were pitched, the one for *Thorne*, and the other for *Naylor*, the field with Scaffolds on euery side for people to see: All things thus ready, and the day drawing on, her Maiesty, (who euer abhorred all bloodshed), tooke the matter into her owne hands, and gaue command and directions for the parties agreement; with a furcate from all further suite, which could not well be, vnlesse the Champions appeared in field; who altogether ignorant of what was determined, vpon the day assigned appeared in place. *Thorne* was there first who was brought to his Tent by *Sir Ierome Bowes*; then came *Naylor*, hauing the Gauntletborne before him vpon a sword point, a truncheon (taper-wife) ripe with horne, about an elle long, and a shield of hard leather carried after him; and so was conuiced to his Tent by *Sir Henry Cheiney*.

(137) The Court set, and the Combatters called, *Naylor* entered the lists, being led by the hand by *Sir Ierome Bowes*, where making his obeisance, hee came to the barre, and there held vp his Shield. Then was *Thorne* brought into the lists by *Sir Henry Cheiney* and with like reuerence hee held vp his Shield: Whereupon an oth was ministred to the approuer, the tenor whereof he spake as followeth. *Hear this you Iudges, that I haue this day neither eate, drunke, nor haue vpon me either bone, stone, ne grasse, or any enchantment, sorcery, or witchcraft, where-through the power of the word of God might be lessened or diminished, and the Diuels power increased: and that my appello is true, so helpe me God and his Saints, and by this Booke.*

(138) Then was Proclamation made in her Maiesties name, that no perion of what euener state, degree, or condition there present, bee so hardy to giue any token or signe, by countenance, speech, or language, either to the prouer, or to the defender, whereby the one of them may take aduantage of the other: and no person to remouee, but keepe still his place: and euery perion to keepe their statutes and their weapons to themselves, and suffer neither the said prouer, nor defender to take any of their weapons, or any other thing that may stand either to the said prouer, or defender any auail, vpon paine of forfeiture of Lands, Tenements, Goods, Chattels, and imprisonment of their bodies, and making fine and ransom at the *Queenes* pleasure. But when all these Ceremonies were ended, the Lord Chief Iustice stood vp, and forbad the proceedings, allotting *Paramour* the Lands with the

Released out of the Tower.

The Duke end. June 2. A.D. 1572.

Duellor combat for title of Lands.

The two Champions.

The place of Combat.

June 18. A.D. 1571.

The manner of their ensuing fight.

The oth ministred to the Challenger.

The Law and manner of a combate.

The Combat ended before begonne.

AD. 1573.

The Queene lends aid to the Regent of Scotland.

Edinburgh Castle surrendered.

The Royall Exchange built.

English renowned navigators.

Sir Martin Furbushers navigators. A.D. 1576. Queene Elizabeths foreland.

Sir Francis Drake's voyage. A.D. 1577. Rich. Hakluyt in English voiaiges.

Francis Drake passeth the straites of Magellan.

The 13 of February they came to Lima, in the degree 12.30. minutes. A.D. 1578.

satisfying of the *plaintiffs*, and thereupon commanded *Nailor* to give *Thorn* againe his Gauntlet, which he vnwillingly did; and to the *Combare* being ended, we may haue leaue to proceed.

(139) Peace flourishing in *England*, to no great liking of the *Seminary*, that often sought to disturbe it: the *Regent of Scotland* craued aide of her Maiestie, for the defence of the *young King*, and the Countie, endangered at that time with ciuill broiles. She as tender in her affection, as he dutifull in his allegiance, sent him *fiftene hundred men*, wherof *Sir William Drury Knight Marhall of Berwicke* was Generall. These comming to *Edenborough* laid battery to the Castle, with no lesse then *thirty Canons*, and were as valiantly resisted by the *Scottish* within, but for want of fresh water, and no aide to bee expected, the souldiers sick, hurt, ouer-wearied, and diuided in opinion, *Lord Peteroe* being let downe from the walle, by composition the Castle was surrendered, to the vie of the *young King*, whereupon the English returned to *Berwick*.

(140) This time of *Elizabeths*, like vnto that of *Augustus*, when the Temple of *Ianus* stood (for the most part) continually shut, made *London* like *Rome*, to be most magnificently repaired, and with many stately edifices adorned; among which for beauty and commodious life, none is more famous then the *Royall Exchange* (so named by her Highnesse) whole Founder was *Sir Thomas Gresham Knight*, Agent to her Maiefty, built for the confluence and commerce of Merchants, whose Traffikes were great, and in these times of peace, extended their Navigations into the farthest (and till then, vnsearched) parts of the world.

(141) For the searching and vnstatisfied spirits of the *English* to the great glorie of our Nation, could not bee contained within the bankes of the *Mediterranean* or *Leuant Seas*, but that they passed farre, towards both the *Articke* and *Antarctike Poles*, enlarging their trades into the *West* and *East Indies*: to the search of whose passage, that worthy Sea-captain *Sir Martin Furbusher*, made Saile into the *North-East-Seas*, farre further then any man before him had cuer done, giuing to these parts the name of *Queene Elizabeths foreland*.

(142) The next yeere hee attempted thirlic leagues further, when finding *gould Ore* (as was thought) and taking a man, woman, and Child, of the *Sauage Calayases*, he returned into *England*; but as his gold procured dross, so the liued not long, neither turned that discouery to any great profit, though it was againe the third time assailed by himselfe, and since by other most famous Navigators; the *North-west* by Englishmen being lately descried, to bee Seas more saie, and the passage of farre better hope.

(143) Among these *Sea-worthies* our famous *Vlisses*, *Sir Francis Drake* is the first in the rancke, who the yeere of *Christ Iesus* 1577 and fiftenth of November set saile from *Plimmouth* in a Fleete of five ships, and one hundred, sixty foure men, who hauing put of *Cape de Verd*, in the beginning of February, he law no land, till the fifth of April following, being past the line, thirte three degrees of latitude, in the 36. degree entred the *Riuer Plate*; whence hee fell with the straites of *Magellan* the one and twentie of *August*, which with three of his ships hee passed, hauing cast-off the other two as impediments vnto him, and the *Mariagold* tossed from her Generall after passage, was no more seene; but the other whereof *Master Iohn Winter* was Captaine, shaken allo off by tempest, returned through the straites, and recovered *England*; only the *Pellican* wherof himselfe was Admirall, held on her course to *Chily*, *Conquimbo*, *Cinmano*, *Palma*, *Zima*, vpon the West of *America*, where hee passed the line the first day of *March*, and so forth till he came to the *Latitude* 47. thinking by those *North-Seas* to haue found passage to *England*. But fogs, frosts and cold winde forced him to turne his

Course South-West from thence, and came to anchor 38. degrees from the line, where the King of that Countrey presented vnto him his networke Crowne of many coloured feathers, and relictenth therewith his Scepter of gouernement vnto his deuotion, his people so admiring our men that they sacrificed vnto them, as to their Gods. This place (for the glory of *England*, he named *Nova Albion* according to her ancient name; and at his departure areared a Monument to witness what there had bene done, which was a plate of brasie fixed in an eminent place, wherein was engrauen her Maiefties name, and her right to that prouince, as freely giuen vnto her deputy both by King and people. Wherein also was written the yeere and day of their entrance, and of the lands deuourance; vnder which plate he put her Maiefties picture and armes in a peece of Siluer to retaine the memory of this seruice vnto posteritie. From thence the fourteenth of November he fell with Ternate one of the *Iles of Maluco*, being curteously entertained of the King, and from thence he came vnto the *Iles of Celebes*, to *Iaua Maior*, to the *Cape Buena Speranza*, and fell with the Coasts of *Guinea*, whence crossing againe the line, he came to the height of the *Azores*, and thence into *England* vpon the third of November and yeere of Saluation 1580. after he had bene at Sea with such fortunate successe the space of three yeeres lacking twelue daies. The small vessel wherein this admirable voyage was performed, was, at her Maiefties commandement, laid vp in the docke besides *Deepesford*, where it remaineth as a monument of *Englands* great fame, vnto this day; and the worthy Generall honoured with Knighthood, being the first that by trauell encompassed the *Earth*, and law the wondrous workes of God in those great deepes.

(144) The Seas thus knowne, our Merchants began to trade with the *Moscovits*, and *Turkes*, whose priuiledge for Traffike the *Great Sallim* sent them, confirmed vnder his Regall Seale, and at her Ambassadors request (without direction from her Maieftie) made peace with the King of *Poland*, as by his own letters sent vnto our Queene is apparent; the Coppy whereof being deliuered vnto mee by him who had bene Deputy Ambassador in *Constantinople*, I haue here inserted, translated word for word, as followeth.

The Sultan Murahit his letters to her Maieftie.

(145) Most glorious and in brightnes most blessed woman, and of women the chiefe Prince of the mighty followers of *Iesus*. Queene of the most famous Kingdome of *England*, most excellent *Elizabeth*, most sapient Governesse of all the affaires of thy people, and famitie of the Nazaries, the most pleasaunt Spring of brightnesse and glorie, the most acceptable cloude sweet (bowers, the beire and Lady of perpetual happinesse, and blessednesse, of the most famous Kingdome of *England*, to whom all distressed soules doe flocke for reliefe. Wee wishing from God the mighty Creator a most fortunate increase of all the affaires of your excellency and happy successe; and offering eternall vowe and praises worthy of our mutuall and perpetual familiarity and league, and declaring the premises, and that which followeth with singular decemise: Wee giue you to understand most friendly, that certaine yeeres passed we had continuall wars with *Casuals* Prince of *Perfia*, in right of our people, by reason whereof we would not make warre vpon other parts, whereby certaine theemes in the parts of *Polonia*, called *Calakes*, and other wicked persons lurking in those confines, daily troubled and grieved our Subiects: now the *Perlian* being vanquished, and by the power of the Almighty Creator, matters in those parts being compounded, we determined to punish the said persons lurking in *Poland*, and other parts; and by the Belgerby of *Greece* our Army being joined, and sent with our charge by a Prince of *Tartaria*, in the yeere last passed, a part of

Sir Fra. Drake Ship kept at a Monument.

Trade with Turkes and Moscovites.

M. T. Sa.

the Kingdome of *Polonia*, was on our behalfe troubled, and waisted, and the said *Calakes*, and other wicked persons were punished according to their deserts, which the King of *Poland* seeing, and sending two messengers to our blessed Port, to inquire, finde out, and punish in full punishment, signified so much vnto vs, and required our acceptation of his presents; but we would not allow his petition, but had fully determined againe to send our Army against the said King of *Poland*; but the Ambassador of your Maiefty remaining in our blessed Port, interposing himselfe, and signifying that he did asist your excellency, with Corne, Gun-powder, Mass, and other things, necessary for warre, out of the confines of *Polonia*; now when as the Kingdome of *Polonia* by our meanes was troubled, and your Ambassador declared vnto vs your singular and peculiar pleasure, the same his declaration and intercession was vnto vs gratefull and acceptable, and your excellency to whom we owe all fauours and honour. Wee wrote our letters to the King of *Polonia* on this manner; that the said factious wicked persons and *Calakes* should be found out and fully punished, but if on the behalfe of your Maiefty, a louing league of peace had not bin solicited for the King of *Poland*, we would not by any meanes haue entred League with him, but only at your request we haue shewed this grace to the said King and his Subiects, and for our familiarity is mutuall and perpetual, we thinke it convenient that your Maiefty joining your selfe with the Kingdome of *Polonia*, doe not leaue to continue warre with the King of *Spain*, who so long time hath kept warre against you; and if your Maiefty be not grieved to write vnto vs by some trusty man, we vowe, by the aide of the Omnipotent Creator, that all necessary things shall bee on our part furnished and ordered, that a speedy dispatch may be made into *Spain*, wherein for our parts no assistance shall be wanting, whereof you may nothing doubt. Given in our Royall Seat at *Constantinople* in the yeere of Iesus. 1590. and of our Prophet Mahomet, 998. in the moneth called *Sadele*, the xij.

But from these farre trauels, long, and chargeable adventures, let vs returne to our neerer home proceedings vnder the Gouernment of our prudent Queene *Sheba*.

(146) Gregory of that name the thirteenth, and stout stirring man of *Rome*, seeing Pope *Pius* his thunderbolts fall short of the marke whereunto they were aimed, thought it necessary to raise that begun foundation (though with ill burnt bricke, and bad tempered mortar) as that his mounted Canons from the height, might reach and command where the other had left: To which purpose hee solicited *Philip King of Spaine*, after his fortunes had set him in *Portingall* Anno 1582 to undertake warre against *Queene Elizabeth* either directly or vnderhand, in fauour of the Irish Rebels, vnto which charge he offered not only his holy blessing, and spirituall treasure, but also to acquit him of the fruites of the *Archbishopricke of Toledo*, long retained in his hands, whilst the Archbishop remained suspended, and the King receiued some millions of Crownes, which the Pope claimed to belong vnto the See of *Rome*. But *Philip* not yet ready to attempt vpon *England*, joined with him for the Conquest of *Ireland*; the one, sending fixe hundred men vnder the command of *Thomas Stukeley*, whom he had lately filled Marquisse of *Ireland*, (a profuse and defamed person throughout all *Christendome*, flying out of *England*, for his many Piracies, and now imploied to follow the consecrated Standard of the Church;) the other, bearing all the charge with an addition of three hundred Spaniards; sending money with them to wage foure thousand men more; and the more to kindle the flames of *Rebellions*, *Doctor Sanders* (the Arch-Rebell and English Fugitiue) was sent from the Popes holy side.

(147) These landing in *Ireland* and Countie of *Kerry*, vpon a Promontory shooting it selfe into the west Sea, raised their consecrated standard, built their Fort *Del-Ore*, and with many threats gaue forth that

the Country should shortly know wherefore they were come: and *Desmond*, a man desperate to euill, put in action by papall authoritie, had laid his hopes no lower (by these aides now arrived) then presently to become the sole King of *Ireland*, as *Benhadad* boasted ouer *Ifrail* before his harnessse was put on.

(148) To salute this puppet King, and to welcome these papals with such entertainment as his martiall sword would allow, *Arthur Lord Grey* Baron of *Wilton*, then *Deputie of Ireland*, halted to *Dingle*, and so to *Del-Ore*, where hee had them to so sharpe a banquet, that all the *Spaniards*, *Italians*, and *Biscayes*, notwithstanding their bragging brauadoes yielded their weapons at the first brunt, and vpon the points of the aduersaries died without mercy, the Captaines, Coronell, Secretary and few more referred for ranfome. The Fore they had stored with money, Bifket, Bacon, Oile and wine, sufficient to hold out the space of fixe moneths, and furnished with powder, thor, and armour sufficiently for two thousand men: with them all the Irish as well women as men died; and *Desmond* driuen into extreme want, fearing the prick of euery thorne, and the shadow of euery bulle, notwithstanding hee was armed with an *Agnus Dei*, and an enchanted ring sent from the Popes owne finger hung about his necke, yet could hee not keepe his traitorous head vpon his shoulders; when like a wolfe wandering in the woods for his pray, was in a poore Cottage wounded by a souldier rushing in vpon him, and being knowne was presently cut shorter by the head. But with his ende, ended not the troubles of *Ireland*, especially those parts of *Ylster*, that lay most remote from *England*.

(149) And whereunto, *Walter Earle of Essex*, accompanied with the Lord *Rich*, and others, had formerly made an expedition, as well to reduce those wilde Irish vnto a more ciuill life and respectiue obedience vnto the English Crowne, as to winne them to the knowledge of *Christ*, whom they most ignorantly worshipped. But the death of this Noble man hapning before his intendments could bee accomplished, left that to be followed by others which himselfe had begun.

(150) The troubles of which Prouince hee partly touched vnto the death of *Shan O-Neale*, whose seignories by Parliament were inuected into the *Queenes* hands, and a Law enacted, that from thence forth no man should assume the name or title of *O-Neale*. After which some small blaies of peace breathed vpon those parts; till shortly *Turlough Leinigh*, a brothers son of *Con-More* the Grandfather of this *Shan*, by a popular election tooke that stile vpon him, a man steep farre in yeeres which made him more quiet, and much the rather for feare of *Shan O-Neales* lonnes, but especially of *Hugh Baron of Dungannon* the sonne of *Bastard Mathew*, vnto whom hee had giuen his daughter in Marriage, and the said Baron had lately repudiated and cast off.

(151) This *Turlough* was most obsequious and seruiceable to *Queene Elizabeth*, stirring no troubles to the *English*, though to his neighbours the Irish hee proued most sterne: For, *O-Donnell* hee disquieted, the *Scots* of the *Ilands* hee molested, and in an encounter slew *Alexander Ogethe* the slayer of *Shan O-Neale*, and indeed became so fearefull, that his sonne in law *Hugh*, lay hid from him in his owne Country, and lastly escaped his hands into *England*: where to raise himselfe from his obscure estate and condition hee got command of a troupe of Horse, with a pension of a thousand markes by yeere from the Queene. Whose seruice against the *Rebellions* of *Desmond*, was so well performed and accepted, that hee obtained the place and title of Earle of *Tir-Oen*, pleading the Letters patent of King *Henry* the eight granted to his Grandfather, and his heires males, whereof himselfe was the sonne of *Mathew* created Baron of *Dungannon* by the same King. Thus growne vnto greatnesse, old *Turlough* vpon certaine conditions

Desmond well punished, to be the King of Ireland.

1. King 20. 11.

The Lord Gray Deputy of Ireland.

The Spaniards slain by Lord Gray.

All the Irish at all times women as men slain at Del-Ore.

James Desmond slain by a common Souldier.

A.D. 1573. Walter Earle of Essex, in Ireland.

The name or title of O-Neale forbidden.

Turlough a tyrant against his neighbours.

Baron Dungannon got imploiment of the Queene.

He is made Earle of Tir-Oen.

conditions resigned vnto him the Government of *Vlster* where thorowly cōbining himselfe with the men of most might, they together associated their strenghts to defend the Romish religion, for that was the mantle that euer conuered their hatched rebellions.

(152) The first *Champion* that founded the *Alarum* was *Mac-Guyre* a man of a turbulent spirit, thrust forward by *Guaran* a Priest, whom *Pope Vrbane* the second had ordained Primate of *Ireland*, commanding him in the name of God to fight there the *Lords Battaile*, assuring him by his Apostolicall warrant, of most fortunate proceedings and happy successe. But see how this great Prophet was deceived; for by the valour of *St. Richard Bingham*, *Mac-Guyre* was discomfited, and the primate Priest slaine in the field.

(153) The Confederacy thus broken, *Mac-Guyre* let himselfe for open rebellion; whom *Tir-Oen* in shew of his dutifull obedience pursued, and was so forward in seruice, that hee receiued a wound in his thigh to his no little honour. Whereupon he became of greater respect in the *Englishe* Court, and more enhaunsed in his owne esteeme; so that hee feared not to exhibite Complaints against the Lord Deputy *St. William Fitz-Williams*, the Marshall whose sister hee had married, and the Garrisons soldiers that garded those parts. But the Deputy recalled, and *St. William Russel* appointed in his place; as if all quarrels had bene quite forgotten, he came vnto the new Lord Deputy, and exhibited an humble submission vpon his knees, wherein hee dolefully expressed his inward griefe, in that her Maiefty had conceived some indignation against him. His abetting himselfe from the State, he confessed was disagreeable to his obedience, albeit to be somewhat excused by the hard measure (as he alleged) of the late Deputy, and Marshall that were combined for his destruction. Hee acknowledged that the *Queenes* Maiefty had advanced him in title, dignity and great liuings, and himselfe vnworthy of any, but rather dishonour and ruine, if he should become vngratefull vnto so good a Prince. With these and the like complement of his true heart and meaning, hee posselt the Counsell of *Ireland*, that albeit *St. Henry Bagnall* the Marshall was present, and charged him with many barbarous of *Mac-Guyre*, the Primate, the beseege of *Imis-Kellin* and others, hee was by them dismissed and sent home, to the great discontent of the *Queene* and disquietnesse of the Land, as afterward followed, and in course of time and story shall be declared.

(154) Long before these last *Irish* troubles, (as you may obserue in the relation of some former attempts against the *Queene*) the brands of dissention were blowne vnto flames, betwixt *Queene Elizabeth of England* and *Philip the Second* of that name King of *Spain*; whose first breaking-faith was in the *Netherlanders* cause, the one persecuting, and the other defending the religion that those people profest and thus it began in the yeere of Grace, 1575. *Don Lewis*, gouernour of those Low Countreys for the said King, sent his Agent vnto *Queene Elizabeth*, desiring her to banish such of them as repaired to *England*, onely their flight, and their religion all the cause alleged against them.

(155) Her answer was short and nothing acceptable, that she held it vnworthy the Maiefty of a Prince to chaffe away those poore exiled and scattered *Netherlanders*, that were fled into her Dominions, for the safety of their liues, and to auoid the *Spanishe* tyranny, exercised onely in case of their consciences. And yet the forbad some men of speciall note, as also such as bare Armes, to enter *England*, vpon condition that *Westmorland* should be banished the Low Countreys with such other Rebels as had fled to the *Spaniards*. But the Clergy intending to bring their *Spanishe* Inquisition into those parts, the Prince of *Orange* entred conference with the States of *Holland* and *Zeland*, touching the de-

fence of their professed religion, and the preservation of their distressed Countreys, vnable of themselves (as was alleged) long to defend themselves, and therefore it was thought fittest to chooe them a Protector.

(156) This passing for currant among the Counsellors of estate, three were in name, the *Emperour*, the *French King*, and the *Queene of England*; for they were past all hope of any alliance with *Spain*. Yea of these in choice, some excepted against, as neither safe nor conuenient to be yielded vnto. Against the Empire was alleged the diuersities of religion, the small vnion of those Germane Princes, and hauing their hands full to keepe their owne at home, would bee the lesse able to assist with helpe abroad. The *French* (they feared) had wasted their money the onely meanes for warre) with their owne ciuill dissentions; if not, yet might they hardly be trusted, as witnessed the cruell massacre lately committed. *England* then was the Pillar to which they must leane; their *Queene* the greatest of all Christian Princes, their Navy the Commandresse of the Seas, and their people professing the same Religion with them, the furest band of Christian society: further it was alleged that the Realmes of *Denmarke* and *Sweden* desired it, the County of *Emden* and the *Hanse Townes* in the East intreated for it, *Brabant* and *Flanders* sought it; yea and the rightfull Title of the *Princes Elizabeth*, iustified from the *Earles of Holland* and *Zeland* by the *Lady Philip*, daughter to *William* the third of that name, *Earle of Henault* and *Holland*, did warrant it.

(157) Thus then concluded, the States were sent vnto *England*, and made the end of their coming knowne to the *Queene*; who wisely weighing into what a Labyrinth shee should enter, fought rather the safety of her owne, then to consent to their motion; for *Spain* shee well knew would storme at the vnion, and *France* bee in great iealousie to haue such a neighbour; shee therefore promising to bee a mediator vnto the King of *Spain* for their peace; and after some complements of Princely entertainments with thanks for their offer, and licence to carry with them many voluntary English soldiers, let them depart; whose denial made knowne, was nothing welcome to those distressed Princes.

(158) Longafter that, *Lewis* the Gouernour liued not, whom *Don Iohn of Austria* (base brother to King *Philip*) succeeded, who at first made shew of most fauourable affection, yet so, as vrging their subiection to *Spain*; and obedience to the Apostolicall See of *Rome*. Neither would hee come to their Counsell, without Hostages deliuered, and most of their troups to guard his suspecting person, esteeming them *Lutherans* and *Heretikes*, in whom was no trust.

(159) These moued the States once more to sue vnto her Maiefty, that by her meanes, with peace they might enioy the ancient Priuileges of their Princes, and the freedom of their owne consciences against the Inquisition and Tyranny of *Spain*; and indeede so lamentably deplored their case, that the pity-full *Queene* sent into *Spain*, to desire the King in commiseration to withdrawe these extremities from the distressed. But *Philip* deafe on that eare, and *Iohn* planting his Garrisons with suspicious intents, *Elizabeth* began to looke to the maine, sending the King word, shee liked not that his Soldiers should bee her bad neighbours, and the Gouernour notice that shee would not suffer the Christian *Netherlanders* to be tyrannized by his *Spaniards*. And thereupon caused the value of forty thousand Angells in Bullion, vnmined (in part of an hundred thousand pound sterling promised) to bee sent vnto *Brussels*, receiuing the States obligations for the same; where also were confirmed certaine conditions betwixt her and them.

(160) This moued *Don Iohn* to such conceits, that he intended to doe wonders in *England*, by inter-

The Emperour the French King the Queene of England in election for defence.

Objections against the Emperour.

Objections against the French King.

Queene Elizabeth chosen to be the defender.

The reasons alleged to haue Elizabeth their gouernour.

The States of the Low Countreys sent to the English Queene.

Don Iohn made gouernour of the Low Countreys.

The States sue against the Queene.

The Queene solicits the Spanish King for the States, Ed. Grimston lib. 10. pag. 611.

p. 612.

Ed. Grimston lib. 10. pag. 619.

terposing himselfe in the Scottish affaires, yea, and by the destruction of *Queene Elizabeth*, whereto hee is said to haue got the *Popes* good furtherance. But whether by poison or discontents this great conceited Monarch left the Crowne of *England* where it gloriously stood, and laid his owne head in the graue of death.

(161) And indeede so glorious was *Elizabeths* fame, growne now more potent by the Low Countreys engagements, that the wife Statist of *France*, feared their owne Starre would be dimmed at the presence of her bright Sunne. For *Henry* their King, though he made great shewes to doe much, both in the Church and Counsell of State; in feasts, in masks, and in treading the measures of dances, dallied out both day and night in vnmeasurable delights; And yet the Clergy to hold in their owne hands the raines of Church-gouernment, with Bels, Bookes, and Beads, founded forth the zeale of his religious piety in the cares of their auditories: And to manage all temporal affaires at their owne dispose, the *Queen Mother*, and the *Guize* laide loose the bridle in his owne necke, not abridging his pleasures with their grauer aduices. But left the *English maiden Queene* should bee a maule to the Churchmens Maffings, or disturbe these State-guiders by claime (as shee had done) of her owne right in *France*; the marriage motioned nine yeeres before, betwixt their Kings brother *Francis Valois Duke of Anjou*, and *Elizabeth Englandes faire Queene*, was againe solicited in hope by this match to make her wholly theirs, the better to establish their peace: & to effectually be the sure moued, and so acceptably heard of her Maiefty, that the *Monsieur* came on in person to wooe her himselfe: though to the little liking of many Nobles, and great discontent to the Commons, as (amongst other appearances) was made knowne by a booke written against it, for which (by reason of some personall and ouer-lauish passages) the *Inditor* lost his hand. But whether her Maiefty affected not marriage, or disliked the man, or else out of her tender care not to giue the least griefe, or distaste to her Subiects, after most Princely and magnificent entertainment shee let him depart without any promise of a nuptial knot.

(162) The fame of this Duke was very renowned, and much the more by the *English Queenes* fauours, in so much, that the distressed vnto Princes, after they had declared *Philip of Austria* (then King of *Spain*) by his too violent Government against their priuileges (whereunto hee had sworn) to be an enemy vnto their state and peace, and therefore vpon breach of couenants to haue fallen from his interest among them, chose this hopefull *Monsieur* to bee their Protector, as a Prince most powerfull to defend their cause; of whose triumphes and *French* treacheries there, let *Serres* and *Petit* report for me.

(163) He dying in *France* (penitent and sorrowfull for what hee had done), and *William of Nassau Prince of Orange* (by an Edict from *Spain* proclaimed a Traitor, his Lands and goods giuen to them that could bring him either dead or alieue, with a further reward of twenty five thousand Crownes annuall) was first dangerously wounded in the face with a Pistoll, and at last murdered with the like shor by the base hand of an odious traitor at his Court in *Delfe in Holland*; whereupon the oppressed Princes once more sued for reliefe, both to her Maiefty of *England*, as also vnto *Henry the French King*.

(164) Shee much disliking the cruelties of *Spain*, whose hands were thus dippt in the blood of this Prince, commended their cause vnto King *Henry* by an honorable Ambassage. But hee, finding himselfe ouermastered at home, and in danger of the *Guize* and the league; himselfe without forces, and theirs growne very strong; recommended their distressed vnto *Queene Elizabeth* by his owne Am-

bassadour, promising her by the faith of a King, assistance for those *Netherlanders* reliefe: and the like request hee made vnto the King of *Namur* in their behalves. Hereupon their Procurators were sent into *England*, with full Commission to dispose of their Princes at the *Queenes* pleasure.

(165) Her Councell then assembled to conferre of the businesse, many wayty considerations amongst them were moued, and lastly concluded, that her Maiefty ought to accept of the offer. The defence of *Gode Gospel* was the first mouie the being the nursing mother of *Christis* distressed Saints; the *Spanishe* Inquisition, that without respect had persecuted her Subiects contrary to right, was too cruell to be tolerated; *Philips* Army with flying colours sent lately into *Ireland* vpon gift made vnto him by the Pope, with a purpose of the like enterprize for *England*, bewaried their intents and lastly the hard measure that was to bee expected for *England*, if the *Spaniards* seated in these neere *Netherland* Princes was to be prevented. These important reasons for her owne State, and pity of theirs, moued her Maiefty to become their Defender, but would in no wise take the Title of *Soueraigne Lady* thereof, which they would haue conferred vpon Her and her heires.

(166) And thereupon Articles being drawne, (to the number of thirty) *Sir Iohn Norris* (a renowned Marshall man) was appointed General of five thousand foote, and a thousand Horsemen English, all retained at her Maiefties pay during the laid warres; which monthly amounted to twelue thousand five hundred, twenty fixe pound sterling, accounting 56. dayes to the month, according to the Contract. For which monies so disbursed, the Townes of *Flushing* and *Brill*, with two *Skonnes*, and the *Castell of Ramen* in *Holland*, were deliuered to her Maiefties vic in pledge, vntill the money were repaid: these Couenants were dated at *Nijmegen* the tenth of August in Anno 1585.

(167) This Protection, vnderaken by the *Queene of England*, was very ill taken by King *Philip of Spain*; neither better digested by the *Popes* holy Father, as was shewed in two lying libels published against her: where amongst other things, shee was taxed with Ingratitude towards King *Philip*, who in the raigne of her sister, was said to haue saved her life, and that treacherously hee had sought the death of the Prince of *Parma* the present Gouernour in those parts vnder the said King: vnto which impudent flanders shee made answer in a booke printed both in English and French, shewing the shamefull vntruth of those impudorous liars, and the reasons that led her to assist those poore distressed States, whereof these were a part.

(168) The natural situation of those Countreys, lying directly opposite to *England*; the neerenesse, commodious hauens, and commerce of these people with the *English*, euen when they were scurall, and not yet vnited together, as of late yeeres they haue bene, by inter-marriages, and reduced vnder the Governments of the Lords that succeeded in the Dukedome of *Burgundy*; betwixt whom and the *English* Kings, hath bene a continuall league; as also betwixt the natural Subiects of both Countreys, both of commerce for Merchants, as all other speciall bonds of mutuall amity. For testimony of which, there are extant sundry Authentique treaties and transactions for mutuall commerce, intercourse and fraire amity of ancient times; as betwixt King *Henry the sixth*, and *Philip* the Second Duke of *Burgundy*; which was renewed by Duke *Charles* his sonne (Father to the King of *Spaines* Grand-mother, and husband to the Lady *Margaret*, sister to King *Edward the fourth*) and againe confirmed by King *Henry the seventh* and the Arch-Duke *Philip*, Grand-father to the King of *Spain*. And of later yeeres betwixt King *Henry the eighth*, and *Charles the fifth*, Emperour of *Aleman*, Father to *Philip* now King

A. D. 1585.

Considerations why it behoued to assist the Low Countreys.

Sanders and Croychius letters.

Elizabeth takes vpon her the defence of the Low Countreys.

Great summes of monies disbursed, for which certaine holds were deliuered.

Loude-lying libels against her Highnesse.

Printed by Christopher Barker. A. D. 1585. Anno Reg. 27.

Mac-Guyre.

Guaran bought his privacy at a deere rate.

Tir-Oens good seruice against Mac-Guyre.

Tir-Oen growne very bold.

Sir W. Russel L. Deputy.

Tir-Oens dissimulations.

Edward Grimston in lib. Nether. lib. 10.

The Spanishe hostility with England.

Don Lewis sent to haue the Netherlanders banished out of England.

Conference among the States how to withstand the Spanishe Inquisition.

John de Serres. page 685.

The States of France some what iustified at Q. Elizabeths.

A marriage followed.

A. D. 1581. Anno Reg. 24.

Francis Valois comes into England about a marriage with the Queene.

Ind. Sub.

His departure.

Ed. Grimston lib. 10. pag. 611.

Philip adiuueth the States.

Ind. Sub. page 793. See the History of France and Netherland. page 813.

The Prince of Orange murdered.

Ed. Grim. lib. 10. pag. 614.

The Princes sue for help.

Earle of Derby Ambassadour into France.

in affilting K. Philip, who was made the whip in his Holiness hand, & the Duke of Parma appointed the chiefe Commander in that action, which Booke (fraught with all impudency of diuillish slanders against her sacred person) was printed at Antwerp in Anno 1588.

(188) This Bull and Booke coming to the Queenes knowledge; the sent vnto Parma (who had gained the reputation of some Princely vertues) to deale plainly with her; if so, then meant she no longer to continue the treaty of peace: but he with many Court-like complements denied his authority, neither had seene (as hee said) any such precripts. Moreouer the English Commissioners pressed the conditions, purposely to finde some footsteps of this clove-carried designe, when at last it burst forth in these termes, that the King of Spaine had kept fifty thousand men in pay almost a whole yeere to lie still and

doe nothing; to his great charge by the meanes of that treaty. At which very instant, these their hidden traps and royalties apparently shewed themselves, when the Seas were turmented with such a Nauy of ships, as her swelling waues could hardly be seene, and the Flagges, Streamers, and Ensignes, so spread in the winde, that they seemed to darken euen the Sunne, which put the English Commissioners in some suspition and feare, hauing no hostages for their safe returne.

(189) This Inuincible Nauy long in preparing, and now in a readinesse, was furnished with all prouisions of warres, and with many brauadoes spread their failles for Englands inuasion, guided by the Prouinciall Generalls, whose names, the numbers of Vessels, Ordinances, Sallers, Souldiers, and Slaues, as I finde them recorded, in this ensuing Table are inserted.

A Table containyng the prouisions of the Spanish Armado.

Leaders.	Prinonices.	Gallies & Gallions.	Ships, & Hulks.	Pinnaces & Carualls.	Great Ordinance.	Sallers.	Souldiers.	Gally Slaues.
Duke Medina Sidonia.	Portugal.	10.	2.		300.	1300.	3300.	
Diego de Mandrana.	Portugal.	4.			20.	360.		888.
John Martinez de Richald.	Biscay.	10.		4.	250.	700.	2000.	
Michael de Oquendo.	Guyusco.	10.		4.	310.	700.	2000.	
Pedro de Valdez.	Andolozia.	10.		1.	280.	800.	2400.	
Martin de Vertendona.	Italy.	10.			310.	800.	2000.	
Diego Floris de Valdez.	Castil.	14.		2.	380.	1700.	2400.	
John Lopez de Medina.	Medina.		23.		400.	700.	3200.	
Hugo de Moncado.	Naples.	4.			200.	460.	870.	1200.
Antonio Buccado.	Mendoza.		22.		193.	574.	488.	

(190) Admirable (as yee see) was the prouision of this mighty Armado, and so confident was the Spaniard that England should pay the whole shot, that no cost of any thing was at all spared; of bullets for great shot were two hundred and twenty thousand; of powder four thousand and two hundred kintals, every kintall containing a hundred weight; of lead for bullets one thousand kintals; and one thousand and two hundred kintals of match; seven thousand muskets and callers; tenne thousand partizans and halberds; with murdering peeces, double Canons, and field peeces for campe; with store of furniture for carriages, Mules and Horses, so that they were sufficiently provided both for sea and land. Bread and bisket was baked and wine laid aboard for fixe monethes prouision; fixe thousand and five hundred kintals of bacon; three thousand of cheefe, besides flesh, rice, beanes, pease, oyle and vinegar, with twelue thousand pipes of fresh water, store they had of torches, lanthornes, and lampes, canaus, hides and lead to stop leakes, whips, and butcherly kniues; for what vfe wee may imagine. In a word by the report of Don Diego Pimentell, the army was two and thirty thousand strong and cost the King of Spaine thirty thousand ducats euery day.

(191) In this army were five regiments of old Spanish souldiers, of the Tercios, of Naples, Sicily, and the Terceraes, commanded by five Masters Del Campo; the first was Don Diego de Pimentel a Knight of

the order of St. John, brother to the Marquess of Taueras, and couento to the Earle of Benenent and Calui: the second Colonel was Don Francisco de Toledo brother to the Earle of Orgas: the third, Don Alonso de Luxon: the fourth Don Nicholas de Isla or Patrio Anselmo: and the fifth was Augustin Mexia brother to the Marquess of la Garde who was afterwards made Gouverneur of Antwerp; each company hauing in his regiment two and thirty companies, besides the Castilians and Portugall bands, each of them hauing their peculiar gouerners, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

(192) The Generall of this mighty army was Don Lodouicus Perez Duke of Medina Sidonia, Baron of Saint Lucar, of the Order of the Gold Fleece. The Admirall was Don John Martinez de Richald, the Marshall Don Francisco Bonadilla: and the chiefe Counsellors for the warre were Diego Pimentell, Floris de Valdez, Pedro de Valdez, Michael Oquendo, Don Alonso de Liera, Don Diego Maldonado, and Don George Mariquez. Don Martin Alcon was ordained Vicar Generall for the holy Inquisition, in whose traine were a hundred Monkes and Iesuits; and Cardinall Allen was appointed the Superintendent of all Ecclesiasticall matters throughout England; who fearing to bee ouertaken with time, translated Pope Sixtus his Bull into English, that it might bee the sooner published vpon the arriual of the Spanish Fleet into that Kingdome. Of voluntary aduenturers were an hundred twenty foure Noble men, and

The voluntaries
in this voyage.

The Duke of
Parma his pre-
paration.

Ed Grimmon in
library of Her
Majesty.

Rich Hakluyt.

Duke Parma his
forces.

The Noblemen
employed in this
Armado.

Their great
strength in men.

The Popes Cru-
lity.

Is contribution

Their Generall.

The Admirall
Marshall and
Counsellors.

Vicar Generall
of the Inquisition.

Cardinall Allen.

and Gentlemen of great account; all of them furnished at their owne charges; among whome was the Prince of Afcoli, Alonso de Leina, the Marquess of Pennafiel, the Marquess of Ganes, the Marquess of Berlanga, the Count de Paredes, the Count de Teluaz, and diuers other Marquesses and Earles of Honourable Families of Mendoza, Toledo, Pacheco, Cordoues, Guzman, and Manriquez; neither was there any Noble house of Spaine, but had a sonne, brother or Nephew in the voyage, in hope of reuenues and riches in England.

(193) Neither was the Duke of Parma slacke in the businesse, who lying in readinesse to ioyne his forces with this Nauie, let many thousands on work to build ships, to digge and deepen riuers for saile from Antwerp to Guant, and to Bruges, lading three hundred small boates with munition and victuals; as also prepared seauenty others flat bottomde, euery one able to beare thirty hoises for transportation, with Bridges ready made to shippe and vnshippethem. Two hundred more were made of the like fashon, though not so bigge, and lay ready in the Hauens of Newport; at Dunkirke lay thirtie seauen shippes of warre, wherein store of pyles were bestowed, sharpened at the end with yron pykes, to pile vp the mouthes of riuers; and at Graveling hee had provided twenty thousand empty Casks, with Cords and other furniture fite to make floating Bridges to stoppe vp the Hauens. He likewise had shipped great abundance of Saddles, Bridles, with all other furniture for horse; and horses also for carriage, with Ordinance, and other prouisions of warre.

(194) Neere vnto Newport hee had lying vnder the command of Camillo, thirty Companies of Italians, two of Wallons, and eight of Burguinois, euery Company being an hundred men. At Dyxmen hee mustered foure score Companies of Netherlanders, threescore of Spaniards, threescore of high Dutch, and seauen of rebellious fugitiue English, whereof Sir William Stanley was Generall; at Corricke also were foure thousand lodged, and at Watene nine hundred horse, ouer whom the Marquess of Guast was Commander. And to this Land-seruice came the Duke of Pastrana, supposed to bee the Spanish Kings balconie; the Marquess of Bourgon, one of the Archduke Ferdinands sonnes, Don Vespasian Gonzaga of the house of Mantua, a great Souldier, who had bene Viceroy of Spaine, Don John de Medici Baltard of Florence, Don Amedeus Baltard of Sauey, with many others of the like estate.

(195) Neither must you think that Sixtus Quintus the Pope of Rome, did in any wise neglect his diligence and deuotion to this intended inuasion; whose helping hand was shewed in sending forth his Crusado (as hath bene vied against the Turkes) and publishing a safe passport for his Philippians to enter into England. Who also for the furtherance of the enterprise, undertooke to contribute a million of gold, the halfe presently, and the other when any notable Haven in that land should be wonne; with this promise notwithstanding (most wisely inserted) that hee should hold the English Crowne as feudatorie vnto the See of Rome; in earnest whereof, hee bestowed vpon him his Apostolicall benediction, and the Title of the Defendour of the Faith, so liberall was hee, both in his temporall and spirituall largesses, and so forward was Philip to catch at Elizabeths still flourishing Crowne: but her vndanted heart in this present danger, as another Ezekiah, fought vnto the Lord, whose annointed seruant shee was, and who euer had bene her onlie defendand. And for preventing those long threatned stormes, hee sent Charles Howard Lord Baron of Effingham, high Admirall of England, vnto the Seas, where the Lord Henry Seymer kept betwixt Callis and Douer, seconded by the Ships of the vntited Prinonices, in league with the Queene.

(196) The French King who euer honoured & admired Queen Elizabeth great and gracions vertues, hauing more particular intelligences that this great preparation was made against England; gaue speedy & secret notice thereof to her Maicesty, whereupon hee commaunded the generall forces of the Realme in their feuerall shires to bee mustred, trained, and put in readinesse for the defence of the whole; which accordingly was done; and whereof the Lord Robert Dudley Earle of Leicefer, and Steward of her Household was appointed Lieutenant. Tilbury in Essex was the place for the Campe, whereunto were appointed 500. horsemen, and twentie thousand of foot, and to guard her Maicesties person, out of the feuerall Counties of the West, East, and South parts of England, were selected twothousand, three hundred, fifty two horsemen, and thirty foure thousand and fifty of foot, her selfe in courage farre surmounting her sex; as another Zenobia, or rather Deborah, lead forth the Lordes host against this great Sifera, and her souldiers valiant for warre, and apt for battell, men skilfull to handle speare and shield, both for courage and quicke dispatch, might well be compared vnto those Gadites that came to aide David, whose faces were like to the faces of Lions, and were compared to Roes in the mountains for swiftness.

(197) The Inuincible Nauie, and terror of Europe, as the Papals both feared, and took to bee, hauing all things prepared, loosed Anchor from Lisbon vpon the nineteenth of May, and made vnto the Groine in Gallicia, it being the neereft Haven to England, whence hoysing sayles with great hope and pride, bent their courie thitherward; but suddenly the heauens hating such holie actions, powdered downe reuenge, by a fore and v unexpected tempest, which draue the Duke of Medina, the chiefe Generall backe againe into the Groines; eight other of their shippes being dispersed on leas, their masts broken and blowne ouer-board; besides three Portugall Gallies which fell vpon the Coast of Bayon in France, and were set vpon by their owne slaues, whereof David Gwyn an Englishman was the first, who with his fellowes both French and Turkes freed themselves by the slaughter of many Spaniards, among whome Don Diego de Alandran was one.

(198) Charles Howard Lord Admirall hearing for certaine that their Fleet was ready to hoise vp their sailles, had sent the worthy Sir Francis Drake, who was constituted his Vice-Admirall, vnto the West parts, with fifty six shippes well appointed, whither him selfe also following with speed, and ioyning his Fleet, their number amounted to one hundred shippes, whereof fiftene were Victuallers, and nine Voluntaries of Devonshire Gentlemen; many a seruiceable man returning backe for lacke of imployment or place. These from Plymouth refolowing and affaying to put forth to seas, were to meet with the wind; that past the sylles they could not attain, and thence also were forced by tempest into the Haucn, from whence they lanchd to refresh their ships and companies; where lying at Anker, the scouts at Sea had descryed some sayles of the Spaniards, which had bene likewise distressed by the stormes; but before these could bee haled, the wind came about, and brought them to the Groine, where the rest lay in harbour.

(199) Intelligence spreading that the Spaniards were in want; their great shippes dispersed, the rest storme-shaken, and their men by multitudes slaine with the plague; the Lord Admirall meant to vie the aduantage vpon the first North wind, which came about the eight day of Iuly, and bare his sayle almost within sight of Spaine, when suddenly it changing into the South, and hee wisely foreseeing, that the enemy might passe without his discouerie, that the Seas might bee stormy, and his Fleet wind-bound, and that whilst they thus lay abroad, their

M m m m m 2 fer-

The French kind
glue notice to
the Queene of
the preparation.

The Queenes
Forecast Tilbury
17.

Chr. 12. 12.

A. D. 1588.

A tempest of
fleece the in-
uincible Nauie.

Sir Francis Drake
Vice-Admirall of
the English.

* May 30.

June 8.

Iuly 8.

The Queene
sent to Prince
Parma.

Parma denieth
his authority.

The Spanish
purpose made
knowne by
themselves.

The wonderfull
and great pro-
visions in the
Spanish Armado.

Their Regiment.

The Spaniards again set forth.

The English have notice of their approach.

They set forth from Plymouth.

July 20.

The English affaile the Spanish.

July 21.

A Gallion distressed.

July 22.

service much better might be employed at home, hee therefore presently returned, and ankered his Fleet in the Haven of Plymouth, suffering his men to relieue themselves on land.

(200) But the Spaniards ships new rigged, and their wants supplied, their King still hore on his former resolutions, instantly vrged and hastened his Chieftaines to put againe to Sea, which accordingly was done vpon the eleuenth of Iuly, waying their Ankers at the Groin, where with braue flues and full sailes they came into the Channels of the narrow Seas, where they cast anker, and dispatched certaine small pinnasses vnto the Duke of Parma, to signifie their arrival and readines, and to command him in the name of the King to forward his charge for that service.

(201) The English Fleet being in harbour, and many men on shore, Captain Thomas Fleming (some say a Pirate) discried the Spaniard vpon the point of the Lizard, the wind being then South and by West: He hastening to Plymouth, made relation thereof vnto the Lord Admirall, the newes was more fearefull, for that it was sodaine, the Queene having received intelligence for certaine, that this great Armado would not come forth that yeere, their bulkes being so dispersed and bruised, and their wants and sicknesse so great, vpon which rash reports (a dangerous matter in State-affaires), so confident she was, that shee felt for foure of her tallest roiall shippes, to bee brought againe vnto Chatham; but Flemings vnexpected discouery hindred that purpose, and all hands were set on work to warpe out the Shippes, the winde blowing harde, and hindering the same.

(202) The next day about noone, this terrible Fleet was delcied by the English, who with a South west wind came forward amaine, and (as seemed) they made for Plymouth. But whether their Commission were otherwise, or for that they saw the English shippes out of the harbour, they passed by, towards Callis, well hoping about those coasts to meet with Prince Parma, by whose waisting that way the English got the wind, and effoons gaue them chase, and encounter, where fire, smoake and echoing Canons beganne the parley, and bullets most freeleie enterchanged betwixt them, were messengers of each others mind.

(203) The next day the two Fleetes fought within Musket shot, where the English Admirall fell most hotely on the Vice-Admirall of Spaine, at which present they well perceived their owne over-fights; their great shippes (like Castles) powerful to defend, but not offend, to stand but not to moue, and therefore farre vnfit for fight in those narrow seas: their enemies nimble, and ready at all sides to annoy them, and as apt to escape harme themselves, by being low built, and easily hore out. Therefore they gathered themselves close in forme of a halfe Moone, and slackened their sailes, that their whole Fleet might keepe together. Notwithstanding, one of their great Gallions, wherein was Don Pedro de Valdez, Valsques de Silva, Alonso de Sayas, and other Noblemen, was fore battered by the English shot, in auoiding whereof hee fell fowle vpon another shippe, and ere shee could be cleared, had her fore-mast broken off, which so hindred her saile, that shee was vnable to keepe way with the Fleet, nor they of courage to succour these Lords, but left both shippe and them, in this sudden and vnlooked for distresse. But night coming on, and shee lagging behind, the Lord Admirall supposing neither men nor Mariners to be left within board, and fearing to loose sight of the Spaniards, putt by, and followed the Lanthorne, which hee tooke to be borne by Sir Francis Drake, but that renowned Knight, busied vpon five great hulkes pursued them amaine, which being haled, were found to be Easterlings, & therupon freed from his further harmes.

(204) The next day following, Sir Francis Drake

espying this lagging Gallion, sent forth a Pinnasse to command them to yeelde, otherwile his Bulletes should force them without further fauour; but Valdez, to seeme valorous answered, that they were foure hundred and fifty strong, that himselfe was Don Pedro, and stood on his honour, therupon propounding certaine conditions. But the Knight sent his reply, that hee had not leisure to parley, if hee would yeeld, presently doe it, if not hee should well proue that Drake was no daftard; whereupon Pedro hearing that it was the fiery Drake (euer terrible to the Spaniards) who had him in chafe with forty of his followers came on board Sir Francis his shippe; where first giuing him the Conge, he protested, that hee and all his were resolu'd to die in defence, had they not fallen vnder his power, whose valour and felicity was so great, that Mars and Neptune seemed to attend him in his attempts, & whose generous mind towards the vanquished, had often bene experienced, euen of his greatest foes. Sir Francis requiting his Spanish complements with honourable English curtseys, placed him at his owne Table, and lodged him in his owne Cabbin. The residue of that company were sent vnto Plymouth, where they remained eighteene monethes, till their ransomes were paid; but Sir Francis his souldiers had well paid themselves with the spoile of the shippe, wherein were fifty five thousand Ducats in gold, which they shared merlie among them. The same day Michael de Oquendo Admirall to the Squadron Gaspulco, and Vice-Admirall to the whole Fleet, suffered no lesse disaster, whose ship being one of the greatest Gallions, fell suddenly on fire, all the vpper part of the shippe, and most of the persons therein consumed, howbeit the Gunpowder in the hold was all saved, and the rest of the scorched Spaniards with the hulke brought into Plymouth, to the great joy of the beholders.

(205) Vpon Tuesday the twenty third of Iuly, the Spaniards approaching right against Portland, the wind came about into the North, as fit as could bee withstood to further their designs; but the English agill, and foreseeing all harmes, recouered the aduantage thereof from the Spaniards, and continued that day from morning till night, in battering those vast wooden Castles with shot both great and small, which forced them for their further safety, to gather themselves close into a roundell, their best and greatest ships standing without, & securing the battered and lesse. On this day the hardest fight was performed: wherein, besides other remarkable harmes, a great Venetian shippe with some other smaller, were surpris'd, and taken by the English.

(206) The foure and twenty day of this present Moneth, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Galliaffes, and the English ships, the Spaniards hauing the aduantage, theirs being towed, and our sailes vnfil'd, by reason of the calme, which notwithstanding they fore galled the enemy with chaine shot, therewith cutting a sunder their tacklings, cables, and cordage to their no litle annoyance. But wanting powder, which so freely they had spent, they sent men on land for a further supply, which ministered dislikes (if not suspitions) to many, that wee should thus want vpon our owne coasts. In which Interim, a Council was called, wherein it was decreed that the English Fleet should be diuided into foure squadrons, and those committed to foure worthy Captaines, and most skillfull Navigators, whereof the Admirall in the Arke Royall was chiefe, Sir Francis Drake in the Revenge led the second, Captaine Hawkins the third, and Captaine Frobisher the fourth. Other most valiant Captaines there were in her Maiesties Shippes, as the Honourable Lord Thomas Howard in the Lion, the Lord Sheffield in the Beare, Sir Robert Southwell in the Elizabeth Jonas, Captain Baker in the Victory, and Captaine George Fenner in the Calson Leiceffer.

(207) The five and twenty of Iuly, the Spaniards

Don Pedro yeeld death himselfe.

July 23.

July 24.

July 25.

ards were attired against the Isle of Wight, where was a terrible encounter, each shooting off their whole sides, and not about six score yards the one from the other, till at length the English so battered the Spanish high Turrets, that they were forced once more to secure themselves in a roundell, and the foresaid Generalls so worthily bare themselves in this conflict, that the Lord Admirall bestowed the Order of Knight-hood vpon the Lords Howard and Sheffield, Master John Hawkins, Martin Frobisher, and others. And yet (by the Spanish brags) a false rumour was spread in France, that England was wholly conquered by the Spaniard.

(208) Their Fleet making forward about Sun-set, the 27. of the same moneth, came against Dunkerke, and ankered within sight of Callis, intending for Dunkerke, there to ioyne with the Duke of Parma his forces, without which, they well saw, they could doe nothing. The English Fleet following, vpon hard vpon them cast anker so neere, that they lay within Culuering shot. Where the Lord Henry Seymer vnited his to the Lord Admirals shippes. Meane-while the Duke of Medina sent vnto Parma, to bid him make ready his long expected forces; with which messengers many Noblemen of the Spaniards went on Land, among whom was the Prince of Ascoli the Kings base sonne, who so well liked his shipping, that hee made no great halt againe from shore: wherein he was onely fortunate; for that his Gallion was cast away vpon the Irish coast, and neuer returned to salute Spaine.

(209) Duke Parma hearing the best of this voyage, makes all things ready that lay in his charge; whose hopes were so fixed for Englands Conquest, that the glittering Diadem vpon Queene Elizabeths head, dazeled his ambitious eye, beeing assured by Cardinall Allen, that he was the man designed to bee crowned therewith, and who, from the Pope and Spaine should hold that Kingdome himselfe. Wherefore thinking his Coroner of the Low Countries Government, would but trouble the English Crowne, and both too weighty to be worn vpon one head, he committed that charge vnto Count Mansfeld the Elder, and making his vovs vnto Saint Mary of Hall in Henault, was already in conceit no lesse then a King. But loo the date of his raigne was expired, and his swelling tide fallen into a Low shallow ebbe; for the day following in his march towards Dunkerke hee heard the thundering Ordinance ring the passing peale of his stile and title, and the same euening had newes of the hard success of the Spaniards, the hoped aduancers of his dreamed fortunes.

(210) They lying the at anker nere Callis, to ioyne their powers with Parmas, were forced thence by a politike stratageme thus: Their Shippes, as Castles pitched in the seas, had their bulkes so planked with great beames, that bullets might strike and sticke, but neuer passe through, so that little auailed the English Canon, except onely in playing on their masts and tackling; whereupon, by her Maiesties aduise and appointment, eight of the English ships were discharged of men, and filled with gunpowder, pitch, brimstone, and other combustible matter; their Ordinance charged with bullets, stones, chaines, and the like, which vpon Sunday, the eight and twenty of Iuly, at two of the clocke after mid-night, were let driue with winde and tide among the Spanish Fleet, whose Pilots returning, and their traines taking fire, such a suddaine thunder-clap was giuen, that the Spaniards, affrighted in the dead of the night, were stricken into a horrible feare, least all their shippes should bee fired by these, which present mischief to auoide, in great perplexity, they hasted to cut their owne cables, the time beeing too short to weigh vp their ankers, and hoisting their sailes did driue at randome into the Seas, in which hast and confusion the greatest of their Galliaffes fell foule vpon another ship, and lost her

The fleetes distressed by stratagem.

July 28.

Rudder, so that guidelesse the droue with the tide vpon a shelue in the shoare of Callis, where shee was assaulted by the English.

(211) This Galliaffe was of Naples; her General, Hugh de Moncado, who fought the more valiantly in hope of present relieue of the Prince of Parma; but Sir Amias Preston gaue so fierce an assault, that Moncado was shot dead with a bullet, and the Galliaffe boarded, wherein was many a Spaniard slaine, and a number of the rest leaping into the Sea, were drowned; yet Don Antonio de Matiques, a principall Officer, had the hap to escape; and was the first man that brought into Spaine the welcome of this now vincible Navy. This huge Bottomes, manned with foure hundred souldiers, and three hundred slaues, had in her also fifty thousand Ducats of the Spanish Kings treasure, a boory well fitting the English souldiers affections; who, hauing ranfacked all, and freed the slaues from their miserable fetters, went about to fit that vessel of Empittines on fire; but Monsieur Guendon, the gouernour of Callis, fearing some danger to the Towne or Haven, would not permit them, but discharged his ordinance against such as assailed it.

(212) The morning after this their miserable hap, ranging themselves againe into order, they approached ouer against Greueling, where once againe the English getting the winde, the Spanish were thereby deprived of the Conueniency of Callis roade, and kept from supply out of Dunkerke; in which port had rested their full hope of support. Notwithstanding they were forced to passe by, and so followed by the English, that their ships discharged vpon them from morning till night, the conflict prouing dimall to the inuincible Armado; for therein a great Gallion of Biscaie perished, the Captaine thereof to auoid ignominy, or to be accounted valorous, desperately slew each others, in which distresse also two other great ships presently sunke. The Saint Philip, and Saint Mathew, two Portugall Gallions, were so torn with shot, their tacklings spent, and their bulkes rent, that the water entred in on all sides; in the former of which, was Francis de Toledo, being Colonel ouer two and thirty bands, who taking his course for the Coast of Flanders, the leake was so great, that hee with others, committing themselves to the Skiffe, arrived at Offend, and the Ship, with the residue, were taken by the Englishers.

(213) In the Saint Mathew was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli, Campe-maister, and Colonel alio of thirty two bands; whose Shippe, though very strong, was so pierced with shot, that her Leakes could not be stopp'd, which knowne, the Duke of Medina sent his skiffe for him; and some others, to saue themselves from their imminent danger. But he, vpon a Spanish braue, refused so to doe, al-faying each way to free himselfe like a souldier; but not able to keepe saile with the Fleet, he forthwith made toward the coast of Flanders, where being espied by five men of warre, was met with, and required to yeeld, which lastly hee did vnto Captaine Peter Banderduesse; who carried him into Zealand, where, for a trophy of Victory, his Banner was hung vp in the Church of Leiden in Holland, whose length reached from the very rooffe vnto the ground: and another Ship of lesse burden coasting also for Flanders, was cast away on the sands.

(214) The Spaniards now finding their BENVENIDA vnto England far other then they expected, were content to couch their fleet close together, not seeking to assaile but to defend; and the winde comming to the South-west, in the same order passed by Dunkerke, whom the English still followed. But least Parma should play vpon aduantage, the Lord Admirall dispatched the Lord Henry Seymer, with his Squadron of small ships, vnto the coast of Flanders, to second those Hollanders which there kept watch vnder the conduct of

Iustit

A Galliaffe taken.

July 29.

A Gallion taken.

The Hollanders
Ardes.English fugi-
tives procure the
most desperate
enemies.

* July 30.

The Spanisb
Armado fleeth.

August 2.

The Spanisb
confultation.The Spaniards
cast their horses
into the sea.

Infant Nassau their Admirall: whose Nauy consisted of thirty five shippes, furnished with most skillfull Mariners and old experienced souldiers, whereof twelue hundred were *Muskettiers*, whom the States had culled out of the Garrisons. Their charge was, to stop all entrance into their Hauens, or entercoure with *Dinkerke*, whicher Duke *Parma* intended; though his men were vnwilling, hearing how their friends were welcome at the sea, onely the English fugitives, about feuen hundred, vnder the command of that treacherous Knight Sir *William Stanley*, were very forward to bee the first that should assault England.

(215) But the *Armado*, being now passed the place of their expected supply, and hauing gotten more Sea-roume for their huge bodied bulkes, *spread their maine sailes, and made away as fast as winde and water would giue them leaue, more fearing the small Flecte and forces of the English, (though nothing in number like vnto them) then standing vpon termes of honour, either of their chieftaines or *Invincible Nauy*. But surely, if they had knowne the want of powder that ours sustained, (a fault vnexculpable vpon our owne coasts,) they no doubt would haue stood longer to their tacklings; but God in this, as the rest, would haue vs to acknowledge, that we were onely deliuered by his owne gracious providence and Arme, and not by any policy or power of our owne.

(216) The *Vincible Armado* holding on their way, the English Admirall followed, least they should aslay to put into *Scotland*; but the winde comming faire, and feare of more encounters, with all their sailes spread they betooke themselves to flight, leauing *Scotland* on the West, and bending toward *Norway*; it aduised (but that necessity vrged, & God had infatuated their counsells) to put their shaken and battered bottomes into those blacke and dangerous Seas; neither was the Climate healthfull for the crazed bodies of the *Spaniards*, ouer-beaten and tyred with wants, being now entered the degree of Latitude. 57. from whence the Lord Admirall returned, leauing some Scouts to descry their successe.

(217) The *Spaniards* now cleared from those their haunting spirits, consulted most seriously what was to be done: the Popes credite was to bee respected, who had predicted this voyage to fortunate successe; the wrath of King *Philip* was to be feared, his great expenises thus lost; the aduenturers loofers if the voyage should bee left; the glory of the *Spaniards* laid in the fids, the *Invincible Nauy* in the ebbe of her fame: and England still England, not lorded by the *spaniard*, if they thus without further attempt should returne into *Spaine*. But withall, fife thousand of their souldiers were slaine; multitudes of sicke and maimed lay on their hands; twelue of their greatest shippes were funke, lost, and taken; their Cables, Maits and Sailes, cut, rent, and broken, with the English host, their ankers left, where the fired Hulkes forced them, their victuals failing, and fresh-water all spent, their enemies no lesse fierce and vndauntable, then fortunate: and their long expected friend, the Duke of Parma, though euer preparing, yet still forestalled by the *Dutch*, most firme Allies vnto the Queene: these circumstances wisely balanced, the voice went current for speeding into *Spaine*.

(218) But knowing that *Scotland* (whose Religious King was fast-knit in affection, and blood vnto Queene Elizabeth) would yield them no comfort, and hopelesse also that *Norway* would giue them any supply, they cast all their Mules and Horses ouer-board for sparing of their fresh-water: then framing their course to saile about *Cathenes* and the coasts of *Ireland*, so proceeded betwene the *Orcades* and *Iles of Fero* vnto the 61. degree Northward, whence the Duke of *Medina*, with his best stored shippes tooke Westward ouer the maine Ocean towards *Biscay*, and so arrived safely in *Spaine*, where

for his *Welcome*, hee was depofed from all his authority, forbidden to come at the Court, and commanded to bee priuate. Neither could hee thus giue satisfaction for his bad successe, albeith imputed it to the treachery of his mariners, their ignorance, and small experience of those Northern Seas, the want of succours from the Prince of *Parma*, the tempests, shipwrackes, and illfortune, but not a word of the iudgements of God vpon this Gyantlike attempt to enlaue all England to the mountaines of *Grenada*, or to the mines of *Pera*.

(219) The residue of his shippes, about forty in number, fell neerer with the coast of *Ireland*, intending for *Cape Clare*, where they well hoped to water; but the windes contrary, and tempests storming vpon those dangerous Seas, many of their shippes perished vpon the shoares of *Ireland*, and among other a great Galliasse, wherein *Michael de Oquendo* was a commander, and two other of *Venice*, both shippes of great burthen, besides thirty eight more, together with most of the *Spaniards* contained within them. Those that got cleare of the danger, put forth to Sea, whereof some with a strong West winde were driuen into the channell of England, where part of them were taken by the English, others by men of *Rochel* in France, and some arrived at *Newhauen* in *Normandy*. In so much, that of one hundred thirty foure shippes, which had set saile out of *Lisbon*, onely fifty three returned to *Spaine*: of the foure Galliasse of *Naples*, but one: of the foure Gallies of *Portugall*, but one: and of the ninety one Gallions, and great Hulkes from diuers Prouinces, only thirty three returned, fifty eight being lost: in briefe, there were missing of their whole fleet fourescore and one vessels, and of the thirty thousand souldiers, thirteene thousand, fife hundred and odd. Of prisoners taken in England, *Ireland* and the Low-Countries were two thousand and more. In England, *Don Pedro de Valdez*, *Don Vasquez de Sylua*, and *Don Alonso de Sayes* and others were kept for their rancome: in *Zeland*, *Don Diego de Pimentell*, and in *Ireland*, *Don Alonso de Lucan*, *Roderigo de Lasso* and others of great account: to conclude, there was no famous or worthy family in all *Spaine*, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinsman.

(220) Thus were these Sea-seruices effected: as for the Land, preparations were made throughout the Kingdome, but the maine forces lying encamped at *Tilbury* vnder the command of the Earle of Leicester, thither her Maieity in person vpon the ninth of August repaired, full of Princely resolution, and more then feminine courage, whose loudly presence and imperiall speeches, as shee passed like some Amazonian Emperesse through all her Army, were so acceptable and gracious, that Her souldiers, full-fraught with manly spirit, yet receiued an access of hardinesse from so alacrious a patterne in their *Mayden Queene*: and both they perceived so well the loue of their Prince, and shee saw what it was to haue the loue of her subiects, that the harmony of both their affections was admirable, both of them professing resolution, and willing to sacrifice their liues in that most rightfull quarrel. But the God of Hosts hauing now prevented their forwardnesse, without losse of English blood, eie-soones the Campe was dissolved: and not long after Leicester ended his daies, hauing beene a Peere of great estate, but lyable to the common destiny of most Great ones, whom all men magnifie in their life time, but few speake well of after their death.

(221) The Land thus deliuered by the arme of the Omnipotent, and the Bore put back that sought to lay Englands faire vine-yard waste, Queene Elizabeth (who euer held ingratitude a Capitall sinne, but especially towards her Almighty proteour) commanded solemne Thankes-giuing to bee celebrated vnto the Lord God of Hosts, at the Cathedra Church of *Saint Pauls* in Her chiefe City of *London*, which

The Duke of
Medina dispa-
ced for his luc-
cellite seruice.John Steres
hist. France.The successe of
some shippes on
the Irish coasts.The fune of the
Spaniards lost.The Zelanders
haue fulness to
God.I came, I saw, I
conquered.Earle of Leicester
dies death.Queene Elizabeth
thankful-
nesse to God.

which accordingly was done vpon Sunday the eight of September, where eleuen of the Spanisb Ensignes (the once badges of their brauery, but now of their vanity) were hung vpon the lower battlements of that Church, as palmes of praise for Englands deliuerance; a shew no doubt more acceptable to God, then when their spread colours did set out the pride of their shippes, threatening the blood of so many innocent and faithfull Christians.

(222) The next day, the Faire being kept in *Southwarke*, these faire flagges were spread vpon *London-Bridge* to the great ioy of the beholders, and eternall memory of Spanisb purposes, as irreligious as vnprosperous. But the solemne day assigned to be kept holy throughout the land, was the nineteenth of *November* being Tuesday, which accordingly was then done, and would to God had so continued still, being no lesse for our deliuerance, then was that *Purim* for the Iewes, which they instituted to be kept holy throughout their generations.

(223) Queene Elizabeth therefore, to bee her selfe an example vnto others, vpon the Sunday following, being the foure and twentieth of *November*, repayed from the Pallace of *White-Hall* in *Westminster*, through the streets of *London* in great Estate: and came accompanied with her Nobilitie vnto the Cathedra Church of *Saint Paul*, where discounting from her Chariot at the West-dore, shee humbled her selfe vpon her knees, and with great deuotion audibly praised God, acknowledging him her onely Defendor, who had thus deliuered the land from the rage of the enemy. And after the Sermon ended, wherein none other Argument was handled, but onely of prayse and glory to be rendered vnto God; her Maieity herselfe with most princely and Christian speeches exhorted all the people to their due performance of those religious seruices of thankfulness vnto God, like vnto another *Ioshua*, *David*, and *Iosias*. The Zelanders also to leaue a Memorill of their no lesse gratitude to God, then faithfulness to the Queene, caused a new Coyne of silver to bee stamped, hauing on the one side the Armes of their Country engrauen, with this Inscriptiō, *Glory to God alone*, and on the other side, the portraicts of great shippes, vnder-styled, *The Spanisb Fleet*, and in the circumference, *It came, went, and was Anno 1588*. Wherein they alluded to that quicke worke of *Cesar*, * *Veni, vidi, vici*, which wee haue seene also excellently described in deuise, where on the one side, the Spanisb Fleet had inscribed *Veni*, the Summe (the eye of the whole world) *vidi*, and the English Nauy, *vici*. In other coines also were stamped shippes fleeing, & sinking, and in the reuerse, Supplicants vpon their knees, with this Motto, *Man propofeth, God disposeth*. 1588. To the like effect also the Hollanders stamped the remembrance of this *Armado* in their monies, after the example of the Ancient, whose vie was to inscribe their victories vpon their Coines, of which kind were those with *Spanisb Shippes*, hauing this Word, *Impius fugit nemine sequente*.

(225) Neither did the Dutch alone participate the triumph of this glorious successe, but all other Nations also congratulated the same; which vniuersal-loy being excellently expresse in this ensuing Ode, by a * Stranger of eminent Piety and Learning, and translated into all the chiefe Languages of Christendome; we will here annex the same, as the Close and Epilogue of this *Tragicō-Comedy*, to bee perpetuated vnto all ensuing posterities.

*Struemat innumerus Hispanus Cladibus aquor,
Regnus inuictum scepra Britannia suis.
Tanti huius rogatus que. Melius caulat Superbo
Impulit Ambitio, vixit Avaritia.
Quam bene te, Ambitio, meritis vana Sima ventus:
Et tumida timidos vos superas aqua!
Quam bene Raptores Orbis totius Iberos
Meritis inextinguibili iussu vorago Maris!*

*At Tu, cui venit, omni totum militat Acquet,
Regina, O Munda totius una decus:
Sic regnare Des perge, Ambitione remota,
Prodaque sic opibus persequere Pios;
Vt te Angli longam Anglis ipsa fruatur,
Quam dilecta Bonis, iam metuenda Malis.*

*Spaines King with Nauies huge the Seas bestrewe;
To augment with English Crowne his Spanisb fweye.
Aske thee, what caus'd this proud attempt? it was lewd
Ambition drove, and Avarice led the way.
It's well, Ambitions windy puffe lies drownd
By winds, and swelling heare, by swelling waues.
It's well, those Spaniards who the Worlds vast Round
Desuour'd, denouing sea most iustly craue;
But Thou, O Queene, for whom Winds, Seas, do warre;
O Thou, Sole Glory of this Worlds wide Masse:
Soyaigne to God still, from Ambition farre,
So still with bounteous aides the Good embrace;
That Thou, England long, long may England Thee inioy
Thou, Terror of all Bad, thou Good mens Ioy.*

(226) The thunderclappe of this Spanisb Armado thus past, and the *Invincible* vanquished, as the attempt & Issue was open to the eyes of the world, so the due consideration thereof was rooted in all true English hearts; whereupon the Nobles and Commonality being then assembled for Parliament, this court was at length thought fittest, that the proud Castilian should bee required vpon his owne coasts: And first it was determined to aide *Don Antonio* the expelled King of *Portugall*, whose title was apparently farre more iust then either *Philip* for England, or *Stukely* for Ireland, both which Kingdoms they had in hostile manner invaded: and this the rather was refolued on, for that the Spanisb king was endeavouring to repaire his dishonour by repairing his Fleet and Forces for a new expedition against England.

(227) This *Don Antonio* among other Competitors claimed the Crowne of *Portugall* after the decease of King *Henry*, as sprung from King *Emanuel* by his sonne *Don Lewis* the Infanz; but alledged by the Philipians to haue been his *Bastard*. Against which accusation *Don Antonio* had sentence for his legitimation by the Bishoppe of *Angra*, and euerly way fought to rubbe off that scandalous imputation. His conditions were such as well befitted a Crowne, he being a Prince of greater spirit then person, and yet of rare modesty and humility, seasoned with a disposition very deuout and religious, whereby hee came to bee in farre better fauour and esteeme then *Philip* of *Spaine*; for which cause hee was first made Defender of the Realme by the Gourcnours, and afterwards accepted King by the people, whereto he was in a manner enforced, seeing himselfe enuironed with many drawn swords in midst of a furious multitude.

(228) But *Philip* as mote ambitious, so more strong in men and munition, made warre into *Portugall*, and by his Generall, Duke *Alba*, put this new King vnto fights after which fortune, himselfe enters *Portugall*, where hee proclaimed eight hundred thousand Crowns to him that could bring him *Don Antonio* either alide or dead. But such was their loue vnto this vnfortunate Prince, that eight monethes hee kept in *Portugall* disguised, and had conference with conference with many, yet was neuer betrayed; but notable to hold vp his side, the Gouernours (as is the fashion of the world) daily falling to his stronger, after many confits, and much lamenting their miserable estate, left the Spaniard (who then gaped for nothing but Kingdomes) to possesse the Government of *Portugall*.

(229) *Antonio*'s kingly stile thus ended, before it was thoroughly begunne, *Philip* had subiections offered him aide; and in such sort, as some that seemed Competitors, yielded him their rights, among whom *Katherine* Dutchesse of *Braganza* was one yea

Confultations
for attempts on
Spaine.Don Antonio king
of Portugall
flyeth to Queene
Elizabeths pro-
tection.Philip prepareth
for a new expedi-
tion.Don Antonio his
Title.

His condition.

K. Philip at-
tempts the
Crown of
Portugall.Portugall posses-
sed by the Spani-
ard.

and Pope *Gregorie* himselfe, who had hitherto sided with *Don Antonio*, the Prior of *Crato*, knowing it was fittest to hold with the strongest, sent *Philip* his Apostolical allowance, the better to put on his New-gotten Crowne; exhorting him to thankfulness, for these his prosperities, and moving him earnestly to make warre against *England*, with proffers of assistance as we have said.

(230) *Don Antonio* thus driven out of his Kingdome, for succour repaired vnto the Court of *France*; where, of the Queene Mother, a pretended Competitor for the Portugall Crowne, he was both fauoured and aided at Seas for the Isles of *Tereves*: but such was his destiny in his Sea-fights also (the *Peruagall* being no lesse powerful then the Spanish Canons) that eight of the tallest French Ships were lost, & two thousand men slaine; among whom was the Lord *Philip Trosy* the Generall, whose death was so taken, and the expedition so censured, as the Portugall Captaine was reputed for Cowards, imprisoned in *France*, and many of them charged with corruption and treason; so that all his hopes were now in the wane, and no further assistance could bee expected of the French.

(231) The pore Prince thus dejected in *France*, knowing the vniuersall report of Queene *Elizabeth* great fame, obtained leave of her Maiesty for access vnto her sacred presence, whose Court had euer been a famous Sanctuary to all oppressed Princes, or distressed Estates: where shewing his right to the Portugall Crowne, and clearing the objections touching his *basardie* (which imputation in sundry languages hee refused in Print to the publike view of the world) receiued now comfort to bee set in his Kingdome, *England* hauing so iust an occasion to Kingdome *Spainie*. Among whom once more he assayed to trie the fauour of Fortune; his Petition to the Queene being onely this, that she would but land him safe in his Country, and amongst his own People, of whose assured loue and readinesse to receiue him as their King, and thence forward to defend him and his iust Title, hee nothing doubted. So honest and reasonable a suite could not but finde fauour with so gracious a Queene: whereupon provision being made for the Portugall voyage, he embarked at *Plimouth* in Aprill, whence fixe of the Queene shippes, and twenty more of warre (besides many other ordained for transportation) spread their Sailes vnder the conduct of the euer-faithfull Sir *Francis Drake*, and the most valorous Sir *Iohn Norris* Generall for the land seruice, with eleuen thousand soldiers, and twenty five hundred Mariners. These landing in a Bay of *Galicia*, nere vnto the *Groine*, in their March were met and encountered within halfe a mile of the Towne, but their enemies were soone forced to retire vnto their Gates.

(232) The next day General *Norris* hauing viewed the aduantage, resolved to attempt the place by a scallado, and to land some Artillery, to beate the ships and Gallies which did play vpon their troopes, which was effectually performed; and the Gallies forced to abandon the Roade, the Basse-Town was surprized, and in three severall places entered, where the Inhabitants with a great cry tooke into the high Towne, but some prevented, elapsing the fury of the sword fledde to the Rockes, where they were found and slaine to the number of five hundred. Among these for hid, *Don Iuan de Luna*, a man of great command, was one, who the next morning came forth, and yielded himselfe to the Generals deuotion; *Iuan de Vera*, a Commissary of victuals, was likewise taken, who confessed that there was in the Towne three hundred thousand Ducats of silver, and order giuen for the baking of three hundred thousand of Bisket, that the Towne was stored with two thousand Pipes of wine, a thousand lasses of Oyle, three thousand Kintals of Beefe, a great quantitie of Beanes, Pease, Wheat and Fish, and of Match and Harqueboizes three Barks were brought thi-

therence long before. All which (hee confessed) were for a new voyage against *England*. And indeed such store of wines was there found, as the English Souldiers vnto little moderation in drinking, did not onely lay themselves open to danger from the vpper Towne, but by distemperature so inflamed and infected their bloud, that it caused a greace mortality and infection in the whole Army.

(233) The Basse-Town thus gotten, a sudden rescue of two thousand men so resolutely came to the very Gates, as though no contrary power could possibly keepe them from entrance, but in the first brunt of resistance, they were content to make their heeles the safe-guardians of their heades, of whom yet many were cut short by the English pursuers. With the like feare the shippes in the Roade were fraught, whose Souldiers overcharging the great Ordinance of a great Gallion, abandoned herbord, and set her on fire, which for the space of two daies burned in most terrible wise, so that of fifty great peeces but sixe were found whole, the rest broken and melted, and so brought away by the English; but the higher towne strong both by situation and sufficiency for resistance, resolutely held out, onely intremed by *Parley* to haue faire Warres. And being built for the most part on a hard rocke, one place was found mineable, where the Generall the fourth day of this siege set men on worke, who bedded their powder somewhat too short of the wal, whereby that designe took not the supposed effect. But this error reduced, another great was committed, for the Mines againe set on worke, came right vnder the Wall, but somewhat wide of a great Tower thereupon built, so that when the blast of powder brake forth, it ouerthrew but a part of the same, and left the other standing tottering and shaken, which being not regarded in the heat of assault, fell suddenly vpon the English, and slew Capitaine *Sydenham* with thirty Souldiers besides, to the great astonishment of the rest there employed, not knowing the cause whereof it came, but rather suspecting it a Stratagem of the Towne; and the rest of the rubbish lay to looke vnder foot, that the Assaulters could haue no sure standing to make their fight.

(234) Whiles these things were in doing, the Generall had certaine notice that the *Comde de Andrada* had assembled an Army of eight thousand strong, which was but the beginning of another more strong, leuiued vnder the *Comde de Alencara*; the former, not passing fixe miles off, and both of them intending the rescue of the *Groine*: To prevent which, Sir *Iohn Norris* with nine Regiments met them, and presently fell to a hotte skirmish, whose brunt the enemy notable to endure,ooke ouer a Bridge, built vpon a Creeke of the Sea, at the further foot whereof their Campe lay very strongly entrenched. Sir *Edward Norris*, Colonell *Sydenham*, the Captaine *Hinder*, *Fulford*, and *Barton* entered the Bridge, whose further end was barricaded with Barrels, where comming to push of pike and sword, Sir *Edward* was grievously hurt in the head, Capitaine *Hinder* receiued five wounds in the heade and face by the sword; Capitaine *Fulford* hurt in the left arme with a shot, and Capitaine *Barton* hurt in the eye. Notwithstanding, the Generall so seconded the encounter as the Guard was ouerthrowne, and the whole Army put into route, of whom our men had the Chafe fully three miles in foure sundry wayes. What the slaughter was, is vncertaine, but supposed to bee great; besides others that were found hid in Vineyards and hedges, and two hundred put to sword that had taken into a Cloister. In this seruice the Kings Standard was taken, some plate and rich apparell found in their Campe, and the Country for three Miles compass set on flaming fire; the Generall making his retreat with the Kings Colours and Armes displayed before him, to the great honour of the English.

(235) Thus

The Groine suspected infection through intemperate drinking of wine.

The Enemy put to flight.

The enemy put to flight.

The enemy put to flight.

The attempt for Lisbon.

Spanish history.

The enemy was routed. May 6

The English victorious.

The English approach Lisbon.

(235) Thus returning vnto the *Groine*, and wanting Cannons to batter the walles, the English fired the Basse-Towne, embarked from thence, and put againe to Sea. But the windes being contrary, many assaults were made before the Fleet could recover the Burlings, in which passage *Robert* Earle of *Essex* with *M. Walter Damer* his brother, accompanied with others, came to the Fleet, which Earle hauing put himselfe into the iourney against the opinion of the world, or well-liking of the Queene, seemed vnto the Sager fort to hazard his fortunes; but other more stirring spirits, held it the great aduancement of his reputation; whereof I thinke I may say, as *Tacitus* said of *Vespasian* employment in *Britaine*, That there was laid the first foundation of his future esteeme.

(236) The Fleete thus encreased, they landed in *Portugall*, euen vnder shot of the Castle of *Peniche*, where the Sea growing high, many were in perill of drownings; for most of them waded to the waile for the Shoare. Of this Towne and Pece, *Comde de Fuenles* had the command; who with five Companies of Spaniards failed out against the English, and made their approach close to the Sea-side; whereupon the Earle of *Essex* with Sir *Roger Williams* diuided their men into two Troupes, the one keeping the Sands along the Shoare, and the other ouer the sand-hilles made towards the in-land. Which the enemy seeing, halted to the encounter, and came vnto fight, euen within push of Pike; but were so entertained, as they had no great liking, but presently turned their backs, and fled further then the English had reason to follow. The Towne they left vndefended, so that it was entered without any resistance, and the Castle summoned the same night, the Capitaine whereof was *Antonio de Arida*, a Portugall, who demanding, and being satisfied, that *Don Antonio* was present, gaue vp the peece, with the munition therein. Vnto this place some Fryers & other poore of the Country, came to welcome their King, promising him (in the name of the rest) a sufficient supply both of horse and foot, which notwithstanding was neuer performed.

(237) Here it was thought fittest that the wounded and sicke should remaine, with sufficient provision, and seuen companies of foot to guard the ships and Castle, and the maine Army to march ouer land vnto *Lisbon*, the *Metropolitane* of *Portugall*, accounted the strongest Fort in the World, and whoe soeuer held that, might (in their esteeme) make head against the mightiest Monarch in the Earth; whither likewise Sir *Francis Drake* (Generall of the Sea-seruice) promised to come, if the iniury of weather did not hinder him. The March vnderaken, *Tarres Redras* made some shew of resistance, but presently vpon the approach of the English, that Castell was abandoned, and left to the possession of *Don Antonio*, whose hopes hereupon beganne to enlarge, thinking the whole would stand for his claime; but therein was not a little decieued; for victuals growing scarce in the Army, the Country did not supply them according to expectation, neither came in any of strength. Notwithstanding the English Army from *Redras* marched to *San Sebastian*, thence to *Lares*, and lodged the fifth day at *Aluelana*, three miles from *Lisbon*, where many of their Souldiers perished by drinking in two places of poisoned standing waters, as also in eating of honey, purposely left in the houses, and spiced with poison, as it was thought.

(238) The five and twentieth of May, the English Army came vnto *Lisbon*, whose Suburbs were found abandoned, houses of provision for corne & victuals fired, and none left to defend but a sort of olde folkes and beggars, crying in the streets, *Viva el Rey Don Antonio*; and about midnight they within the Towne set fire on their houses that stood within vpon the wall. The English wearied with the six daies march, want of victual, the last nights watch, and many of them weake, were desirous of rest;

whereof the enemy hauing aduertisement, in the dead of the night sallied out of the Towne, and made their assault in three severall streets, but chiefly vpon Colonell *Brets* Quarters, who being at rest (as most of the Army were) with what halt was possible, put himselfe, and his in Armes, & so thoroughly made head, that hee was slaine in the place, Capitaine *Carr* with the like resistance and valour ended his life; Capitaine *Cassidy* wounded to death; Capitaine *Cane* hurt, but not mortally. The others found not their attempts so easie, but were put to a suddaine and foule retreat; in such sort that the Earle of *Essex* (full of high spirit, and hore youthly bloud) had them in chafe to the very gates of the high town; and (as it was truly reported) the enemies losse did triple the English, as well in quantity, as in men of quality.

(239) Mean while General *Drake* with his whole Fleete was come to *Cascais*, and possessed the towne without any resistance, for the inhabitants at the discourtesy of his Nauie, fledde with bagge and baggage into the mountains, which the Generall perceiuing, sent vnto them a Portugall Pilote, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so as they would accept of their rightfull King, and minister necessities to the Army which hee had brought. Which offer they joyfully embraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of the Towne, to signify their loyalty to *Don Antonio*, and their honest affection to his Army, whereupon Sir *Francis* immediately landed his Companies, but not without perill of the Castell, which being guarded by the Spaniards, held out against him for their King.

(240) At *Lisbon* the Portugals had promised to aid *Antonio* with three thousand horse, besides other supplies from the Duke of *Bragansa*, *Don Francisco de Toledo*, and others, at a day prefixed, and now altogether past, by reason (as it seemeth) that the Spaniards hauing chiefe command in all places, they were vnable by any means to make head. Whereupon the vnfortunate *Antonio* seeing the time expired, & but forty horse come, nor of foot sufficient to furnish two Ensignes, grew almost hopelesse, yet assailed hee to perseuade a stay before *Lisbon* for 9. daies more: but the Towne being strong, and the English declining (for there was the first apparant shew of sicknesse among them) the Portugals backward, and of base resolutions, ready to obey any of themselves may be rich; and the Generall hauing already done more then was promised, left they should hazard the honour which hitherto had bene gotte, denied his request, and gaue present order to return to *Cascais*; himselfe, the Earle of *Essex*, and Sir *Roger Williams* remaining with the stand, that was made in the high street, till the whole Army was drawn into the field: at which time, the King (euen herein of kindly disposition towards his Naturae) made request to saue the Suburbs from spoile, which if the English had ransacked, they had bene the richest Arme that euer returned to *England*. But now ready to depart *Lisbon*, the noble *Essex* in the courage of his Martiall bloud, ranne his speare and brake it against the Gates of that City: demanding alowde, if any Spaniard mewed therein, druff aduerture forth in fauour of his Mistresse to break a staffe with him. But those Gallants thought it safer to court their Ladies with amorous discourses, then to haue their loues written on their breasts with the point of his English Speare.

(241) Being now come to *Cascais*, intelligence was brought by a Fryer, that the enemy was marched vnto *Saint Iulian* with a strong power to encounter the English, vnto whose Generall, the Generall *Norris* sent a Trumpet, promising to meete him the next morning if hee durst abide his comming, and withall gaue him the lie: the Earle of *Essex* also sent him a particular Carrell, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his qualitie, or else fixe, eight or tenne, to trie single combat, where

A Sally on the English.

Essex pursued the enemy to the very Gates.

Drake surprised Lisbon.

Don Antonio his princely compassion.

The Castle of
Cafala rendered.Sixty Spanish
Hulkes taken.

at this Spaniards combe was so cut, as in the night, before battell, in great feare and perturbation bee dislodged, and returned to *Lisbon*, not answering the Challenge, but threatening to hang the Messenger, who followed him euen to the very Gate. Then was the Castle of *Cafala* rendered vpon condition, that the men of Armes should depart with bag and baggage; which Pecece in part, by the Order of the Generall, was blowne vp by mine. During which time threefore Hulkes laden with Corne, Mafts, Cables, Copper, and Waxe, beeing the Spaniards Kings prouision were taken going to *Lisbon*.

(242) The English hauing thus farre proceeded, put againe to Sea, when vnlooked for, and in a great calme, nine Gallies fell in the winde of their Fleet, and so plaied vpon a stragling Barke of *Plimouth*, that Captaine *Caluerly*, his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Mariners, abandoning the vessell, betooke them to their Boates, whereof one, (in which the Captaine and Master were) was ouerrunne by the Gallies, and they both drowned. Two other Hulkes also stragling from the Fleet, were set vpon by the Spaniards, in one of which, Captaine *Minslow* fought to the last, and very valiantly after his ship was on fire; but whether fired by himselfe or the enemy, could not be iudged; the calme being so still, as no succour could bee sent from the fleet, to their great griefe.

(243) Thus continuing seuentene daies on board, many of the dead Souldiers were cast into the Sea; and the whole now consisted of two thousand men, who coming to *Pigo*, found every streete fenced with a strong Barricade, and but only one man in the Towne, the Inhabitants making toward *Bayon* as fast as they could drive; then was both the Town and all the Country for seuen miles compass set on a flame. Which seruice thus performed, *Sir Francis Drake* with the *Queenes* ships safely arrived at *Plimouth*, and vpon the second of Iuly following arrived *Sir John Noris*, hauing both of them performed the parts of worthy Generals.

(244) Whilst these Realmes were at variance each against others, the French were not quiet among themselves, the King somewhat voluptuous, but excessively prodigall towards his favorites; the Nobility ambitious, mistrustfull, and disloyall; the Clergy turbulent, and vndutiful, bending all their force and thoughts against the plantation of the truth. To vniue friendship therefore some league had bene made, for confirmation whereof the three Estates were assembled at *Boys*. For the Clergy appeared one hundred thirty foure deputies, among whom were foure Arch-bishops, one and twenty Bishops, and two Generals of Orders; for the Nobility came one hundred and foure score gentlemen; and for the third Estate an hundred foure score and eleuen Deputies, all of them Lawyers and Merchants. Vpon the first sitting, and before these best wits of France, King *Henry* made a Solemne Oration to perswade vnion, full of liuely affection, true magnanimity, and pregnant reasons, deliuered with such an admirable eloquence and grace, as it rauished the eares of all present, besides the opening of the propositions; the which, *Mantelon*, the keeper of the Seale, for him further prosecuted; after him *Reynauld de Beaulme*, Archbishop of *Bourges*, Patriarke and primate of *Aquaine*, spake in the same argument; and lastly, *Nichell Marteau*, Prouost and President for the third Estate, confirmed, and consented to all that had bene said. Whereupon an oath of *vnion* was taken, to binde the King, them, and all their posterities, the fundamental Lawes and liberties of France onely referred.

(245) This notwithstanding, the Leaguers, to hit the marke whereat they aimed, daily diuulged and buzzed the French Kings digresses, and also instill the Guize in his Throne; the Papists wrongs were greuously expostulated, their Churches burnt, and Altars profaned; the people oppressed

with impositions and subsidies, places of Iudgement set to sale, and spiritual benefices to him that would giue most; the offices at Court, they alleged, were managed by men of meane ranke; the Noblemens seruices neglected and vnrewarded. All these, and more, were complained of, and all to make the King base in the peoples eye, the Guize himselfe the while temporizing with both, as diswading the King to subiect his authority vnto their complaints, and at the same present perswading the other, to bee vehement in their pursuits.

(246) Among their other practise one was against the King of *Nauarre*, whom the Clergy condemned for an Heretike, the chiefe (as they termed him) of the relapse, excommunicated and deprived him of the Government of *Guienne*, and of all other dignities, as beeing unworthy of successions of Crownes or Realmes. But *Henry*, with *Felsus* thought it vnreasonable, to condemn this Prince without hearing, and therefore desired to haue him againe summoned, and againe to bee sworne to the *vnion*.

(247) To this motion was answered, that the Cardinal of *Bourbon* his vnkle had once obtained absolution for him; that the *Queene* mother had many times assayed to winne him; many learned doctors had been sent to reclaim him; but all in vaine. For, from the Cradle (said they) hee hath bene brought vp in this new Heresie, hath bene condemned by the Councell of *Trent*, receiued againe into grace by the Consistory, is againe fallen into the error which hee abiured, and is now an Heretike, relapsed, vnworthy of obedience, vnworthy of respect, and vnworthy to bee praised for: for the holy See of *Rome* hath declared him a Schismaticke, excommunicated him as incapable of succession, and therefore must the Estates of France ratifie the Popes sentence; and King *Henry* must thereunto subscribe; if not, the Duke of *Guize*, who was Master of the Castle, and carried the keyes at his owne girdle, would dissolue the assembly and lay all the blame vpon his Maistie.

(248) Thus then (by the purpose of man) the first Prince of the blood, and the onely remainder, after so many filters and couens of *Amou*, *Alencon*, *Eurenx*, *Berry*, *Bourgoyne*, *Angolisme* and *Orleans*; and which only succeeded that of *Valois*, was now deprived of the succession which Nature gaue him, without calling, or hearing of his iustifications.

(249) To further this Guizian enterprize, his followers buzz into the heads of the multitude, that it was the Kings Climatricall yeere, and so many presumptions were observed, as it was told the King in plaine termes that the Duke of *Guize* would surprize him. Whereupon, hauing remained long in suspence, betwixt the rigour of reuenge, and the mildnesse of his owne disposition, at last, by the lightning, supposing a thunder-clap would follow, he sought timely to prevent the danger, by taking away his life, that intended the blow. Which was not so secretly carried, but that the designe was discovered, and a scrowle laid vnder *Guize* his Napkin as he sat at dinner, wherein it was written, that his life was in danger; but hee, as one confident in his owne power, wrote in the same scrowle, these words, *they dare not*; and threw it from him vnder the Table. Other aduertisements hee had if wee may beleue the additions of *Serres* from *Rome*, *Spaine*, *Lorraine*, and *Sauoy*, that a bloody Catastrophe should dissolue this assembly, their Almanakes had observed it, and it was generally predicted for *Saint Thomas* day.

(250) But the Duke bearing himselfe bolde vpon his owne greatness, neglected all motives, and very presumptuously spake to the King, complaining that the affaires of France inclined from bad vnto worse, vncurable, and almost growne desperate, wherefore, the charge hee had receiued, hee would againe giue vp, and retired in the Country, least

A.D. 1588.
Nouemb. 4.

A.D. 1588.

Died Jan. 7.

The papists attempted to the Guize.

Henry King of Navarre pronounced through the Crow of France.

A Jacobine Priest undertaken to kill the King.

A.D. 1589.

least other mens sinnes should be reputed his.

(251) The King, who had resolved on his death, gaue him good words, with promise of amendment what in him lay, and held him with familiar discourses, and fauourable countenance, vntill a fite time should bee offered; which was the three and twentieth of December, when the Lords sitting in Councell, and entering consultation, the *Guize* was called for vnto the King, who as hee lifted vp the Tapestry into his Cabiner, was charged vpon by the Guard, and with their swords and partisans presently slaine, the King aouching, that thenceforth he would rule alone. And not long after the Cardinal of *Guize*, the Duke dranke of the same cup at the commandment of the King.

(252) This death of the *Guize* & Cardinal, caused the King to bee exceedingly hated of the Papals, whose Preachers banded his reproches in their Pulpits, incensing the people to open rebellion, and as Furies of hell heaped an liade of curses vpon the heads of the Executioners. In *Paris* the Kings furniture, and in the *Louvre* his pictures were broken, his Armes beaten down, his Images dragged through the streets, his great Seale defaced, and his royall name blurred with many opprobrious tearmes. Yea and the Colledge of *Sorbon* as forward as any, concluded by a publike Act, That the people of France were free from the Oath of Obedience and Fealty which they stood engaged in vnto *Henry of Valois*, that lawfully, and with a good conscience they might arme themselves against him, seeing his reuenges, and employ it in their warres for his ouerthrow.

(253) Contrariwise the Duke of *Guize* was extolled to heauen, Orations made of his commendable exploits in Hungary against the Turkes, at *Larzac* against the Protestants, at *Poitiers*, at *Montcontour*, at *Vimory*, and at other places; in a word, such were the intestine troubles of France, as the king sent for *Henry King of Navarre* to helpe quench the flames of ciuill sedition, which were mounted so high, as that the Leaguers preuailed against the Lords of Parliament, profaned Churches, violated Virgines, and defied their Christian profession with streames of blood. And to fill vp the measure of their impious iniquity, a Jacobin Friar, by name *James Clement*, when the King had besieged *Paris* (the head City of this rebellion) made vowes to kill the Tyrant (as hee termed him) to free that holy City from *Senacherib*s siege; with which resolution hee went to Doctor *Bourgoine* Priour of his Couent, and imparted this damnable proiect to him, to Father *Commiolet*, to other Iesuites, and to the heades of the League, all of them encouraging him to this Diuclish designe, with promise of Abbeys and Bishopricks if hee escaped, and if he died in the action to be made a Martyr, and haue place in heauen about the Apostles.

(254) Thus furnished with blessings for this cursed act, vpon the first of August the Monke went to *Paris*, and had priuate access to the King to deliuer a letter, pretending some matter of importance; but as the King read it, the Diabolically Instrument with a knife from his sleue, wounded him in the bottome of his belly, and there left the knife, which the King drew forth, and with the same struck this *Jacobine* about the eye: their strugling being heard, many hastily came in, who seeing the King wounded, and all in gore blood, in their rage stabbed the Monster to death, and not many dayes after, *K. Henry* died of the wound.

(255) Whereupon Charles Cardinal of *Bourbon* a younger brother to *Anthony King of Navarre*, and vnkle vnto *Henry* then the present King, was proclaimed Lieutenant Governor, yea and gold and silver coined with his picture and stile of Charles the tenth King of France. Howbeit *Henry King of Navarre* was proclaimed of the Army, whose right was before that Papall Prelates, and whom the last *Henry* by his last will ordained to bee his Successor, Not

with standing onely in respect of his Religion, being a professed Protestant, the Leaguers made such head against him that hee was enforced to sue vnto that Generall Sanctuary of Princes, *Queen Elizabeth* for her aide, who euer fauouring the progresse of the Gospell, and knowing *Nauarres* claime to be above all other (of that Nation) for the French Crown, and that the Spaniard was setting foot into France: first, sent him twenty thousand pound sterling, with powder, munition for warre, and certain ships also to serue at his command; and causing a generall muster to be taken in most of the Shires in England, sent foure thousand souldiers furnished, from euery of them into France, to which seruice the Citizens of *London* set forth a thousand very well appointed and seruicable men: the Generall of all which forces, was the noble *Peregrine Barton Lord Willoughby*; whose want hee again supplied with three thousand foot, which were sent into Brittain, vnder the conduct of *Sir John Norris*; that Ioune of *Alais*: theselyoung with the Prince *Damber Lord* Generall of that Prouince, performed many worthy exploits for the French King.

(256) But *Parma* being entered France, and the Pope with his Cardinals fulminating his Excommunication against *Henry* and his adherents: *Queen Elizabeth* (who neuer was daunted with such flashes) sent into France *Robert Earle of Essex*, for her Lieutenant Generall ouer foure thousand footmen, and two hundred horse, (besides many Pioners) all of them to bandy for the King against his enemies the Leaguers. The Earle, though young, yet full of valour, was followed with many voluntarie Gentlemen, whose countenances well shewed the courage of their hearts: These landing in *Normandy*, laide siege vnto the strong *Rois*, in assault whereof his brother *Walter Deuereux* was slaine with a small shot, to the excessive griefe of the Earle, and others, being a Gentleman trained vp, both by Academicall and Marshall education, vnto very great hopes and expectation.

(257) But King *Henry* finding many rubs in his way, the Leaguers still increasing their strengthes from *Rome* and *Spaine*, and the Crowne of France laid at stake for him, that threw most, thought it good policy (though proued to him in the end disastrous and fatal) to temporize with the predominating faction; and therefore leauing the Religion wherein hee had bene bred, fell to that of *Rome* which euer till then hee had resisted, and after great suit made to the Pope, was lastly absolved by the Holy Father, who heaped whole streames of blessings vpon his sacred head, himselfe swearing to defend the Romish faith against all impugners: so that now all sides satisfied, without contradictions, *Henry of Navarre* was crowned King of France. Onely the Spaniards were vnwilling to leaue that faire Country fortified in Brittain vpon the River, ouer against *Brest*; whence after much slaughter, General *Norris* forced them, though with the losse of some English, & life of Captain *Furbisher* commander of the Fleet.

(258) The Leaguers not liking *Nauarres* advancement, mistrusting that his conseruation was fained, and temporary, as being but a steppe, the easier to mount the royall throne: by treason laide wait for his life, and crost what they could his countenance at *Rome*; whilst the Spaniards employed all their wits for the worrying of France, and so farre perfited in their designs, as King *Henry* by proclamation denounced warre against *Spaine*, and *Philip* in like manner proclaimed warre against France; in which state they stood, during the life of *Ernesus* Archduke of *Austria*, brother in law and Nephew vnto King *Philip*, whose Gouvernour hee then was in the Low-Countries.

(259) After whom succeeded his brother *Albertus* the Military Cardinal, and Arch-duke of *Austria*, who no sooner was made Gouvernour in place of his Brother, but that hee prepared against

I. Villoughby,
Generall of the
aides for France.

Septemb. 21.

A.D. 1591.
Gregory 14.
Earle of Essex
Generall of aids
for France.Walter Deuereux
slaine before
Rois.Spanish history.
Henry King of
France forsaketh
his Religion.A.D. 1593.
Iuly 25.Warres proclaimed
between
France and Spain.

N n n n n

Callis surprised.

the French and United Estates; and to make his allies, hee first beganne with *Callis*, a thing long before projected by others in his place; that Towne being a Sea-port of great importance, as the English found it whilst it was theirs, and the losse thereof great, as Queene *Mary* and her wife Statists both took it, and felt it.

A.D. 1596

Queen Elizabeth offered aid to recover Callis.

(260) At this time the Garrison was small, and the Governour negligent, vndirect, and vnfornate, though having notice from *Netherland* that the *Spaniards* meant her siege; so that *richbanke* left vnmanned, and in great ruine, was entred vpon by the Cardinal, and such as resisted driuen into the Towne; where, with the Inhabitants hee grew to a composition for the surrender, *Vjldoffen* the Governour neuer interposing therein.

(261) *Callis* thus turning Spanish, and the *Spaniards* still intending for England, *Elizabeth* solicited the French king, & proffered her aid for recovery of that Peerce; but hee empowerrised by warre, fought to regaine his losses rather by some faire conditions of peace, then to depend vpon the dependencies & hazard of Armies; at which resolution our Noble *Senobia* was nothing well pleased, and therefore to preuent the practices of *Spain*, began to make good against them, and prepared another expedition to Sea. But dealing more prince-like then *Philip* had done by her (who made fairest pretence of peace, when hee was hott in preparing warre) hee caused to be published and printed a Declaration of the iust causes moving her to set forth her Navy for the defence of her Realme, the Tenor wherof we thinke not vnfit to be here inserted.

The Declaration touching the setting forth of a Navy.

(262) To all Christian people to whom this Declaration shall come to be read or heard, greeting; Wee *Robert Earle of Essex*, and *Ewe, Viscount Hereford*, *Lord Ferrers of Chartley*, *Bourchier*, and *Louaine*, &c. and *Charles Lord Howard*, *Baron of Effingham*, *Lord High Admirall of England*, &c. haueing the charge of a Royall Naue of Shippes, prepared and sent to the Seas, by the most Excellent Princeesse the Lady *Elizabeth*, Queene of England, France and Ireland, &c. doe giue all men knowledge that the said Naue under our charge is by her Maiesty prepared, and sent to the Seas, for defence of her Maiesties Realmes, Dominions, and Subiects, against such mighty Forces as wee are aduertised from all partes of Christendome, to be already prepared by the King of *Spain*, and by further prouisions of men and shippes daily sent for, are to be mightily increased, to inuade her Maiesties Realmes, as heretofore in the yeere of our Lord, 1588. was attempted (euen when there was a Treaty continued by both their Commissioners for a Peace) with a greater Army then euer before in his time was set to Seas: though by Gods goodnes and the valiance and wisdom of her Noble and faithfull Subiects, the same was notably made frustrate. And because her Maiesty hath good intelligence of perfect amity with all Kings and Princes of Christendome, sauing with the King of *Spain*, who hath this many yeeres most vnwisly professed openly great enmity by diuers actions, both against her royall person and her people, and countries, without any iust cause first giuen on her Maiesties part: Therefore wee the said Earle, and Lord Admirall doe ascertain all persons, that wee are most faithfully commanded by her excellent Maiesty, to forbear from offending in this our voyage of any manner of persons of what Nation soeuer, except the said Kings Naturall Subiects, or such other borne Strangers, as shall giue to the said King manifest aide with men, shippes, artillery, victuall, and other warlike prouisions for inuasion of her Maiesty. Which her Maiesties commandment we meane dutifully to obserue, and do therefore giue strait charge to all persons, that shall serue in this Navy underneath vs, vpon pain of extreme punishment to obserue the same yet to auoid all occasions that may breed question, who they are, being not the King of *Spaines* Subiects, that shall be charged by vs, to be manifest aiders for the furnishing and strengthening of the said Kings Forces, provided either by land or sea, to attempt any inuasion of her Maiesties

countries: Wee doe for the liquidation of this doubt, earnestly in Gods name require and charge all persons, that are not the said Kings naturall Subiects, and yet that haue giuen him aide with their shippes, victuall, and munition as is above said, to withdraw all their said shippes prepared for the warre, and all their prouisions of hostilitie out of any Hauens of *Spain* or *Portugall*, or from the company and seruice of the Kings shippes against our Navy; and sheweth vs to returne either to their owne Countries, or if they shall like to come to our Naue, to whom, in the reuerend name of our Soueraign Lady the Queene Maiesty, wee doe promise all security, both for their persons and goods, to be used and defended as friends, and to suffer all their Shippes and prouisions, that were taken by the King of *Spain*, or intended for his seruice, or that shall be by the Owner withdrawn from his aide, to remaine in their free dispositions, so as the same be used in all sorts as friends, and not as enemies to the Queene Maiesty, and to vs her Generals: and if any shall vpon knowledge of this her Maiesties most honourable Order, and of our promise (to obserue the same as fauourably as we may) willingly and manifestly refuse to accept this our offer, and shall not endeuor themselves to performe this reasonable request, tending to their good and liberty; wee shall then bee iustly moued, as by the law of Armes we may, to take and use all such so refusing this our offer, as manifest aiders of the King of *Spain* with forces to inuade her Maiesties Dominions, and so manifest enemies: and in such case of that refusal, if any harme shall happen by any attempts against their Persons, Shippes and goods, by any our Naue, for the aiding of the said King: there shall bee no iust cause for them hereafter to complaine, or to procure their Naturall Princes and Lords to sollicite restitution or amends for the same. And for the more notification hereof, wee haue thought good to haue the Originall hereof to be signed with our hands, and with our Seales, to be sent by any that will require to read or see the same: And likewise wee haue put the same in Print, in French, Italian, Dutch and Spanish, and haue also caused the same to be distributed into as many Ports of *Spain* and *Portugall* as conveniently might be for the better knowledge to be had in the said Ports, as also in all other Ports under his subiection.

R. ESSEX.
C. HOWARD.

(263) These things premised, leuenteene of her Maiesties Ships Royall, three of the Lord Admirals, foure and twenty of the States shippes, Marchants, Men of Warre, and Victuals about one hundred, in all to the number of one hundred and fifty Saile, in the beginning of May met at *Plimouth*, where such lawes were ordained for the true seruice of God, and Iustice in the Army, as it seemed rather a Regiment of Ciuill Academians, then a Rendevou of Souldiers: and her Maiesty likewise in the Court, as *Hezekiah* in the Temple, opened her heart vnto the Lord in this wise.

Most omnipotent Maker, and Guider of the Worlds Masse, that onely searchest and saddest the bottome of our hearts conceits, and in them feele the true Originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truly discern, how no malice of reuenge, nor quittance of iniurie, nor desire of blood-shed, nor greedinesse of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedfull care and wary watch, that no neglect of office, nor ouer-surety of haueu might breed either danger to vs, or glory to them: these being the grounds wherewith thou doest inspire the mind; wee humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewinds guide the iourney, speed the victory, and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the triumph of thy fame, and safety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English blood. To these devout petitions Lord giue thou thy blessed Grant.

(264) The whole Fleet was commanded by *Charles Lord Howard*, High Admirall, shipped in the *Arke-Royall*, and *Lord Robert Deuereux* Earle of *Essex* and

A.D. 1596

Lawes ordained for the Army.

2. King, 1596.

A Prayer made by Elizabeth for the prospering of her Navy.

The English Commander in the Fleet.

The Dutch Command.

The Vice-Admiral.

Officers for land seruices.

The voyage to Cadiz.

June 18.

The King of James twelve Apostles, but far unlike Christs.

Arich ladinge the Spanish ships.

A. King, 1596.

A Prayer made by Elizabeth for the prospering of her Navy.

A fortunate peflage.

The English Commander in the Fleet.

and *Ewe* in the *Du-Repulse*; both of them iointlie her Maiesties Lieutenants Generall for this seruice, by Sea and by land. The Vice-Admirall was the Lord *Thomas Howard*, shipped in the *Miramar*, and the Rere-Admirall, *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, in the *Warre-Spite*; and for the Statie was Admirall, *Ion Van Duuenoord*, who serued in the *Neptune*, a Shippe of foure hundred Tunnes, and accordingly the whole Fleet was diuided into five squadrons, with a commandement that euery Squadron should attend his Admirall, & euery one of these had his Vice-Admirall assigned. Of the first was *Sir Robert Southwell* in the *Lion*; of the second, *Sir Francis Vere*, in the *Rainbow*; the third *Sir Robert Dudley* attending the Lord *Thomas Howard*, in the *Ren-Pareille*; the fourth, *Robert Crosse* following *Sir Walter Rawleigh* in the *Swift-Sure*; and the last was, *Ion Gerbrantson*, Vice-Admirall of the *Hollanders*.

(265) For the Land-seruice besides the Generalls, were *Sir Francis Vere*, Lord *Marshall*: *Sir John Wingfield* Campe-master Generall: *Sir Coniers Clifford*, Sergeant Maior, *Sir George Carew*, Master of the Ordnance: *John Bucke* Prouost Marshall: *Oliver Lambert*, Quarter-Master, and *Roger Asley*, Secretary. The Colonels of the Army were the Earle of *Suffex*, *Sir Christopher Blunt*, *Sir Thomas Gerrard*, *Sir Richard Winkfield*, and *Sir Edward Winkfield* of the *Voluntaries*, and for the Dutch, was the Count *Lodowicke*, in all about ten thousand men. The private Council for this expedition being selected, certain instructions were sent sealed to euery shippe, with a commandement to the Captain, not to break them open, till such time as they came to the South-Cape, vntill they happened to be secured from the Fleete by storme or mischance, but if taken by an enemy, then to call them ouer-board.

(266) Thus ready for Seas, vpon the first of Iune a warning Peerce being shot off, all weyed Anchors, and with a gallant shew, and full sailes followed the Lord Admirall; but the wind scanting before they past *Cornwall*, they were enforced backe into the Sound, where staying two dayes, vpon the thirde the winde came about, and with a prosperous Gale brought them to Cape *Saint Vincent*, where an *Irish* Barke was mette with from *Cadiz*, which signified the strength of the Towne, and the shipping that lay in the Bay, to witte, twenty Gallies, ninety Saites of Shippes, wherof five were of those great Gallions, which are called the *Kings twelue Apostles*, (all double the *sonnes of Thunder*) two great Galliaes, three Frigates, three Argosies, twenty Biskaines; the rest were *Merchants* shippes, rich, and of great burden, whose ladings were munition, coine, oyle, wine, waxe, silke, cloth of gold, and quicke-siluer; some bound for the *Indians*, some for *Britaine*, some for *Lisbone*, and some for other places. Newes most acceptable vnto the Generalls, who having thitherwards, vpon Sunday the twentieth of Iune, assailed at the *Frery of Saint Sebastian*, on the west side of *Cadiz*, to land their men, but the place strong, and the Seas going high, their purpose was hindered.

(267) May I relate with hope of credite what others haue reported vpon their owne eye-sight? At the first approach of this Royall Navy before *Cadiz*, a faire Doue (a fortunate *Presager*) betimes in the morning, is said to haue lighted vpon the Mayneyard of the Lord Admirals ship, and there to haue late quietly the space of three howres, euery man gazing, but no man suffered to harme her: as also the last day of their departure thence, another Doue presented her self in the same Order, and in the same shippe, growing wonderfully tame and familiar with the men, and so continued with them till they came into England.

(268) The day following their approach, being the first of the weeke, the Spanish ships in the road, in number fifty nine, attended with twenty Gallies, by the aduise of their Admirall, shot with the tide

within the point of *Maine-land*, vnto *Castle Puntall*; and in the straites of the Baye, forced themselves in good order, and of a reasonable distance, as well to offend the enemy, as to relieue each others interchangeably.

(269) The Bay was narrow whereunto they had entred, full of Rocks, shelves, & sands, al which notwithstanding, it was in Council determined, that the Lord *Thomas Howard*, *Sir Walter Rawleigh*, *Sir Francis Vere*, *Sir George Carew*, and *Sir Robert Southwell*, with some *Londoners*, and a Squadron of the Low-Country shippes, should beginne the fight; which was most valiantly attempted, maintained, & continued, the thundering shot battering their bulks, and renting their shrowdes.

(270) In the heate whereof, the Earle of *Essex*, (in Council appointed to keepe the *Maine battell*) vpon the fodaine from Port *Saint Marier* side, thrust himselfe forme into this Sea-fight, which the other Generalls perceiving, and the *Arke-Royall* too vnweldy for that narrow water, took into his Pinnefle, and forwarded the fight to the end: Meane while the Gallies were assailed by *Sir John Winkfield*, who with his small shippes so handled their sides, as they were forced to creepe by the Shore, and so got passage at the Bridge, contrary to the expectation of the English, whose eyes were euer aiming at the fairest Marke, which indeed was the *Philip*, so battered with Bullets that hee beganne to stagger, and giue ouer fight; whose souldiers seeking to saue themselves by water, and swimming, let this Apostle (their Admirall) on fire, by whole example, the *Saint Thomas*, another of *Spaines* Apostles did the like, least the English should leade them in triumph of their victory. The rest of the Spanish Fleet ranne themselves on ground in the Bay of Port *Real*, to gaine some breathing time from their still following pursuers.

(271) These seruices thus forwarded, the Earle of *Essex* forthwith landed his men vnder the Blockhouse *Puntall*, about a mile westward from *Cadiz*, whence it was thought expedient to send some Regiments to the Bridge on the West of the lland, to impeach all succours that should come from the *Maine*: To which seruice were sent *Sir Christopher Blunt*, *Sir Thomas Gerrard* (now Lord *Gerrard*), and *Sir Coniers Clifford* with a power of twelue hundred strong. Meane while the Generall *Essex* with the Earle of *Suffex*, Count *Lodowicke*, Lord *Harbert*, Lord *Burk*, *Sir George Carew* (now Lord *Carew*) and others took towards *Cadiz*.

(272) The side of their entrance was fortified with a Wall through the necke of the Promontory from sea to sea, and a Counterskarpe raised some distance, where were built two Bulwarkes, and a Curraine for the stronger defence of the Town, the enemy hauing also an aduantage from the higher ascent, played sore vpon the English to their great annoyance, inasmuch that the forme began to giue backe from the Gate, which the Earle of *Essex* perceiving, to engage his souldiers resolutions, caught his owne Colours, and call them ouer the Wall into the Towne, giuing withall a most hot assault vnto the Gate, where to saue the honour of their *Essex*, happy was hee that could first leape downe from the Wall, and with shotte and sword make way through the thickest presse of the enemy. The Towne thus surprised, the Lord Admirall halted to second the charge, when a hot encounter ensued; for the streets were very narrow, so as but two could march on breast, and from their flat roofed houses, heapes of stones were tumbled downe, to the great hurt of many of the English, who nethlesse droue the enemy before them into the Market place, where the worthy *Sir John Winkfield*, fore wounded at the Gate in his thigh, was shotte with a Musket from a loope-hole of the Castle into the head, and presently died.

(273) But the Towne and Castle surrendred, a

The Nauall fight at Cadiz.

Charles Howard, Lord Admirall.

The Spanish Admirall on fire.

The English goe on land.

The assault on Cadiz.

Cadiz surprised.

Sir John Winkfield slain.

The Christian v
age of the Eng-
lish towards the
conquered.

Proclamation was made to stay the fury of the Souldier, and the slaughter of the Spaniard, with commandement vpon paine of death, that no man should offer violence or harm to any religious person, woman or child. And such honourable care had the LL. Generals for the Inhabitants, that they sent them in their owne Pinnares vnto *Porto Sancta Maria*; the Ladies and Gentlewomen first, who were suffered to depart in their costliest apparel, and richest Jewels: and to saue them from the spoiles or any the least wrong of the ruder Souldiers or Seamen, the Generals themselves in persons stood at the Water sides, to see them shipped without hurt or violence.

The Citizens
ransome.
John Stow, in *Annals*.

(274) The rich Bishoppe of *Cusco* being taken Prisoner, without any ranfome was released, and all other of sacred Orders or Habits suffered without touch to depart: such was the heroicall Clemency of these most noble and truly-English Generals, to the great glory of our Nation, as the Spaniards themselves were forced to confesse. The Town thus won, the spoile thereof was giuen to the English Captains and Souldiers, the wearing clothes of the inhabitants onely excepted, and the Citizens compounding with the Lords Generall, to pay an hundred and twenty thousand Ducats for their ranfome, were suffered to depart: for payment whereof, forty of the chiefest Citizens, *Caualleros*, *Clergy-men*, and *Merchants*, were brought pledges into England till the money was paid.

The Ships make
offer for their
redemption.

(275) The like accord was attempted by the Ships which had runne themselves on ground, whose number was about fifty two, many of them Merchants, and all most richly laden, as might seeme by the offers they made; for no lesse then two millions and a halfe of Ducats were offered by them for the redemption: but the LL. Generals more minding honour and the seruice they came for, would heare of no composition but for the Merchants ships onely, which whilst it was in traile too and fro, the Duke of *Medina Sidonia*, Admirall of *Spaine*, commanded them all together to be set on fire, which was suddenly done: and the flames terribly mounting, forced the pitchy smoake, as thicke cloudes to darken the Aire. Among the few were two of the Spanisht *Apollies*, the *Mathew* and the *Andrew*; the first of which was faued by the Lord Admirals directions, & the second was quenched by Sir *Thomas Gerard*, in whose bottome himselfe returned for England.

The value of the
loffe in the Span-
ish ships.

(276) Thus in an instant, a Fleet, full of men, marchandise, victuall, armour, & twelue hundred peeces of Ordinance, all valued by themselves, at twelue Millions of Ducats, was suddenly funke, consumed or taken; the Towne also ranfacked, euery Souldier bringing some portion of her rich spoiles into England, to shew the seruice he performed at *Cadix*. The Towne they burnt, fauing the Churches onely: the Wallies they battered, and Towers demolished, the Iland it selfe they burned, razed and spoiled, laying all waste before them, and leaving the rubbish to declare the ruines which the English had made.

June 30.

The English
depart from
Cadix.

(277) Vpon the fift of Iuly the Earle of *Essex* with his, abandoned *Cadix*, the Lord Admirall being gone on board some fixe dayes before; and the next day the whole Fleet set saile Westward towards *Faro* a Towne in *Algarua*; where the Earle desirous to doe some further exploit vpon the *terra firma* of *Spaine*, landed his men (the Lord Admirall on board securing the seas) and marching to *Faro* hee found it empty of men, the Inhabitants being fledde with much of their substance, and the Towne left destitute of victuall: yet in the Nunnery and in the Bishoppes Palace, some goods were found, and in the *Library* Bookes valued at a thousand Markes; and among other prizes of note, the fairest Culuerin the King of *Spaine* had, was there found, and seized vpon; the English foraged the Country for 3. leagues about, and burnt the towne *Lotha* without any

resistance.

(278) Thence the first of August the LL. Generals fell before the *Groine*, where lying on shippes stirring, and the Seas altogether cleared; vpon the seventh of the same moneth they safely and very richly arrived at *Plimouth*, to the great honour of England, glory of their Queene, and renowne of their owne valours and famous adventures.

(279) But as the wrongs offered by the Spaniards, seemed to the English farre greater then was yet the reuenge: so also the most prudent Queene held it still fitt to finde King *Philip* more work at home, and therefore a third voyage was undertaken the yeere following, whereof *Robert Earle of Essex* was made as well Lord Generall for the Land, as Admirall for the sea; hauing for the once seruice, his Vice-Admirall, the Lord *Thomas Howard*, Knight of the Order, and his Rear-Admirall, Sir *Walter Rawleigh*, Captaine of the Guard; for the other, his Lieutenant Generall was *Charles Lord Mountjoy* Knight of the Order; his Marshall, Sir *Francis Vere* Coronell Generall of the Low-Countries Forces; Sir *George Carew* Lord President of *Munster*, Master of his Ordinance; and Sir *Ferdinando Gorge*, Sergeant Maior of the field. The whole number consisted of fixe thousand men, besides Mariners, for which an hundred and twenty shippes were furnished, whereof seuteene were her Maiesties, sixty men of Warre, the rest for victuall and transportation. These vpon the ninth of Iuly were embarked at *Plimouth* for the Ilands of *Azores*, and hauing cleared fixty Leagues fell fowle by a Tempest, and were driuen backe againe to *Plimouth*, and againe thence set saile vpon the 17. of August next following.

(280) Vpon the fifteenth of September they fell with the Isles *Flores*, *Euerne*, *Fayall*, and *Pikeal* which submitted themselves to the Lord Generals deuotion; whence weying their Anchors, they made saile for *Saint Michaels*, and there before the Towne cast them againe, where it was determined that Sir *Walter Rawleigh* should keep the sea, whilst the Lord Generall with two thousand should land elsewhere in the Iland; which they did, and sacked the rich town *Villa Franca*: but the seas going high, and the Winters stormes approaching, after the spoile of those places, the destruction of a Carracke richly laden with Sugars, fired by her owne men, the taking of a *Brasile man*, and the surprize of three prizes which they brought into England, valued at foure hundred thousand Ducats, they returned, the Spaniard euery where hauing the worst.

(281) These stirres on the seas brought yet further mischiefs on the Spaniard, by hindring the traffike of Marchandise, as well for their owne trade & comerce with others, as for others trading into *Spain*; among whom *Sigismund*, the young and new elected King of *Polonia*, found himselfe most agreed: whose Ambassador for that businesse vnto the Queen, was one *Paulus de Taline*, a *Polone Gentleman*, learned, eloquent, and very audacious, (if not ouer-much) who bringing letters of credence from his King, had audience at *Greenwich*, her Maiefty sitting vnder her cloath of Estate, and with her Nobles, attending the summe of his message, which the *Polonian* beganne with more then an ordinary Grace.

(282) Whose tenour was filled with blafts of discontent, conceiued by his potent Master the King of *Polonia*, and caused by the greiuances of his *Marchants*, who not onely were deuiued of some priuiledges in England, but the sea which is made free by the Omnipotent stopped, and the trades of his Marchants into *Spaine* by her Highnes Edicts debarred, contrary to the law both of *Nature* & of *Nations*: that his Master as he could not be moued to diminish any part of his loue towards her Maiefty, so yet could hee not but relieue his owne subiects; and the rather for that it touched all his Nobility, whose reuencens consisted chiefly vpon the Trade of Marchandizing. That hee had hitherto forborne all meanes of re-quire,

The English
returne.

An other voyage
at Sea.

The Earle of
Essex both Ad-
mirall and Ge-
nerall of the
Forces.

A.D. 1597

Villa Franca
sacked.

Sigismund King
of Polonia his
Ambassage to the
Queene.

* Dated 1597

Iuly 25.

The summe of
the Ambassadors
Oration.

The English
returne.

An other voyage
at Sea.

The Earle of
Essex both Ad-
mirall and Ge-
nerall of the
Forces.

Some English-
men were
killed by the
Polonian.

Villa Franca
sacked.

Sigismund King
of Polonia his
Ambassage to the
Queene.

* Dated 1597

Iuly 25.

The summe of
the Ambassadors
Oration.

quite, though her Maiefty well knew, of meanes hee had no want; and now had need to aduertise her Highnes in a louing manner by him his Ambassador, seeing that his letters to that purpose heretofore sent, had not bene regarded, in whole name hee now required, that the seas might be open, a restitution made, and the Trade Westward to *Spaine* bee free, according to equity; otherwise his Master would no longer neglect his Subiects losses, but would take in hand meanes of redresse. As for her Maiesties wars with *Spaine*, that ought not to hinder Navigation by the common Law of Nature (as hee aouched) nor, for her respect should the ancient friendship betwixt the potent *Polonian* and the mighty King of *Spaine* bee broken, nor with the house of *Austria*, whose daughter his Prince had now married, which bound him in a double band of loue. But hee trusted (his Masters request bearing such equity) her Maiefty would regard it, and command satisfaction of these things forthwith to be made, to the content of his Prince, and safety of her selfe, which thing hee wished, & therof warned her Maiefty. And with otherlike wordes ended as peremptorily as hee beganne.

(283) Vnto which confident Oration, the Queen her selfe not brooking to be braued by any Prince in the World, presently made answer, preuenting the Lord Chancellor therein who was about to doe it, and both roundly and learnedly in the Latine (the same language wherein the message was deliuered) replied: the very words as neere as could bee taken from her mouth were these.

(284) *Hen quàm decepta fui. Expectaui Nuncium: tu vero querelam mihi adduxisti; per literas te accepisti. Legatum, te vero Heraldum inuenio. Nunquam in vita tam ex Crationem audiui. Miror, sanè miror, tantam & tam insolentiam in publico audaciam; neque puto si Rex tuus adfesset, tanta verba protulisset: Sin aliquid tale tibi in mandatis commisit (quod quidem valde dubito) te tribuendum, quod cum Rex sit Inuenis, & non tam ture Sanguinis quam Electionis, atque etiam nouit electus, non tam bene percipiat quid inter Reges conuenit, quam Maiores sui nobiscum obseruauerunt, & alij fortasse deinceps obseruabunt. Quod at te attinet, videris multos libros perlegisse, libros tamen Principum non attigisse, neque intelligere quid inter Reges conuenit. Cum vero Ius Nature & Gentium commemoras, Hoc scito effectus nature & Gentium, ut cum bellum inter Reges intercedat, licet alteri alterius undique allata Præsidia interciperent, & ne in damnum suum conuertantur, præuidere: Hoc scito effectus Ius Nature, & Gentium; Vbi iidem Domum Austrie narras (quam iam tanti facis) non te lateat ex eadem Domo non desuisse qui Regnum Polonie regi tuo interciperet voluissent. De reliquis cum multa sunt, & singulatim deliberanda, non sunt huius loci ac temporis, accipies quod à quibusdam Consularijs huic rei designatis deliberandum fuerit. Interim valeas & quiescas.*

(285) Oh how was I deceived! I looked for an Embassage, but thou hast brought me complaints; I vnderstood by thy letters that thou wert a Legate, but I finde thee an Herald; neuer since I drew breath heard I such an Oration. I maruell truly, I maruell at thy great and such vnaccustomed boldnesse in to publike an assembly; neither doe I think if the King thy Master were present, that hee would say so much: but if peradventure he hath committed any such thing to thy charge (which surely I do much doubt) it is to be imputed vnto him, that where the King is of yeers vnripe, and not by blood, but by election (yea and but newly aduanced) hee doth not so perfectly vnderstand the courle of negotiating these kind of affaires with other Princes, which either his Ancestors haue obserued with vs, or perhaps others will obserue, who afterwards shall succcede him. As touching thy selfe, indeede thou seemest to mee to haue read many Bookes, but not to haue perused the Bookes of Princes affaires, but vterly to bee ignorant what is conuenient amongst Kings. And whereas thou makest menti-

on of the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*, know, that this is the Law both Natural and National, that when Warre is waged among Princes, it is lawfull for one of them to intercept the military helpes of the other, brought from what place soeuer, so to prevent the harms which might otherwise redound on himselfe: And this againe I auow to bee the Law of *Nature* and *Nations*. Whereas likewise thou mentionest a new affinity with the house of *Austria*, which now thou makest so famous, and of so deare esteeme, forget not Sir, that there haue bene of that house that would haue bereft the Kingdom of *Polonia* from thy King. As for other points which bee not to be spoken off at this place, and time, because they are many and generally to bee considered of one after another: thou shalt waite for such further answer as shall bee resolved on by some of my Councell, to whom I will assigne the consideration of this matter: In the meane time farewell and be quiet. And thus Lion-like rising, daunted the malepert Orator no lesse with her stately port and maiestical departure, then with the tartnesse of her princely checkes: and turning to the Traine of her Attendants, thus said; Gods death my Lords (for that was her oath euer in anger) I haue bene enforced this day to scowre vp my old Latine, that hath laine long in rusting.

(286) To entreat a Peace betwixt these Christian Princes of England and *Spaine*, the King of *Denmarke* likewise did send an Embassage vnto Queene Elizabeth, as also to deliuer the Garter worn by his Predecessor lately departed this world, with an earnest entreaty to continue the amity betwixt their two Realmes. The man was *Arnald Wiisfeldt* Chancellor of *Denmarke*, iudicious, learned, and wife, who with farre better temper and tearms well couched, deliuered his oration; which ended, hee most humbly propounded certain requests (whereunto her Maiefty presently replied) which in effect were these.

(287) 1. That the League of peace confirmed betwixt the Crownes of England & *Denmark* might be continued as formerly it had bene in the late deceased Kings dayes, & other his Predecessors, which now the present King his Master did instantly desire: To which hee answered: that she was most willing thereunto, wishing that the now-King would persue the same amity no worse then his Predecessors had done.

2. That whereas much Christian blood was spilt in these continuall warres betwixt England & *Spain*, it would please her Maiefty to giue her consent, that the King his Master might make a motion of Peace; and as hee found the occasion, so to proceede. Whereunto the replied, that hee thought his King was too young, and vnexperienced, to conueite throughly the cause of breach betwixt her and *Spain*; and as the League had not bene broken on her part, or with her roiall consent, so an accord should not be sought after by her, nor by any in her behalfe, for (quoth shee) *I would haue the King of Denmarke, & all Princes Christian and Heathen to know, that England hath no need to craue Peace; nor my selfe endured one howre of feare since I attained the Crowne thereof, being guarded with so valiant and faithful subiects.*

3. His third request was, if it stood with her Maiesties good liking, to permit open traffique, that the Marchants of *Denmarke* might transport their goods into *Spain* without danger on the narrow seas as heretofore some of them had sustained to their great losse. Her Maiesties answer was, that it was to her vnknowne, that any of his Masters good Subiects were in any wise molested, or their goods stayed, and that vpon iust prooffe thereof made, a redresse shall bee ordained, to the full satisfaction of the King, and content of his Subiects.

4. Lastly, hee was to returne the Garter, (where with her Maiefty had honoured the late deceased King) as the manner is of forraigne Princes to doe, which hee with great reuerence there deliuered; O o o o o Which

An Ambassador
from the King
of Denmarke,
Sept. 7.

The Danish Am-
bassadors re-
quest.

An heroicke an-
swer of an vn-
daunted Queene.

Which her Maieſty accepting; yet told him, ſhee was right forry to receiue it, for thereby ſhee was put in mind of the loſſe of a moſt Noble Brother, & a moſt louing friend. But howſoeuer the *Daniſh Marchants* now complained of loſſe, the Engliſh Marchandize were aſſured in the *Sound*, for releaſe whereof, Ambaſſadors were ſent into *Denmarke*, where a reſtitution was made by the King, with ſuch honour and bounty, as well ſatisfied her Maieſty, and contented her Marchants.

Tir-Oen rebell on in Ireland.

* See *Cambden's Brit. in Ireland.*

Sir John Norris & gentlemen in Ireland.

Tir-Oen ſtill flying out.

Tir-Oen gets the ſort of *Blackwater*.

He and his adherents proclaimed Traitors.

Sir Henry W. Dep. Sir Rob. Gardiner

(288) But a more dangerous Agent, working for *Spainne*, was the Irith *Tir-Oen*, who ſerpent-like lay lurking vpon his aduantage to raiſe the Standard of *Rome*, and to diuert ſubiectiō from the Engliſh Crowne. This mans fortunes wee haue formeſt declared, how being the ſonne of a Baſtard, or a baniſhed fugitiue, hee was raiſed by her Maieſties mee bounty to the dignitie of an Earle, and ſtood in authority ranked with the beſt; nor ſo onely, but being twice in danger of the capitall crimes (once for a murder, next for ſurping the Title of *O-Neale*) vpon better hopes, of other princely clemency, twice got pardon for his life. The times now dangerous, and *Ireland* too ready to receiue forraigne powers, it was thought conuenient to employ Sir John Norris (that famous Warriour) into thoſe parts, with thirteenth hundred of the *Netherland* old Souldiers, newly retired from the wars in *Brittaine*.

(289) Hugh Baron of *Dungannon*, now Earle of *Tir-Oen*, fearing leaſt the Engliſh would make their neſts, where himſelfe meant to build, namely in ſome Caſtle, at the mouth of *Lough Earne*, ſuddenly aſſailed the ſort of *Blackwater*, by which the entry lay into his Country, and got it by ſurrender. Which done, he wrote to *Kildare*, to ſide with him againſt his wrongs receiued of the Lord Deputy; yea and at the ſame inſtant, to Sir John Norris (appointed Lord General) that hee might be mildly dealt with, and not be driuen headlong vpon the dangerous rockes of diſſolualty.

(290) But how his loyalty affected vnto her Maieſty (his raiſer) was well perceiued by the powers which hee retained about him, being alwaies guarded with a thouſand horſemen, and ſixe thouſand two hundred and foureſcore foot of *Viſſer*, beſides two thouſand three hundred of *Conaught* which euer lay ready at his command; whereupon all of them being proclaimed Traitors, the flames of rebellion beganne more violently to burſt forth, which for a long time, and not without loſſe of much blood could hardly bee quenched: for though the Lord General were not inferior in ſtrength of men, yet the aduantages of the enemy were ſuch, that the time was rather ſpent in taking of booties, and fruitious Parlies, then in any memorable exploits; the one part waiting for ſitter opportunities, and the other looking euery day for his promiſed ſuccours from *Spainne*.

(291) But to ſpare the effuſion of Chriſtian blood Queen Elizabeth who euer minded *Mercy* more then *juſtice*, cauſed her Treſurer & Chiefe Juſticiar of that Kingdome, as her Commiſſioners to confer with this discontented Earle, and others his adherents, before whom *Tir-Oen* complained of wrongs offered him by Sir Henry Bagnall Marſhall, as well to the preiudice of his eſtate, as of his eſteeme with the Queene, the Lord Deputy, Lord General, and others, and therupon exhibited a Petitiō in humble maner containing theſe requēts. That himſelfe and all his followers might bee pardoned of their crimes, and bee reſtored to their former eſtates; that they might freely exerciſe their Romiſh Religion without moleſtation; that no Garriſon Souldiers, Shiriffe, or other Officer ſhould intercale within the iuriſdiction of his Earledome; that the Company of fifty horſemen with the Queenes pay might bee reſtored to him, in the ſame State as formerly hee had lead them; that the ſpoiles of his Country, and people might be puniſhed, and that Sir Henry Bagnall ſhould pay him a

thouſand pound promiſed in Dowry with his ſiſter, whom *Tir-Oen* had married, and who was now deceased. Others likewiſe laid out their grieuances conceiued; ſuch were *O-Dowell*, *Brian Mac-Hugh-Oge*, *Mac Mahon*, and *Euer Mac-Comley*, who receiued moſt reaſonable anſwers to all their demands.

(292) But vnto them the Commiſſioners likewiſe propoſed certain Articles, ſay, That they ſhould forthwith lay downe their Armes, diſperſe their Forces, acknowledge ſubmiſſively their diſſolualties, admit the Queenes officers in their Gouernments, reedifie the Forts they had defaced, ſuffer the Garriſons to liue without diſturbance, make reſtitutions of ſpoiles taken, confeſſe vpon their oath how farre they had dealt with forraigne Princes, and ſinallie to renounce all forraigne aide. But theſe propoſitions not pleaſing the palate of thoſe Rebels, they departed with a reſolution to maintain their owne demands. Which moued Norris the General aided with the Lord Deputy to march with his Army vnto *Armagh*; whoſe approach (euer dreadful to his enemies) when *Tir-Oen* heard of, in great perplexity hee forſooke the Fort of *Blackwater*, ſet on fire the villages about, and plucked downe the Towne of *Dungannon*, with part of his owne houſe, bewailing his eſtate to bee paſt recovery; & was ſo much deſected in mind, as hee fought nothing elſe but where to hide his rebellious head.

(293) The Country now waſted, and no victuals to bee had, Norris ſet a Garriſon in the Church of *Armagh*, ſtrengthened *Monahan*, and proclaimed *Tir-Oen* Traitor in his owne territories. Which done, hee ſtayed in *Viſſer* without any great deeds of martiall importance, onely *Tir-Oen* to gaine time preſented vnto him a ſubmiſſion, ſigned with his owne hand, caſt himſelfe downe (a rare and vncouth ceremony) at the Queenes pictures feet, vngirt his ſword, and craued pardon vpon his knees: and yet in the meane time dealt hee for aides out of *Spainne*, and ſo far prevailed, as that Meſſengers were ſent from King Philip, with capitulations that the King of *Spainne* at a time prefixed ſhould ſend them a competent Army to ioine with the Irith, that all conditions of peace with the Engliſh ſhould be reſected, and that the Rebels ſhould bee furniſhed with munition from *Spainne*.

(294) Hereupon (though there was a ceſſation from Armes) hee fell to harry and waſt the Country, to burne villages, to drie away booties, and hauing done what hee could or would, as it were pricked in conſcience, hee once againe put on the viſard of ſimulation, and ſued for pardon and peace: which the better to effect, hee ſent the letters of king Philip's promiſes vnto the L. Deputy with the cauſes of his owne diſcontents, which moued him to doe what hee did. And ſurely ſuch was his dexterity, or his Deſtiny, or the Engliſh no leſſe dangerous, or then frequent ſecuritie, negligence and confidence, or the ſparing of money by the grand diſburſers, or the inbred lenity of the too-clement Queen, that his faire wordes were euer beleueed, and his ſoule offences pardoned: but whoſe fault ſoeuer, moſt of *Conaught* was now reuolted, all *Viſſer* rebellious, onely ſeuē Caſtles kept for the Queene.

(295) In which deſperate eſtate, Thomas Lord Burrough, a man full of courage, was ſent Lord Deputy into Ireland; who no ſooner arrived, but Norris either croſſed by ſome higher-ſwaying Powers, or by his fortune in theſe his proceedings (the ſeruices there being farre different from thoſe his others, in other parts employed) through griefe & diſcontent, (the too viſuall gerdon of many a Noble Seruitor) as was thought ended his life.

(296) The Lord Deputy no ſooner had receiued the ſword, and taken the charge of the Kingdome of Ireland, but hee made forward to meete with the Rebels, holding it good policy to cut off delays, which

Propoſitions made to the Rebels.

Preparations againſt *Tir-Oen*.

which commonly increaſe the abilities of the enemy. *Tir-Oen* on the other ſide, as boldly made his reſiſtance, and in a dangerous ſeruice encountered him at the *Merry*, where the Lord Burrough by his valour made the way, and moſt valiantly wanne the Fort of *Blackwater*, (repaired and reinforced by the Rebels) the only ſtrength (beſides Woods) that the *Tir-Oen* had. To reſcure this Peace, immediately the enemy ſhewed himſelfe: againſt whom Henry Earle of *Kildare* preſently marching with a Coroner of horſe, and certaine voluntaries, (gentlemen of the better ſort) where he diſcomfited the enemy, though with loſſe of ſome men of note; as of Francis Paughan, brother to the Lord Deputies wife, Robert Turner Sergeant Maior, and the two *Foster-brethren* of the Earle *Kildare*, whoſe deaths hee tooke, as within few daies after himſelfe died for very griefe.

(297) The Fort reenforced with men and munition, and the Lord Deputy vpon ſeruice in other parts; *Tir-Oen* now wauering betweene hope, feare, and ſhame, thought beſt to aſſay it by ſiege, as the place of greateſt importance to further his deſignes; for that loſt, hee ſaw his fortunes muſt downe, and therupon with his ſtrongeſt power, he beleaguered it. The Lord Deputy hearing thereof, prepared ſtraightway to reſcure the place, and marching with full pace and aſſurance of victorie, whether through too forward a minde, diſtemperature of body, aie, or of bogges, arreſted hee was with ſickneſſe, and violently cut off, by vntimely death, leauing to her Maieſty a miſſe in her Irith Eſtate, and a further ſecuritie to the ranging rebellies.

(298) The gouernment of Ireland was then committed to the Earle of Ormond vnder the Title of Lieutenant General of the Armie, and vnto the Lord Chancellor Sir Robert Gardiner; vnto whom *Tir-Oen* (after his accuſtomed manner) in a long letter recapitulated his great grieuances, leauing not our the leaſt offence of the Souldiers, or actions of the Sheriffes; his breach of couenants with Sir John Norris hee coldly excuſeth, and laid his complaints againſt his enemies (the Engliſh) who had intercepted and ſuppreſſed his ſubmiſſion to the Queene, that they had raiſed intolerable impositions vpon the Nobles, and Commons; and that the reuenues of Ireland was ſhared among Counſellers, Lawyers, Souldiers, and Notaries; by which and other like ouertures, it was maniſeſt that hee intended to extirpate the Engliſh quite out of Ireland.

(299) All this while his Siege lay before the Fort of *Blackwater*; for the railing whereof, Sir Henry Bagnall (the bittereſt enemy that *Tir-Oen* euer had) with fourteen Enſignes of the choiſeſt troops were ſent, whom the Earle met neere vnto *Armagh*, and being egged on with a treſfull deſire of reuenge, bent all his force againſt the Marſhall, where beganne a bloody conflict, and was continued with the death of that worthy Souldier (fighting amongſt the thickeſt) whereby *Tir-Oen* obtained not onely a ioyous triumph ouer his priuate enemy, but withall went away with a glorious victory ouer the Engliſh, who neuer ſince they fiſt ſet footing in Ireland receiued ſo great an ouerthrow: for therein thirteene valiant Captaines loſt their liues, fifteene hundred common Souldiers were rowted and put to ſhamefull flight, diſparcked and cut in peeces. Vpon this diſaſter the Garriſon Souldiers (hauing with loyal hearts and weapons in hand, vnto extreame famine and exceeding diſtreſſe, held out to the laſt) laſtly ſurrendered the Pecece of *Blackwater* vnto the Rebels; by which ouerthrow and ſurrender, the Irith became furniſhed with armour and munition to maintain their warres, and *Tir-Oen* renowned all the Realme ouer, as their onely *Roſe*, and founder of their freedome.

(300) Himſelfe ouer-joyed with theſe gotten vi-

ctories, ſwelled aboute measure with an haughty arrogancy, commanding all things as ſole Monarch of Ireland. Into *Mounſter* hee ſent Ounay Mac-Rory-Og-O-More with foure thouſand preying rogues, to forrage the Country, and the rable that daily reſorted vnto them, burned the houſes of the Engliſh, ranſacked their ſubſtance and killed very many; James Fitz-Thomas one of the family of the *Deſmonds* they let vp as Earle of *Deſmond*, yet ſo, that hee ſhould hold as Tenant in Fee of the O-Neale, (the Earle of *Tir-Oen*) and thus after a moneth, when they had kindled this fire and ſet *Mounſter* in a flame, they returned laden with rich booties and ſpoile. *Tir-Oen* in the meane time had ſent his letters to King Philip of *Spainne*, wherein he ſounded his victories with a full trumpe, aſſuring him that hee would heare of no peace with the Engliſh, were the conditions neuer ſo indifferent, and would for his part inuolately keepe his promiſes with the *ſpaniſh* King.

(301) In this deſperate eſtate ſtood Ireland when Queene Elizabeth choſe Robert Earle of *Effex*, to bee Lord Lieutenant and Gouernor General thereof: a Peere in regard of his approued wil dome, fortitude, and fidelity, thought fiſt to re-ſcure the detriments and loſſes therein ſuſtained, and in ſuch deere eſteeme with his Soueraigne, and intire loue of the people, as the heauens ſeemed to haue framed him for the delight of man. In whom ſhined all ſparkles of true Nobility and Marriall honor, had not fortune marred all that the other graces had made. His commiſſion was large, and authority, and led no leſſe then twenty thouſand complet Souldiers, whereof fixteene thouſand were foot, and the reſt horſe-men, ſo well furniſhed and provided, as the like had neuer bene ſeene before in Ireland.

(302) Thus honourably accompanied with the flower of Engliſh Gallants, and well-wiſhing acclamations of the people, with a ſtrange thunder-clap in a cleere Sunne-ſhine day, hee ſet forward from London, and arriving in Ireland receiued the Sword; where (toward the end of March) falling in counſell touching his affaires, it was thought fiſteſt by wiſe Statiſts, that *Mounſter* ſhould bee cleared of thoſe petty Rebels lying neerer, and of more validity then the remote *Viſſer*, of ſmall wealth and leſſe account. Whereupon, contrary to his owne opinion formerly deliuered (whiles hee was in England) and his directions from her Maieſtie, in Ireland hee made fiſt into *Mounſter*, and became terrible vnto the Rebelles of thoſe parts, chaſing them before him into the woods, and ſo cleared that Prouince, with more expence of time, and loſſe of men, then was heere well liked by the State.

(303) Hence hee made into *Leinſter*, againſt the O-Conors and O-Moiles, who had gathered head and taken Armes againſt their obedience; whom in light ſkirmiſhes hee fortunately vanquiſhed; whence he ſent Sir Camers Clifford Gouernour of *Conaught* one way towards *Bellike*, whilſt hee himſelfe tooke another way, ſo to diſtract the force of *Tir-Oen*. Sir Camers with a power of fifteene hundred ſtrong, marched ouer the Mountains of *Curlew*, where O-Rourke and his Rebels ſuddenly aſſailed them, being out-weared with trauell, and their powder neere ſpent; in which conflict, amongſt many other ſlaine, Sir Camers Clifford the teſtimony of their valours with the loſſe of their liues.

(304) The Lord General hearing of this ouerthrow, made towards *Viſſer*, and came into the frontiers as farre as *Louth*, where *Tir-Oen*, on the other ſide of the Riuer, from the Hillcs made his Brauado. But falling into his wonted vaine of diſſimulation, deſired a parley with the Lord Lieutenant, which hee altogether reſecting, answered, that if the Earle would conferre with him, hee ſhould find him the next morning in the head of his troops: on

Robert Earle of Effex Lieutenant of Ireland.

The Earle of Effex enters *Mounſter*.

Sir Camers Clifford encountered with and ſlaine.

He enters *Viſſer*. Septem. 13.

Tir-Oen ſueth for Parley but is reſected.

on which day, when after a light skirmish, a horseman of *Tir-oens* troopes, with a loud voice cried, that the Earle was not willing to fight, but to parley vpon peace with the Lord Generall; it was againe denied him. But the next day, as the Lord Lieutenant was in his March forward, one *Hagan* sent from *Tir-oen*, met him, and declared that the Earle most humbly desired to haue the *Queenes* mercy and peace, and withall besought, that his Lordship would be pleased to afford him audience, which if hee would grant, then would hee with all reuerence attend him at the Foord of the Riuer not farre from *Louth*.

(305) To this lastly the Lord Lieutenant assented, and sent to discouer the place, and bellowing a troope of horse vpon the next Hill, came down alone vnto the Riuer; *Tir-oen* attending on the other side, no sooner saw his approach, but forthwith rode his horse into the Riuer vp to the saddle, and with all semblances of a dutifull respect, most reuerently saluted his Lordshippe: where, hauing had conference the space of an houre, they both returned vnto their companies. There followed the Earle of *Essex*, *Con*, a base sonne of *Tir-oen*, instantly intreating in his fathers name, that certaine principall men might be admitted to a conference, whereunto his honour confented.

(306) And taking with him the Earle of *Southampton*, *Sir George Bouchier*, *Sir Warham St-Leger*, *Sir Henry Danners*, *Sir Edward Wingfield*, and *Sir William Constable*, went to the Foord, where *Tir-oen* with his brother *Cornio*, *Mac Gennys*, *Mac Guir*, *Euer mac Cowley*, *Henry Ovington*, and *O-Quin*, attended their coming. And falling in conference, it was concluded that certaine Commissioners should the next day meet for a treaty of peace, and in the meane time there should be a cessation of warres, from fixe weekes to fixe weekes, vntill the first of May: yet so, as it might bee free on both sides, after foureene daies warning giuen, to resume hostility a fresh. And if any of *Tir-oens* confederates would not thereto consent, to be prosecuted at the Lord Lieutenants pleasure.

(307) But howsoeuer these his proceedings pleased the Marshallists, yet was her Maiestie highly incensed, that such expeditions had become made without her directions, being informed that the Spring, Summer, and Autumme, were spent without seruice vpon the Arch-rebell, that her men were diminished, and large summes of money consumed, without doing that for which he was sent; that by this meanes the Rebels were encouraged, and the Kingdome of *Ireland* laid at hazard to bee lost: Which his defaults (for so they were apprehended) were (as he conceived) much aggravated, by some that were hard against him, in her attentie care; vpon which furnish Her Maiesties sharpe letters received (though hee had excused his seruice by others whom himselfe sent at the same season) so ouerpressed his troubled thoughts, as leaving his charge to be managed by others, hee made into *England*, well hoping to pacifie his Soueraignes displeasure with satisfaction from his own mouth, and at *Norwich* had accesse to her presence, where after a short welcome, hee was commanded to his chamber; and soone after was committed to the custody of the Lord Keeper.

(308) No sooner almost was the Lord Generall departed *Ireland*, but that *Tir-oen* (notwithstanding the cessation from warre) drawing his forces together, addressed himselfe for the Field, vnto whom *Sir William Warren* was sent, to charge him with breach of promise; but he swelling in pride, peremptorily answered, that his doings were according to covenants, hauing giuen warning before, and his cause iust, for that the Lord Lieutenant was committed in *England*, vpon whose honour hee reposed his whole estate; neither would hee haue any thing to doe with the Counsellors of *Ire-*

land, in whom (as he said) he neuer found either safety or truth. And thereupon presuming vpon *Spainie*, and giuing it forth that there would bee shortly an alteration in *England*; he sends *O-Donell* into *Conaught*, receiue such tumultuous persons, strengtheneth the weakes, and comforteth the distrustfull, glorying euery where that he would restore againe the ancient Religion, and liberty of *Ireland*, and expell the *English* from thence; to which end, some money and munition were sent him from *Spainie*, with indulgences from *Rome*; and (for an especiall fauour) the Pope sent him a plume of *Phoenix* feathers, for a trophy of his victories, as *Vrbain* long before him sent a Coronet of Peacocks tailes vnto King *John*, when hee was first inuested Lord of *Ireland*.

(309) *Tir-oen* thus feathered for a higher flight, Peacocks like to fiew his owne pride and greatnesse by his personall presence, vnder a religious pretext to worship a peece of the wooden Crosse of *Christ*, reputed to bee kept in the Monastery of the holy Crosse in *Tipperary*, in the mid-winter would thither on Pilgrimage; whence hee sent out *Mac-Guir* with a number of rifeing robbers, to despoile and prey on the peaceable subiects; with whom *Sir Warham St-Leger* met, and at the first race with his Lanceranne *Mac-Guir* through the body, and was by him runne through himselfe. Whereupon *Tir-oen* tearing more blowes, made ready to returne from *Mounster* sooner then was expected, or himselfe meant.

(310) At this time *Charles Blunt Lord Montjoy* (afterwards created Earle of *Downshire*) was sent Lord Lieutenant Generall into *Ireland*, who with small port and little solemnity, entred vnto the Government, the state of that Countre lying desperately disaffected, and almost past recovery. At his first coming, hearing that *Tir-oen* was to depart *Mounster*, hee hastned to stoppe his passage in *Ferrell*, and there to giue him Battell, which the Earle preuented by taking another way, hauing intelligence of the Lord Generals designs, but the Spring drawing on, the Deputy put himselfe on his March towards *Vlster*, with purpose to driue the Earle to a stand, whiles *Sir Henry Docwra* at *Lough-foile*, and *Sir Matthew Morgan* at *Balahanon* plained the Garrisons, which they with small adoe effected, and suppressed the Rebels in diuers ouerthrowes.

(311) The Lord Generall likewise held *Tir-oen* very hard, and with light skirmishes euer put him to the worke, so that hee now perceiving his fortune to goe backe, withdrew himselfe backe into his old corners. The Lord Lieutenant then entred into *Leafe*, the place of refuge and receipt of all the Rebels in *Leinster*, where he flew *Ony-Mac-Kory-Og*, chiefe of the family of the *O-Mores*, a bloody, bold, and desperate yong man: and so chalet out the rest of those his racheles, as that neuer since they were scene in those parts. And although in the commenning of these affaires the Equinox was past, and the winter weather begunne in that climate, yet marched he forward to the entrance of *Meery* three miles beyond *Dondalke*.

(312) The passage into *Vlster* is euery where naturally cumberlome, and this way made more by the Rebels, who had fortified and blocked vp the entrance with fences of flukes flucke in the ground, with hurdles ioyned together, and stones in the midst, with turfes of earth laid betwixt hills, woods, and bogges, and manned the place with a number of Souldiers: notwithstanding, the *English* brake through those *Palladoes*, and beating the enemies backe, the Lord Deputy placed a Garrison eight miles from *Armagh*, where in memory of *Sir John Norris*, hee named the Fort *Mount-Norris*: but to omit many other skirmishes in his returne, that at *Carlingford* was most famous, where the enemies assembled to stoppe his way, were all of them dif-

comited, and put to fearefull flight. (313) In the midst of Winter hee entred the glinnes, that is, the vallies of *Leinster*, a secure receptacle of the Rebels, where he brought into subiection *Donel Spanish*, *Phelim Mac-Fegh*, and the *O-Tales*, of whom hee tooke hostages. Then went he to *Ferrell*, and draue *Tirrell*, the most approoued warrior of all the Rebels, from his fastnesse, (that is his bogges and bushes,) into *Vlster*; the Territory of *Fernes* hee laid waste, spoiled *Fues*, and in *Breeny* placed a Garrison, receiuing such into mercie as deliuered vp hostages. Which done, and the Spring approaching, hee marched to *Vlster*, fortified *Armagh*, and went so farre forward, that hee remooued *Tir-oen* from the Fort of *Blackewater*, who had very artificially encamped himselfe there.

(314) As the Lord Generall was thus busied to reduce *Ireland* to obedience, so the Pope and *Spainie* studied to hold vp *Tir-oen*, and to maintaine the rebellions; their Agents were a *Spaniard*, elected by the Pope, Arch-Bishop of *Dublin*, the Bishop of *Cloufort*, the Bishoppe of *Killaloe*, and *Ascher* a Iesuite. These by prayer, and promises of heavenly rewards, wonne *Philip* to send succours into *Ireland*, which forthwith hee did, vnder his Generall *Don John D'Aquila*, a man of a conceited hope that all would bee his, as confident of much aid from the titular Earle *Desmond*, and from *Florence Mac-Carty*, a rebell of great might; where in hee was deceived; for *Sir George Carew*, Lord President of *Mounster*, had preuented that designe, and sent them prisoners to *England*, where they were kept sure.

(315) *Don D'Aquila* with two thousand *Spaniards*, all of them old trained Souldiers, with certaine *Irish* Fugitiues, landed at *Kinsale* in *Mounster*, the last of October, and straightwaies published a writing, wherein hee gloriously stiled himselfe with this Title, *Master Generall, and Captaine of the Cathelike King in the warres of God, for holding and keeping the faith in Ireland*; endeavouring to make the world beleue, that *Queene Elizabeth*, by the definitiue sentences of the Popes, was deprived of her Kingdomes, and her subiects absolved and freed from their Oath of allegiance, and that hee was come to deliuer them out of the Diuels lawes, and the *English* tyrannie, vpon which suggestions many discontented and wicked persons beganne to bandy on his side.

(316) The Lord Deputy gathering his Companies, hasted to *Kinsale* and encamped nere vnto the Towne on the Land side, whiles *Sir Richard Lewison* with two of the *Queenes* Shippes inclosed the Haven, to forbidde all access to the *Spaniard*; when from both sides, the thundering Canon playd vpon the Towne; but newes being brought that two thousand *Spaniards* more were arrived at *Bere-hauen*, *Baltimore*, and *Casle-hauen*, *Sir Richard* was employed vpon them, in which seruice hee sunke five of their Shippes.

(317) Vnto these new landed *Spaniards*, whose Leader was *Alphonso O-Campo*, *O-Donell* ouer the ice, by speedy iourneys and unknown by-waies repaired; vntoene of the *English*; and a few daies after *Tir-oen* himselfe, with *O-Rocke*, *Raimund Burke*, *Mac-Mahon*, *Randall Mac-Surley*, *Tirrell* the Barron of *Lixnaw*, and the most selected choice of all the Rebels came vnto them, who mustered together made fixe thousand foot, and five hundred horse; all confident of victory, as being fresh, strong, and exceeding in number, where, the *English* were outwared through winter siege, with scarcity of victuall, and their horse weak with frost and rauen.

(318) In this hope *Tir-oen*, vpon an Hill not a mile from the *English* Campe, made a Brauado two daies together, intending to haue put these new supplies of *Spaniards*, with eight hundred *Irish*, by night into *Kinsale*, as by letters intercepted from

Don D'Aquila did appeare. Which to preuent, the Lord Deputy appointed eight Ensignes to keepe watch, and himselfe with the President of *Mounster*, and the Marshall, at the foot of the Hill, chose out a conuenient plot to giue the Earle battell, who the next morning seeing the *English* so forward, by his bag-pipers founded the retreat, whom the Lord Generall followed, and forced them to stand in the brincke of a bogge, where there horsemen were disorderd and rowted by the Earle of *Clam-Ricard*.

(319) The maine battell then wauering in feare, was violently charged by the Lord Deputy himselfe, who in his directions discharged the part of a worthy Commander, and in fighting, the office of a valiant Souldier; for the Rebels not able to withstand his fury, brake their arrayes, and in disorder confusedly fled, in whose pursuite many of them felt the reuenging edge of the *English* sword. *Tir-oen*, *O-Donell*, and the rest flung away their weapons, and saved their liues by flight; but *Alphonso O-Campo*, with three other *Spanish* Captaines, and fixe Ensigne-bearers, were taken prisoners, nine of their Ensignes borne away by the *English*, and twelue hundred of his *Spaniards* slaine; such welcome found these new guests in *Ireland*. This victory obtained, both quelled the pride of the intruding *Spaniards*, and exceedingly daunted the hearts of the disloyall *Irish*; so that *Tir-oen* was forced into his starting holes in *Vlster*, *O-Donell* driuen into *Spainie*, and the rest of that rebellious rabble scattered into obscure places, where their best succour was to play least in fight.

(320) The Lord Generall, returning to the siege of *Kinsale*, beganne to raise rampires, and to mount his Canons neerer the Towne, wherein fixe daies were spent without any impeach from the *Spaniard*, whose courage being cut by the losse of their fellows, fought rather how to gette cleare and bee gone, then to aduerture resistance against such a warlike oppoler. *D'Aquila* hereupon, sent his letters by his Drumme Major, to the Lord Deputy, wherein hee craued, that some Gentleman of credit might be sent into the Towne, with whom he might Parley for a peace. Whereunto his Lordship inclined, and to that end sent thither *Sir William Godolphin*.

(321) Vnto whom *D'Aquila* signified, that hee had found the Lord Deputy, though his eager enemy, yet an honourable person; the *Irish* of no valor, rude and vnciuill, yea and (that which hee sore feared) perfidious and false; That hee was sent from the King of *Spainie* his Master to aid two Earles, and now hee much doubted whether there were any such in *Recrum* natura, considering that one tempestuous puffe of warre had blowne the one of them into *Spainie*, and the other into the North, so as they were no more to bee seen: willing therefore hee was to treat about a Peace, that might bee good for the *English*, and not hurtfull to the *Spaniards*; albeit hee wanted nothing requisite to the holding out of the Siege, and expected every day out of *Spainie* fresh supplies to finde the *English* work, and trouble enough.

(322) The matter thus proposed, and the *English* weak and weary through a long Winters siege, the Lord Deputy consented to an agreement, the Articles whereof were these.

1 That *John D'Aquila* should quite the places which he held in the Kingdome of *Ireland*, atwell in the Towne of *Kinsale*, as the Forts and Castles of *Baltimore*, *Berehauen*, and *Casle-hauen*; and should deliuer them vnto the Lord Deputy, or to whom he should appoint.

2 That *Don D'Aquila* and his *Spaniards* should depart with armes, money, munition, and banners displayed, the Souldiers notwithstanding to beare no armes against the *Queene of England*, till such time as they were vnshipped in some part of *Spainie*.

Essex and *Tir-oen* meet in Parley.

A further conference.

Septemb. 8. An.D. 1599.

Exceptions against *Essex* his seruices.

A.D. 1599. Septemb. 28. October 2.

Tir-oen againe falls off.

The Popes present bestowed on *Tir-oen*.

The Lord Montjoy Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*. A.D. 1600. In February.

In May.

The *Spaniards* elected Rebels.

The Pope and *Spainie* busied to hold vp *Tir-oen*.

Don John D'Aquila sent into *Ireland*.

October 17.

Johns Title.

A new supply of *Spaniards* vnder *Alphonso O-Campo*.

Tir-oen brauadoes.

The rebels rowted.

Don Alphonso taken prisoner.

The rebels disappointed.

The *Spaniards* sue for peace.

January 2.

John Stow. Conclusions of peace.

3 That Shippes and victuals should be granted vnto them in their departure, for their money, and at such reasonable prizes as the Countrey could afford.

4 That if contrary winds inforced them into any other Port of Ireland, or else into England, they might be intreated as friends with safety of harbor, and prouisions necessary for their money to further their departure.

5 That a cessation should be from warre, a security from iniuries, and victual granted at reasonable rates, whiles they remained in preparing for Spaine.

6 That the Ships in which they should bee imbarcked might freely passe by other English Shippes without molestation; and the Shippes arrived in Spaine, might safely retorne backe without any impeachment of the Spaniards: for security whereof, the said *D'Aquila* should deliuer for hostages, such three of their Capitaines as the Lord Deputy would chuse. Vnto these Articles *Don Iohn* solemnly swore on the behalfe of the *Catholike King* his Master, and with his hand subscribed his name, *Don Iohn D'Aquila*.

(323) The troublesome cloude of most likely dangers, thus dissolved in *Mounsters faire Aire*, the coasts of Ireland were shortly cleared of those foraine intruders, who notwithstanding their former great bragges, with shame and dishonour imbarcked themselves for home, their companies being much empaiored, and proud spirits brought downe. And now the *Ben-baddad Tir-oen*, who had boasted all Ireland was his, with fearefull flights and by-waies recovered his lurking holes in *Wilder*: after he had lost most of his men, whom the twelving and violently-running Riuer, by reason of Winter floods, had swallowed vpp; where his traitors head, burdened with the dreads of his owne defects, could take no rest, no rest so much as to breath without feare, distrustfull euer shadow that hee saw, and shifting out of one by-corner before hee well knew where to find another.

(324) Meane whiles, the Lord Deputy refreshed his weary and winter beaten Souldiers, repayed the decays, and renewed the Garisons in *Mounster*, which done, hee departed for *Dublin*, where wearing out the winter tormes, towards the spring, by a gentle and easie march, well appointed, hee returned into *Wilder*, meaning to belay the Rebel on euerie side, by planting his Forts, so to take him in his toile. Thus being approached vnto *Blackewater*, hee transported his Armie ouer the Foord vpon floates, vpon whose banke, beneath the old Fort, he erected a new, to such terror of the Arch-rebell, as hee fet on fire his owne house at *Dunganon*, and got himselfe further from danger; whether the Lord Deputy immediately marched, and made spoile without any spare; the corne fields were destroyed, the Villages fired, and booties brought in on euerie side. The Forts in *Lough Crew*, *Lough Reagh*, and *Mogher Lecomd*, were yielded vp, and Garisons placed in *Lough Eagh* or *Sydney*, and in *Monaghan*, whence with their continuall sallies, they crossed the enemies, that fecing themselves inuironed about, and no way open for escape, like wilde beasts they hid their heads in the thickets, forrests, and woods, muttering complaints against their late magnified *Tir-oen*; exclaiming he had engaged the ruine of the whole Nation, for his owne priuate discontents, and that these warres, howeouer beneficiall to him, yet were they most pernicious vnto them, whereupon changing their mindes with their fortunes, beganne a vie, who should be first in shewing their alteration, by coming in to the Deputy.

(325) The Earle not ignorant how their affections declined, his owne forces shaken, and the fidelity of his followers more and more suspected, hee once more determined to prevent the worst, by

his submission, which in humble letters he sent to the Queene, wherein with prayers and teares hee craved pardon of his faults: to such an ebbe was the swelling tides of his rebellious heart brought. Her Maiesty (whose Nature was Mercy) euer distastefull of bloud, gaue the Lord Deputy authority to pardon his life, though hardly drawn to remit his offences, they being so many and great: His friends that affected him, and *Mac Baren* his brother, daily solicited the Deputy for his peace, which lastly, vpon an absolute promise, to put his life and reuenues, without any condition, to the will of the Queene, was granted; and at *Melifont*, accompanied with two persons and no more, had access into the Chamber of Presence, where the Lord Deputy fate in a Chaire of Estate, most of his Marshallists standing about him.

(326) *Tir-oen*, in bafe and poore array, with a dejected countenance at the very entrance fell down vpon his knees, and so rested till hee was commanded to arise, and come neerer; when stepping forward a few paces, hee fell againe prostrate, and like a most humble Supplicant, in words well couched (as cunning hee was both in speech and action) acknowledged his sinnes against God, and fault vnto her Maiesty; and thus beganne his submission to the Lord General.

*In the royall clemency of my dread Soueraigne and most gracious Queene, I doe only lay the hope and rest of my now remaining estate, vnto whose pleasure I absolutely remis my life, and whole reuenues; and doe most submissively deprecate mine owne misery, beseeching againe her mercy, whose boundlesse fauours I haue heretofore, and mighty powers now of late both felt and found, and well hope, that the fontaine of her ever-flowing graces are not drawn dry. Let mee (I pray) bee the subiect, wherein her mercy may worke, and an example for euer of her mild clemency, both to diuulge her Princelie lenity, and to redeme in some part the honor I haue lost. For age I am not so vnconquerable, nor of body so vnable, neither in courage so dejected, but that my faithfull seruice in her behalfe, may expiate and make some measure of satisfaction, for these my many and most disloyall rebellions. And yet I may iustly complaine, that through the malicious enuy of some, I haue beene hardly and vnfriendly dealt with, which may somewhat extenuate my crime and offence: For But as he was enforcing this point further, the Lord Deputy interrupted his speech, and with a few words deliuered with great authority, (which in a Marshallist stands in stead of Eloquence) told him, that there was no excuse to be heard, his crimes were too great; and thereupon commanded him to depart the Presence: which he did with a countenance seeming very heauy and sad. The next day departing for *Dublin*, hee tooke *Tir-oen* thither, meaning to transport him for England, had not the death of the Queene hindered his designe. These things premised, and Ireland thus recovered that was in hazard to be lost, let vs returne to our English affaires, from whence these Irish bogges haue detained vs too long.*

(327) On what termes the Earle of *Essex* left Ireland we haue already heard, and to what lamentable successe the height of his life brought him, is now to bee related; wherein hee may be the example of fortunes daliance, and of the vnstayed felicity had in this life; a man indeede filled with the affection of his Prince & the people, & fraught with honourable habilites to purchase both, vntill by his owne vnadvisednesse (for so it must needs be censured) hee clouded his honour, wisdom, and loyalty, with the shadowes of his owne discontents. Whether his Soueraignes fauours were the wings of his ambitions, or the dependencies of men of warre, the pillars of his high hopes, I doe not censure; but that some secret vnder-workings gaue fire to his passionate discontents, I doubt not, hauing seene his owne letters penned in that behalfe. Howeouer,

sure

sure it is, the Eie of Ielousie now lastly attended him, and his doings were more noted, then was made shew of: wherefore, being yet in Ireland with an eminent authority, followed with the flower and chiefest men of warre, and suspected to be too well respected by the Arch-rebell *Tir-oen*, it was held good policy (vpon another pretended occasion) to multer forces, and to make a *Lord Lieutenant General* of all England, which was, the right honorable *Charles Howard Earle of Nottingham* Lord high Admirall.

(328) The shew of this preparation was a pre-empting prouidence (as was pretended) against a Spanish Navy in new rigging for the Seas; and indeed such preparation in that Summer was made, as the like had not bene in England since Queene Elizabeth came to the Crowne. For London was allotted to furnish fixteene Ships to the Seas, and six thousand Souldiers for the Land seruice, whereof three thousand were to rest euer in a readinesse, and the other three thousand (all of them householders) to attend and guard her Maiesties roiall Person. And out of many Countreies adioyning, such numbers of braue horie and horsemen were gathered, as neuer till then had bene seene; the fame whereof was so farre spread, as neither Spaine, nor any other, could haue any heart to make attempt this way.

(329) But the Earle of *Essex* arriving in England not onely peaceably, but also very priuately and vnaccompanied (as hath bene saide) and now remaining in the Lord Keepers custody, was often and seriously dealt with, by that truly honourable and prouident Statist (of whom hee was intirely affected) somewhat to decline his lofty soaring, left in mounting too high, he should melt his waxen wings against the hot Sunne, and not to suffer the fore to fester till it were past cure; to which purpose also he afterwards wrote him a letter of pithy and sapient perfwasions, out of the abundance of his well-wishing heart; the copy whereof we held worthy to bee here presented.

The Lord Keeper to the Earle of Essex Iulie 18. An. 1598.

(330) My very good Lord. It is often seene, that a stander by seeth more then hee that playeth the game; and for the most part euery man in his owne cause, standeth in his owne light, and seeth not so cleerly as hee should. Your Lordshippe hath dealt in other mens causes, and in greate and weighty affaires with great wisdom and iudgement; now your owne is in hand, you are not to contemne or refuse the aduise of any that loueth you, how simple soeuer. In this order I range my selfe; of those that loue you none more simple, and none that loue you with more true and honest affection: which shall pleade mine excuse, if you shall either mistake, or misconfer, my words or meaning. But in your Lordships honorable wisdom I neither doubt nor suspect the one or other. I will not presume to aduise you, but I will shoot my bolt, and tell you what I thinke. The beginning and too-long continuing of this vnreasonable discontent you haue seene and proued, by which you may see at the end. If you hold still this course (which hitherto you finde to bee worse and worse, and the longer you goe, the farther out of the way) there is little hope, or likelihood that the end will bee better. You are not yet so farre gone, but you may well returne; the returne is safe, the progresse dangerous and desperate.

In this course you hold, if you haue any enemies, you doe that for them which they could neuer doe for themselves. Your friends you leaue open to storme and contempt; you forsake your selfe, and overthrow your fortunes, and ruinate your honour and reputation. You giue that courage and comfort to the forreine enemies, as greater they cannot haue. For what can bee more welcome, or more pleasing newes vnto them, then to heare that her Maiesty and the Realme are maymed of so

worthy a member, who hath so often and so valiantly quelled and danted them. You forsake your Countrey, when it hath most neede of your counsell or helpe. And lastly, you faile in that indissoluble duty which you owe to your most gracious Soueraigne. A duty imposed vpon you, not by nature or policy onely, but by that religious and sacred bond, wherein the diuine Maiesty of almighty God hath by the rule of Christianitie obliged you.

For the foure first, your constant resolution may perhaps moue you to esteeme them as light; but being well weighed they are not light, nor lightly to bee regarded. And for the two last, it may bee that the clearenesse of your inward conscience, may seeme to content your selfe. But that is not enough; these duties stand not onely in contemplation, or in inward meditation: their effects bee externall action, and when that faileth, the substance faileth.

This being your present state and condition, what is to bee done? what is the remedy? My good Lord I lacke wisdom and iudgement to aduise you; but I will neuer lacke an honest true heart to wish well, nor (being warranted by a good conscience) will faile to speake what I thinke.

I haue begunne plainly, bee not offended if I proceede so. Bene cedit, qui cedit temporis. Since faith well, Lex si nocentem punit, cedendum est iusticie; si innocentem, cedendum est fortune. The medicine and remedie is, not to contend and strive, but humbly to yeelde and submit. Haue you giuen a cause, and yet take a standall vnto you? Then all you can doe, is too little to make satisfaction. Is cause of standall giuen vnto you? yet policy, duty, and religion, enforce you to sue, yeelde, and submit, to your Soueraigne, betwene whom and you there can bee no proportion of duty. When God requirer it as a principall duty and seruice to himselfe; and when it is euident, that great good may ensue of it to your friends, your selfe, your Countrey, and your Soueraigne, and extreme harme by the contrary: there can bee no dishonour or hurt to yeelde, but in not doing of it, is dishonour and impiety.

The difficulty (my good Lord) is to conquer your selfe, which is the height of true valour and fortitude; wherein to all your honorable actions haue intended. Doe it in this, and God will bee pleased, her Maiesty (I doubt not) well satisfied: your Countrey will take good, and your friends take comfort by it; and your selfe (I mention you last, for I know that of all these, you esteeme your selfe least) shall receive honour, and your enemies (if you haue any) shall be disappointed of their bitter-sweete hopes.

I haue deliuered what I thinke, simply and truly; and leaue you to determine according to your wisdom. If I haue erred, it is Error amoris, not Amor erroris. Construe and accept it (I beseech you) as I meane it; not as an aduise, but as an opinion, to bee allowed or cancelled at your pleasure. If I might conueniently haue conferred with your selfe in person, I would not haue troubled you with so many idle blots. Whatsoeuer you iudge of this mine opinion, yet bee assured my desire is to further all good meanes that may tend to your good, and so wishing you all honourable happinesse, I rest your Lordshipps most ready and faithfull, though vnable, poore friend.

The Earles Answer.

(331) My very good Lord. Though there is not the man this day liuing, whom I would sooner make a Iudge of any question that did concerne mee, then your selfe: yet you must giue me leaue to tell you, that in some cases I must appeale from all earthly Iudges; and if in any, then surely in this, when the highest Iudge on earth hath imposed vpon mee the heaviest punishment, without triall or hearing. Since then I must either answer you Lordships arguments, or forsake mine owne iust defence, I will force mine aking head to doe mee seruice for an hour.

I must first deny my discouragement, which was forced,

10

I. King. 20.

The guilt and
fears of Tir-oen.

* Charles Mount.

Great spoiles
made in Wilder.

The Rebels ex-
claim against
the Arch-rebell.

to be an humorous discontentment, and in that it was vn-
fascioable, and is too long continuing, your Lordshippe
should rather condole with mee, then exfoliate. Naturall
feasons are expected here below, but violent and vn-
fascioable stormes come from above: there is no tempest to
the passionate indignation of a Prince, nor that at any time so
vnfascioable, as when it lighteth on those that might ex-
pect an harvest of their painefull and carefull labours. Hee
that is once wounded must feele smart till his hurt is cu-
red, or the part senselesse; but cure I expect none, her
Majesties heart being obdurate; and be without sense
I cannot. But then (you say) I may ayme at the end. I
doe more then ayme, for I see an end of all my fortunes,
and have set an end to all my desires. In this course doe I
anything for mine enemies? when I was present, I found
them absolute, and therefore I had rather they should tri-
umpe alone, then have mee attendant upon their Chariot.
Or doe I leane my friends? when I was a Courtier, I
could yeeld them no fruit of my love to them; now I am
an Heremite, they shall beare no enuie for their love to me.
Or doe I forsake my selfe, because I doe enjoy my selfe? Or
doe I overthrow my fortunes, because I build not a for-
tune of paper walles, which euery puffe of winde blowes
downe? Or doe I ruinate mine honor because I leane fol-
lowing the pursuit, or wearing the false mark of the (ha-
dow of honour? Doe I giue courage or comfort to the
forraigne enemies, because I reserve my selfe to encounter
them, or because I keepe mine heart from basenesse, though
I cannot keepe my fortune from declining? No, no, I giue
euery one of these considerations his due right, and the
more I weigh them, the more I finde my selfe iustified
from offending in any of them. As for the two last ob-
jections, that I forsake my Country when it hath most
need of mee, and faile in that indissoluble duty which I owe
to my Soueraigne: I answer, that if my Country had at
this tyme of my publike seruice, her Majesty that
gouernes it would not haue drinen me to a priuate life.

I am tied to my Country by two bands; one publike, to
discharge carefully, faithfully, and industriously that trust
that is committed vnto mee, and the other priuate to sa-
crifice for it my life and carcase which haue bene nour-
ished in it. Of the first I am free, being dismissed or dis-
abled by her Majesty. Of the other, nothing can free me
but death, and therefore no occasion of performance shall
offer it selfe, but I will meete it halfe way. The indis-
soluble duty which I owe to her Majesty, is the dutie of al-
leagiance which I will neuer, nor can faile in, the dutie
of attendance is no indissoluble duty. I owe her Majesty
seruice of an Earle, and of a Marshall of England. I haue
bene contented to doe her the seruice of a Clarke, but can
neuer serue her as a villaine, as a slave. But yet (you say)
I must giue way to time: so I doe, for now I see the storme
come, I haue put my selfe into the harbour. Seneca saith,
wee must giue way to fortune. I know that fortune is blind
and strong, and therefore I goe as farre out of the way as I
can. You say the remedy is not to strine, I neither strine
nor seek for remedy, but I must yeeld and submit: I can
neuer yeeld my selfe to be guilty, or this imposition lately
laide vpon me, to be iust: I owe so much to the Author of
truth, as I can neuer yeeld truth to be falsehood, or falsehood
to be truth. Haue I giuen cause (you aske) and take a scan-
dall? No, I gaue not cause to take vp so much as Fim-
brius his complaint, for I did totum telum corpore ac-
cipere. I patiently beare all, and sensibly feele all that I
then receiued. When this scandall was giuen mee, may,
when the worst of all indignities are done vnto mee, doth
Religion enforce me to serue? doth God require it? is it
impiety not to do it? why? cannot Princes erre? can-
not subjects receiue wrong? is an earthly power or au-
thority infinite? Pardon mee, pardon mee my Lord, I
can neuer subscribe to these principles: but Salomons
foole laughs when he is stricken: Let these that mean to
make their profite by Princes faults, shew to haue no feare
of Princes iniuries. Let them acknowledge an infinite ab-
solutenes in earth, that doe not beleue in an absolute in-
finitenes in heauen. As for mee, I haue receiued wrong,
I feele it, my cause is good I know it. And whatsoeuer
come, all the powers on earth can neuer shew more strength
and constancy in oppressing, then I can shew in suffering.

whatsoeuer shall be imposed vpon mee.

Your Lordship in the beginning of your letter made your
selfe a looker on, and mee a player of mine owne game; so
you may see more then I: but you must giue mee leaue
to tell you in the end of mine, that since you but see and I suf-
fer, I must of necessity feele more then you. I must craue
your Lordships patience, to giue him that hath a crabbed
fortune leaue to use a crabbed stile. But whatsoeuer my
stile is, there is no heart more humble, nor more affected
towards your Lordship, then that of your Lordships poore
friend

R. ESSEX.

(332) The distempered humor discovering it
selfe in this letter, argueth both the depth of his fet-
tered discontent, and the danger of giuing way to vio-
lent passions, which not onely deprive the wisest of
the vlt of their owne vnderstanding, but also blinde
their eyes that they cannot see, nor apprehend the
benefite of other mens faithfull counells. Notwith-
standing, it pleased her gracious Highnesse (whom
he so censured as wronging him, for lending a more
attentiu care to his enemies suggestions, then to
his owne satisfactions) first, to remitte his durance
to his owne house, and then loth to looke into his
faults but with her princely eye of fauour to proceed
vnto some moderate censure of his actions, to the
end hee might see his owne errors, and see to limit
his power as her owne might be secured.

(333) To which end hee assigned certain of her
Priuy Councell to conuent him concerning the
breaking of his former instructions for the North-
Irish prosecution, and the manner of his treating
with Tir-Oen, his coming from Ireland, and lea-
ving that Kingdome contrary to her Majesties ex-
presse commandement, signed vnder the Royall
Hand and Signet. Whereunto his answer was,
that the State of Warre held it a Maxime, to make
good the Stand before the Remoue, and that it was
nothing at Table to direct, but another thing in
field to effect, especially in Ireland, whose war was
with Eggs and Woods, as well as with Men. And to
the rest of the objections hee answered with such
obedient discretion, and loyall submission, as hee
well satisfied the Honourable presence, onely a sus-
pension from the exercise of some of his Offices was
decreed, vntill her Majesties pleasure should other-
wise order it. Shortly after hee was let at full liber-
ty; the Queene sending him word that shee well
hoped his surest guard would now bee his owne dis-
cretion.

(334) But seeing his wonted greatnesse restrained,
though the scope of his liberty was thus farre enlar-
ged, he presently mounted higher with the wings
of discontent: for deprived of Offices, neglected
in Court, and all his forraigne seruices powred into
her Majesties lappe, was now (as he imagined) there
wrapped vp, and laide in obliuion. Neither were
these his grieuances lessened by his military follow-
ers, who dayly watred these ill set plants with their
exasperated complaints, till they were sprung to
some height, and still to nourish their sappe, many
projets were cast, and conferences held how to lop
off other branches, which as they feared would hin-
der their growth, till lastly, at Drury house they agreed
on the manner (O had it withered before it had
blowmed, or died in the grafting before itooke
sappe) which was by violent hand to bring the Earle
into her Majesties presence, and to remoue from her
such as they deemed his opposites.

(335) The frequent assembly vnto Essex house
by Noblemen, Knights, Captaines, and others,
was presently obscured by the Statists in Court, to
stoppe the current of which confluence before it
grew to a flood, Secretary Herbert was sent from
her Majesty to require him to repaire before the
Lords of her Councell, then assembled at Salisbury
Court, which hee excusing with sicknesse, neglected
to do, and the same night vpon some sinister reports

Essex comman-
ded to his owne
house.

The Earles an-
noy.

Essex suspended
from the exercise
of his offices.

The conference
at Drury house.

A.D. 1600.
Sunday,
Feb. 8.
Essex entred in
London.
Thom. Smith.

F. G.

Hee returneth, &
is forced from
Ludgate.

set a double watch about him, pretending some
danger to bee meant to his person. For whose de-
fence the next morning (being Sunday) many re-
paired vnto his house, among whom, as chiefe were
the Earles of Rutland and Southampton, the Lord
Santes and Montague, accompanied with a Troupe
of gallant Gentlemen their followers.

(336) Her Maiefty hearing of these disorderlie
proceedings, in her princely wisdomethought to
cast water vpon this beguine fire, before it brake
forth into flame, and thereupon sent foure men of
much honour vnto his place, to offer him iustice for
any grieues, and to command the assembly to depart.
The persons sent were the L. Keeper of the great Seale,
the Earle of Worcester, Sir Francis Knowles his vnkle,
and the Lord Chiefe Iustice of England, all of them
in high honour and fauour with the Earle him-
selfe.

(337) These coming to his house without
Temple-barre, were receiued in themselves, but scarce
any of their seruants suffered to follow, excepting
the Bearer of the Purse and Seale, where finding
the Court full of those his followers, the Lord Kee-
per putting off his hatte, tolde them that they were
sent by her Maiefty to vnderstand the cause of this
their assembly, and to let them know, that if they had a-
ny particular cause of grieue against any person whatso-
euer, they should haue hearing and iustice. The Earle of
Essex answered that his life was sought after, and that
hee had bene perfidiously dealt withall. To which
the Lord Chiefe Iustice replied, that if any such mat-
ter was attempted, it was fitt for him to declare it,
assuring him of a faithfull relation, and that her Ma-
iesty would doe him iustice. Which promises the
Lord Keeper seconded, and desired the Earle to de-
clare his grieues, if not openly, yet in priuate, and he
doubted not but to procure him full satisfaction, &
then turning towards the multitude, with a louder
voice said; I do command you all vpon your alleageance
to lay down your Weapons, and so depart. Whereup-
on the Earle himselfe went into his Booke-cham-
ber, these foure Councillors following him in hope
of priuate conference; but so farre off was hee from
hearing them further, or answering to their de-
mands, that leauing them there vnder sure custo-
dy, hee returned to his other attendants.

(338) With whom in tumultuous manner, hee
made into London, his followers crying, that the
Earle of Essex should haue bene murdered by
Cobham, Cecil and Rawley, all men amazed what
this did meane. Thus past hee from Ludgate through
Chesepside, into Fan-church street, where hee entred
the house of a supposed friend (then one of the
Shiriffes) who seeing the multitude, auoided him-
selfe out at a backe-dore, when presently in diuers
parts of the City Essex was proclaimed a Traitor, to
the no lesse grieue of the Citizens, then feares of his
followers, and thence returning with a Halbert in
his hand, and a Table-napkin about his necke, came
into Gracious street, where a while hee made his stand,
(the Lord Maior and others being assembled at the
upper end towards Leaden-hall) no one Citizen or
seruant shewing him any signe of assistance. The case
so desperate, one of the principall offenders contri-
ued how by redeeming his fault, to saue his owne
life; who hastening into the Strand to Essex-house,
and comming to Sir John Duns, as being sent from
the Earle, gat release of the foure Councillors, vn-
der whose guard they had bene hitherto kept.

(339) Essex now despairing of all succours in Lon-
don, saw it was bootlesse there to make his abode, &
therefore retired againe towards Pauls, meaning
to passe Ludgate the way that he came, but being
resisted by a company of Pikemen, and other for-
ces, made by that stout and noble Prelate, the then
Lord Bishoppe of London, hee was put backe, Sir
Christopher Blunt foreburch, and young Traey slaine;
besides some others on the Queenes part, himselfe
narrowly escaping, being thrust through the hatte

with a pyke. So hence againe returning, at Queene
Hue hee tooke boate, bidding the City and his for-
tunes adue.

(340) His enterprize thus frustrate, with a mind
distracted hee rowed vp the riuier, and landed at the
Water-gate of his owne house; which hee presently
fortified; and the Lord Admirall assaulted, suffering
notwithstanding the Countesse of Essex, the Lady
Rich and their Gentlewomen to depart, which done,
hee forced the Garden euen to the walles of the
house. Some resistance was made, and some per-
sons slaine vpon either part, which the Earle per-
ceiving, presently yeelded, desiring onely that hee
might bee ciuilly vld, and that hee might haue an
honourable triall, and so being first brought to Lam-
beth-house, where an howre or two hee remained with
the Lord Archbishoppe (his euier most louing,
but then most mournfull friend) was thence with
some other Lords and Gentlemen conuayed by wa-
ter to the Tower, about tenne of the clocke the same
night: hauing then experience, that vaine is the loue
of the Commons to a subiect (how great soeuer) when
it is counterbalanced with the dutifull obedience vnto their
Prince.

(341) Vpon the nineteenth of the same mo-
neth, the Earle of Essex and Southampton were ar-
raigned at Westminster, the Lord Buckhurst Lord high
Treasurer of England being made Lord Steward for
the day, where the great resolution of the one, con-
temning death, and the sweet temper of the other
well deferring life, did breed most compassionate
affections in all men, hearing the sentence of law to
passe vpon them. The one of them remained pri-
soner in the Tower during the raigne of the Queene,
and by the gracious clemency of our Soueraigne
Lord King James at his comming to the Crowne,
had pardon of life, and restauration of blood, the
other (Essex) the five and twentieth of February be-
ing Ashwedsday, suffered vpon the Greene with-
in the Tower, rendering his soule to God with a
most penitent and Christian constancie, whose last
speeches were to this effect.

(342) "My Lords and Christian brethren, who
are present witnesses of my iust punishment, I
confesse (to Gods glory) my selfe a most wret-
ched sinner, and that my finnes in number ex-
ceed the haire of my head; that good which I
would haue done, that did I not, and the euill
which I would not, that did I. For all which I
beseech my Sauour Christ to be a Mediator to
his Father my God, especially for this my last
sinne, this great, this crying, this bloody, this
infectious sinne, wherein, through loue of mee,
so many haue bene drawn to offend God, their
Soueraigne, and the world. I beseech God, her
Majesty, and the State, to forgive vs; and I be-
seech him to blesse her with a prosperous raigne,
with a wife and vnderstanding heart, to blesse the
Nobles and Ministers of the Church and State.
I likewise beseech you, and all the world, to hold
a charitable opinion of mee, for my intention
towards her Majesty, whose death (I protest)
I neuer meant, nor any violence towards her Per-
son. I thanke God, I neuer was Atheist, in not
beleueing the Scriptures; neither Papist, trusting
in my owne merits; but am assured to bee saued
by the mercies and merits of Christ Iesus my
Saviour. This faith I was brought vp in, and
heerein I am now ready to dye; beseeching you
all to ioyne your soules with mee in prayer, that
my soule may be lifted vp by faith, above all
earthly things; and first I desire forgiveness of
all the world, euen as freely, as from my heart I
forgiue all the world.

(343) And then kneeling downe saide, I haue
bene diuers times in places of danger, where death
was neither so present nor so certaine, and yet euen
then I felt the weaknesse of my flesh, and therefore
now in this last and great conflict, I desire Gods as-
sistance

Takeeth boat and
fortifieth his
house in Strand.

Essex arraigned
and condemned.

Is executed.

His speech at
death.

SIMEQVE ANNOS XLV. ADMINISTRATA ELIZABETHA REGINA VICTRIX, TRIUMPHATRIX, PIETATIS STUDIOSSIMA, FOELICISSIMA, PLACIDA MORTE SEPTVAGENARIA SOLVTA, MORTALES RELIQUIAS DVM CHRISTO. IVBENTE RESVROGANT IMMORTALES, IN HAC ECCLESIA GLEBERRIMA AB IPSA CONSERVATA, ET DENO FVNDATA, DEPOSVIT.

*Obijt xxiiij. Martij, Anno salutis MDCII.
Regni XLV. Etatis LXX.*

Memoriae Aeternae.

ELIZABETHAE ANGLIAE, FRANCIAE, ET HIBERNIAE REGINAE, R. HENRICI VIII. FILIAE, R. HEN. VII. NEPTI, R. ED. IIII. PRONEPTI, PATRIAE PARENTI, RELIGIONIS ET BONARVM ARTIVM ALTRICI, PLVRIMARVM LINQVARVM PERITIA, PRAECLARIS TVM ANIMI TVM CORPORIS DOTIBVS REGIISQVE VIRTVTIBVS SVpra SEXVM

PRINCIPI INCOMPARABILI

IACOBVS MAGNAE BRITANNIAE, FRANCIAE, ET HIBERNIAE REX, VIRTVTVM, ET REGNORVM HAERES, BENE MERENTI PIE POSVIT.

REGNO CONSORTES ET VRNA, HIC OBDORMIMVS, ELIZABETHA ET MARIA SORORES, IN SPE RESVRRECTIONIS.

Sacred vnto Memorie.

RELIGION TO ITS PRIMITIVE SINCERITIE RESTORED; PEACE THROVGHLY SETTLED; COINE TO THE TRVE VALVE REFINED; REBELLION AT HOME EXTINGVISHED; FRANCE, NEERE RVINE BY INTESTINE MISCHIEFES, RELEEVED; NETHERLAND SVPPORTED; SPAINES ARMADO VANQVISHED; IRELAND, WITH



JAMES.

SPANIARDS EXPVLSION AND TRAITORS COERCION, QVIBTED; BOTH VNIVERSITIES REVENEVES, BY A LAW OF PROVISION, EXCEEDINGLY AVGMETED; FINALLY, ALL ENGLAND ENRICHED, AND XLV. YEERES MOST PRVDENTLY GOVERNED: ELIZABETH, A QUEENE, A CONQVERESSE, A TRIUMPHER, THE MOST DEVOTED TO PIETY, THE MOST HAPPY, AFTER LXX. YEERES OF HER LIFE, QVIENTLY BY DEATH DEPARTING, HATH LEFT HERE (IN THIS MOST FAMOUS COLLEGIAT CHVRCH, VVHICH BY HER VVAS ESTABLISHED AND RE-FOVND) THESE REMAINES OF HER MORTALITY, VNTILL AT CHRIST'S CALL THEY SHALL AGAINE RISE IMMORTALL.

She died xxiiij. of March, the yeere of Salvation MDCII. of her Raigne XLV. of her Age LXX.

For an Eternall Memoriall.

VNTO ELIZABETH, QUEENE OF ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND; DAUGHTER OF KING HENRY THE VIII. GRANDCHILD TO K. HEN. THE VII. GREAT-GRANDCHILD TO K. ED. THE IIII. THE MOTHER OF THIS HER COUNTRY; THE NVRSER OF RELIGION, AND LEARNING; FOR PERFECT SKILL OF VERY MANY LANGVAGES, FOR GLORIOUS ENDOWMENTS AS WELL OF MIND AS BODY, AND FOR REGALL VERTVES BEYOND HER SEX,

A PRINCE INCOMPARABLE:

JAMES OF GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE, AND IRELAND KING, INHERITOR BOTH OF HER VERTVES AND KINGDOMES, TO HER SO WELL DESERVING, PIOUSLY HATH THIS ERECTED.

CONSORTS BOTH IN THRONE, AND IN GRAVE, HEERE REST VBE TVVO SISTERS, ELIZABETH AND MARIA, IN HOPE OF OVR RESVRRECTION.

JAMES. OF THAT NAME THE FIRST, AND FIRST MONARCH OF THE VVHOLE ILAND OF GREAT BRITAIN, VNITING VNDER ONE, AND THE SAME HIS MOST GLORIOUS CROWN, THE KINGDOMES OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, FRANCE, AND IRELAND, GODS IMMEDIATE VICEGEREND, SVPREAME HEAD OF ALL PERSONS, AND DEFENDER OF THE ANCIENT AND TRVE CHRISTIAN FAITH IN THESE HIS EMPIRE AND DOMINIONS. HIS PEACEABLE ENTRANCE, AND MOST HAPPIE BEGVN RAIGNE.

The Tenth Booke.



CHAPTER II



Before the conceived sorrowes, for the death of the late renowned Queen could fully be dissolued into teares, or those get passage from the heart to the eyes, the conduit was stopped with a sodaine ioy, and all faces cleared, before that sad penitence had therein set her full

print. The state of England standing that day, like vnto that of Iudah, wherein the foundation of the second Temple was laid, whose ancient men mourned, as doubting the glory thereof could not be answerable to that of Salomons; but as they were comforted by a Prophet from God, THAT THE GLORIE OF THE LATER SHOULD SVRMOVNT THE FORMER, so all English hearts by a diuine blessing from God were presently cheered, when they saw their morning starre arise in the North, whose

P p p p p

March 24.

King James proclaimed.

King James his last title to the Crown of England.

King James appointed by God to unite the two Kingdoms.

The Romanists hope for a toleration in Religion.

Ex Libro Inscript. Proceedings against Traitors.

The Popes Bulls sent to Garnet to prohibit succession, unless he were a Catholic.

Christ would not be Judge of the inheritance betwixt Brethren: his Vicar will against all right.

Pole with *His* attractive power, long before had drawn the Needle of the *Southerne Compass* vnto that One point.

(2) Immediately vpon the death of the *Queene*, the Lords of the Land gaue full satisfaction vnto the people, in proclaiming *JAMES THE SIXTH, King of Scotland*, by the name of *JAMES THE FIRST KING OF ENGLAND, FRANCE AND IRELAND, DEFENDER OF THE FAITH &c.* to the vinepeakeable comfort of all true English, as well for his unquestionable claime, as for that hee professed the same true Religion (whose preservation was their tender care) as also for his singular learning and experience, whereby hee was accomplished to vndergoe the managing of so great an Empire, having now attained to thirty fixe yeeres, nine monethes, and fve dayes, exercised altogether in the practise of Kingly gouernement, from the very first dayes of his infancy.

(3) That his Title was most iust, no man can deny, being sprung from the vnitied Roles of *Lancaster and Yorke, King Henry the seventh, and Queene Elizabeth his wife*: whose Issue by the Male failing in the late deceased *Queen Elizabeth* of glorious memory, the offspring of *Margaret* her eldest daughter, was the next heire, which Lady married vnto *James the fourth King of Scotland*; by him had issue *King James the fifth*, whose only Daughter *Queene Mary* was Mother of this our mighty Monarch. Let *Daleman* therefore doe vpon his own dreames, and other like Traitors fashion their barres vpon the Popes forge; yet hath *God* & his right set him on the throne of his most lawfull inheritance, so to vnitie the two Crowns into one: Gods omnipotent arme bringing at last that to passe, which had often bene assayed, but could not be effected by any power of man. For, did not *Edward our first*, the terror of *Syria*, and *Edward the first* our godly *Iosias*, both of them distresse *Scotland* with their warres, only to haue made an vnion by the marriages of the next heire, and of their Queene? But the time being not come, and all other preceding Princes failing of their purposes, the peaceable vnion of those two Kingdomes, *England and Scotland*, as also of two other, *France and Ireland* was referred for *Him*, who is a patterne of all princely Learning and Piety, vnto all other Monarches vpon the surface of the Earth.

(4) But these calme proceedings without any oppugnancy, as they were most ioyfull to the English, so were they admirable vnto other forraigne Nations, yea, and enuid at of some, especially, such as hoped for an alteration, or at leastwise a toleration of Religion. And so much the rather, for that Pope *Clement* the eight, had sent the yeere before vnto *Henry Garnet*, *Superiour* of the Iesuites in *England*, two Bulles to the contrary; one to the *Clergy*, and the other to the *Laitie*. The title of the former was, *Dilectis filijs Archiepiscopis, & reliquis Clero Anglicano, &c.* the later, *Dilectis filijs Principibus, & Nobilibus, Catholicis Anglicanis, salutem & Apostolicam Benedictionem*: the summe of both thus. To our beloued sonnes, the *Archbishops and the Clergy*, the *Peeres and Nobles, Catholics* of *England, greeting, and Apostolicall Benediction*, &c. The tenor was, that after the death of her Maiefty, whether by course of Nature, or otherwise: *Whosoeuer should lay claime or title to the Crowne of England, though neuer so directly, and neuerly interested by descent, should not be admitted vnto the thronet, unless he would first tolerate the Romish Religion, and by all his best endeouours promote the Catholic cause, vnto which, by a solemne and sacred Oath, he should religiously subscribe, after the death of that Miserable woman*, for so it pleased his Holinesse to teame *Elizabeth*, that most great and happy *Queen*. By vertue of which *Bulls*, (if vertue may be in any such vicious Libels) the Iesuites dissuaded the Romish-minded Subjects from yielding (in any wise) obedience vnto *King James*, as being not an obe-

dient *Catholic* sonne; but this not working to their wished effect, and he now solemnly proclaimed with an vniuersall applause, loue and peace, their hopes beganne to grow cold, and no succours from *Spain* being now to be expected, *Garnet* the *Superiour* to auoid further dangers, sacrificed these hunger-starved *Bulls* to *Falcan* the fiery God.

(5) *King James* in *Scotland* receiuing intelligence of the most plausible passages to this enlargement of his Stile and Dominions, prepared himselfe hitherward, and vpon the sixt of Aprill came to *Barrwick*, thence to *Wytherington, Newburgh, Durham, York, Lancaster, Newark, Burleigh, Poistow, Theobalds*, and thence to *London* vpon the seuenth of May. In all which places hee was most royally and ioyously receiued, with all demonstrations of trust loyalty, loue and obedience, which was no lesse benignely accepted of by his Maiefty, who the better to manifest his royal disposition, in all such places as hee came, where Gaieties for offenders were kept, out of his clemency most graciously set free the Prisoners, (those only excepted, who lay for treason, murder, or Romish disloyalty) disbursing also large summes of money for releafe of many others from their creditors.

(6) In all which progresse, admirable was the confluence of people, which with haste to meete him, seemed rather to flie then to runne, and such were their shoutes of ioy, that the hills resounded the Echo thereof, euen vp to the heauens, which had bene so propitious, as to bestow on them so good a King, which most abundantly appeared the day that his Maiefty removed from *Theobalds* to *London*, when at *Stanford-hill*, next vnto *Tottenham-Crosse* in *Middlesex*, the City of *London* (represented in the *Lord Maior*, the *Aldermen*, with five hundred choice *Citizens*, all in chaines of gold, & very well mounted) met his Maiefty, and with all solemne obsequies attended *Him* vnto the *Charter-house* neere *Smithfield*, which was most sumptuously furnished for his royal entertainment. On which very day, a Proclamation came forth against all griping *Monopolies* that hindered commerce, and *Protections* that stopped the due proceedings of law, as also against other abuses in other inferior carriages. All which were so acceptable to the *People* and *Common-wealth* (which had bene too much eaten-out with such Locusts & Caterpillars) as neuer any King wanne himselfe more loue: these being accepted as the auspicious beginnings, promising most happy sequels. So that his entrance was as another *Constantine*, whose person euery man prayed for, and desired to see: and for Peace another *Ottavianus*, hauing ruled peaceably a fourtithring Nation, euen from his younger yeeres, and lued in peace with all the Princes and Kings of the earth: in which peace now lastly hee brought the Crown and Kingdome of *Scotland* to augment the glory, circuit and strength of this Realme of *England*, in whose vnitied body, as a faire branched tree, euen at the first hee beganne to engraft the Syences of his princely vertues, which by the sappe and Sunne-shine of his iust gouernement still spredde more and more, like vnto the Cedars that grow vpon *Lebanon*.

(7) The English Empire thus peaceably established, both by and vnto, this peaceable Monarch: from sundry forraigne Princes were sent Ambassadors, to congratulate his entrance; as namely, from the *Pals-graue of the Rhine*, one of the *Princes Electors for the Emperour of the Romans*: from the *French King*, *Monsieur de Roissy*, *Great Treasurer of France*: from the *Spanish King*, *Don Iohn de Tassit*: from the *States of Holland and Zealand*: from the *Archduke of Austria*: from the *Seigniorie of Venice*: from the *Duke of Florence*, and from others.

(8) But among all new-commers, none was more admired nor gazed on, then was *Hugh Oneal*, Earle of *Tir-om*, that perfidious, (but very valiant) subtle

A.D. 1601.
King James cometh to London.

His progresse and places of entertainment.

His mercies, extended to the prisoners.

The ioy that was concluded at the sight of his Maiefty.

His Maiefty coming to London.

His Maiefty first proceeding to maintain law and commerce.

His Stew.

The intents of the Conspirators.

A Doctrine well fitting such Doctors.

Diuers Ambassadors came into England to congratulate his entrance.

Tyrone brought into England.

sub gazed at

sublated.

Trophies set vp in London stood long vnfinished.

Conspiracies intended and re- uel'd.

His Stew.

The intents of the Conspirators.

A Doctrine well fitting such Doctors.

The Coronation of the King and Queene.

July 25.

subtle, and smooth-tongued Traitor, and *Boutefeu* of *Ireland*, that had bene the death of many a worthy man; who hauing (as wee haue shewed) yielded himselfe to the Lord Generall *Montjoy* in the sicknesse of the late *Queene*, was now by him brought vnto *Englands* Court, to the Generals great honour, and *Tyrone*s great good, if hee could haue had grace to containe himselfe. For not onely was he taken vpon his lowly submission into fauour with his dread Soueraigne, and restored to his former estate and dignity, (a very great fauour to so great an offender) but a Proclamation was also made in his behalfe, and for his security, that hee should of all men bee honourably vsed (a grace, seldom shewed a Traitor) because as it seemed, his guilty conscience lurcharged with bloud, feared the hand of euery man that beheld his face; and indeed many a woman, enraged for losse of their husbands or sonnes, furiously desired and assayed to quench their hatred with his bloud: in which perplexity wee will leaue him for a restlesse Rebel, who lastly like a fugitiue left againe both his loyalty and his owne Country.

(9) In the meane while the solemnities for the Coronation were prepared, and many stately Trophies (no lesse due to the conseruation of Peace, then to the achieuings of Warre) in *London* streets set vp, which by reason of the great sicknesse in that Citie then cruelly raging, stood a long time rather like the ruines of some old decay, then the Princely Pageants of a new Triumph. For before the appointed day of Coronation (which was the twenty fifth of Iuly being the feast day of Saint *James* the Apostle) a Proclamation came forth, that no *Londoner* should presume to approach to the Court, the City hauing buried that weeke about a thousand of the plague. But yet a greater plague to the Land then this, was intended some weekes before, had not the prouidence of a good God preuented the designs of mercilesse men. For, certaine *Italian* Priest, boyling in reuengfull rancor, because their plots and hopes (which they vainly promised themselves for aduancement of their Religion) were now past all appearance of possibility or successe, and combining with some other of better Rank and Note, whom priuate discontent had whetted on to a publike mischief; contriued together a desperate designe, for surprize of the Kings Person and Prince *Henry* his sonne. Of forces to effect it, they made no doubt, meaning to retaine them prisoners in the Tower, and with the Treasures therein to maintaine their intent, or, if the Tower were impugnable, then to carry them to *Douer* Castle, and there by violence either to obtaine their owne pardons, a toleration in Religion, and a remouall of some Counsellors of the State, or else to put some further proiect in execution. To conceal this Treason, *Watson* the Priest deuised Oaths for secrecy, and himselfe with *Clarke* (another Priest also) taught, that the act was lawfull, being done before the Coronation, for that the King was no King, before he was anointed, and the Crowne solemnly set on his head.

(10) The other persons whose loyalty was likewise called into question, as inuolued in the attempt, were *Henry Brooke*, *Lord Cobham* and *Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports*, *Thomas Lord Gray of Wilton*, *Sir Walter Raughley Lord Warden of the Stanerries*, *Sir Griffin Markham*, and *Sir Edward Parham* knights, *George Brooke*, and *Bartholomew Brooksby* Esquires, and *Anthony Copley* a Gentleman; all which parties being apprehended, were committed some to the Gatehouse at *Westminster*, others to the Tower of *London*. Meane while (notwithstanding the raging sicknesse) the day for the Coronation (being the feast of Saint *James*) was celebriously kept with all solemne performance and ancient Rites of the English Kings, in the Collegiate Church of St. Peter in *Westminster*. Where, the antique Regall Chaire

of inthronization, did blessedly receiue, with the person of his Maiefty, the full accomplishment also of that Propheticall prediction of this *Itu* comming to the Crowne, which Antiquity hath recorded to haue bene therein inscribed thus,

*Ni fallat Fatum Scoti hunc quocunq; locatum
Inuenient Lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem;*

*If Fates goe right, this Stone, where e're 'tis pight,
The Scot shall find, and there his Raigne be signd.*

For euen there now the sacred Oile was powred vpon the royal Persons of *King James* and *Queene Anne*, by the most reuerend Prelate, *Iohn Whitgift Lord Arch-Bishoppe of Canterbury*, the Prince and Peeres wearing their Robes and Coronets, the Officers giuing attendance in their places, and the Lord Maior of *London* in a Gowne of Crimson Veluet, with the Aldermen in Scarlet: twelue principall Citizens were admitted to attend them, all other forbidden because of the plague.

(11) As the great multitude of the City of *London* by reason of this infection, and the retirednesse both of his Maiefty and all his Nobles, gaue some hopes to the fore-mentioned Priests and their Abettors, for the easier accomplishing their plots: so was it also some occasion of the delay of Iustice on them after their treasonous designs were now fully brought to light. Wherefore, *London* continuing still vnfit for such a triall, and requisite concourse of Peeres and people, *Winchester*, the Towne being there kept, was the place designed for their arraignment, whither they were all conueyed vnder strong guard. The first who there came to their triall, were *George Brooke*, brother to the Lord *Cobham*, *Sir Griffin Markham*, and *Sir Edward Parham*, *Brooksby*, *Copley*, *Watson*, and *Clarke*; whose inditement was, that they had conspired, first, to destroy the King, secondly, to raise Rebellion; thirdly, to alter Religion; fourthly, to subuert the State; and lastly, to procure foraine Inuasion. That these their intents they had made knowne vnto the Lord *Gray*, whom they meant should haue bene Earle Marshall of *England*, *Watson* Lord Chancellor, *George Brooke* Lord Treasurer, and *Sir Griffin Markham* Secretary. That with the King, the Lords also should be surprized in their chambers at *Greenwich*, and the Lord Maior and Aldermen of *London* should bee sent for, and so be shut vp in the Tower.

(12) *George Brooke* hereunto answered (with a colour and pretext as leude as the attempt,) that he had Commission from the King to doe what hee did, onely to try faithfull Subjects; which commission hee could not produce. *Sir Griffin Markham* (excepting onely the imputation of bloud) confessed his offence very penitently, alleging it was through a discontented mind, and desired the Lords to be a meane to the King for mercy. *Watson* and *Clark* (the former of which confessed he had drawn all those Gentlemen into these plots) did vainly and ignorantly auerre, that they held the King no King, vntill hee was Crowned, and that therefore it could not be Treason; alleging, that *Saul* was not King vntill he was chosen in *Miseph*, though he had bene anointed in *Ramah* by *Sannell* the Prophet; neither *Ieroboam*, who in the daies of *Salomon*, had bene confirmed by the Prophet to raigne ouer *Israel*, vntill the people made him King vpon the foote-hill answeres of *Rehoboam*. Thus these great Rabbis made no difference betwixt the mediate and ordinary succession of lawfull Princes, ordered by God to be his Vice-gerents in fully-established Common-wealths, and those Kings which himselfe extraordinary aduanced, and created to be the whips in his hand; as the first manifestly proved, when they had callt off *Sannael*, and the latter allowed, when God ther end, as by the Prophet is apparent, where God in him faith, *I gaue them a King in mine anger, and I tooke*

The Regall Chaire brought out of Scotland, wherein is a stone called *Saxum latu*, said to be of high esteeme with the Scots.

The conspirators conueied to Winchester.

* Nouem. 13

Their Inditements and condemnations.

Mr. George Brooke condemned.

1. Sam. 9.

Watson and Clark apply Scriptures to maintaine Treason.

Hosea 13. 11.

November 17.
Sir Walter Raughley
is arraigned and
condemned.

The Lords Cobham and Gray
are arraigned and
condemned.

Watson and Clark
upon the 29. of
November.

Mr. George Brooke
upon the 5. of
December being
Tuesday.

John Stow.

The Kings Letters
for the Execution.

took him away in my wrath; but the more learned informed them, that in England is no *Inter-regnum*, because the King neuer dieth, and that the Coronation is but a Ceremony to shew the King to the people.

(13) Two daies after was Sir Walter Raughley brought to the Barre, being indicted for combining with the Lord Cobham (his accuser) in the foresaid designs. Whereunto he pleaded not guilty, and so stood for his purgation, as he held argument from morning till night, to the hearers no little admiration, that a man of so exquisite vnderstanding and experience should give consent vnto such a plot, no lesse foule, then foolish. Yet in fine hee was found guilty, and had sentence of death.

(14) The like iudgement, a few daies after, passed vpon the Lords, Cobham and Gray, arraigned on two feuerall daies. The former being indicted, for combining with Sir Walter Raughley and George Brooke, to procure forces from the King of Spain; and the Arch-Duke, for an Inuasion, &c. The other for ioyning with the foresaid Priests, Knights, and Gentlemen, in their fore-mentioned conspiracies. The Lord Chancellor of England, being Lord Steward for that seruice, fate vnder a Cloth of Estate in the vpper end of the Hall, the Nobles sitting (as their Peeres and Iudges) on benches vpon both sides. Those at the Barre hee willed to bee bold, and to answer without feare: the Kings learned Counsell hee intreated not to confound the memory of the prisoners with vnecessary matters: and the Peeres, though vnworne, hee aduised to try indifferently betwixt the King and the arraigned; who both pleading not guilty, were yet found otherwise by the Court, and receiued iudgement of death.

(15) Of all these arraigned, Sir Edward Parham only was acquitted by the Iury, and of all the rest only three died, which were Watson, Clarke, and Master George Brooke: the former of which, hauing at large laid open in Print, the Treasons and vnflattering machinations of the Iesuiticall Order, left this suspicion on them at his death, that they, in reuenge, had cunningly and covertly drawn him into this Action, which brought him to this shameful end. After whose death, his Maiefty then at Wilton, (hauing commanded his Lords, to deliuer the true narration vnto him of the whole proceeding in the arraignments and answers of all the rest) signed also a warrant for the execution of the Lords Cobham and Gray, as also Markham, to be performed the Friday following before ten of the clock in the morning. Notwithstanding his Maiefty more moued to milde mercy, then the high straine of Iustice, of his Princely and free clemencie, gaue life vnto those persons, expecting present death, and thus with his owne hand wrote to counterchecke his former Warrant.

(16) Although it bee true, that all well gouerned and flourishing Kingdomes and Common wealthis are established by Iustice, and that these two Noblemen by birth, that are now upon the point of execution, are for their treasonable practices condemned by the Law, and adiudged worthy of the execution thereof, to the example and terror of others: The one of thaim hauing filthily practised the overthrow of the whole Kingdom, and the other for the surprize of our owne Personne: yet in regard that this is the first yere of our Reigne in this Kingdom, and that neuer King was so farre oblig'd to his People as we haue bene to this, by our entry here with so hairy and general an applause of all forties. Among quhom all the kinne, freinds, and allies of the saids condemned persons, waite as forward and desirous as any other our good Subiects, as also that as the very time of their Arraignement none did more freely and readily give their assent to their conviction, and to deliuer thaim into the hands of Iustice, then so many of their nextest Kinsmen and Allies (as being Peers) waite vpon their Iuries as likenesse in regard that Iustice hath in some sort gotten course already, by the execution of the two Priests, and

George Brooke, that waite the principall plottes and intais of all the rest, to the embracing of the saids treasonable machinations, we therefore (being resolu'd to mixe Clemency with Iustice) are contented, and by these Presents command you, our present Sheriffe of Hampshire to superseed the Execution of the saids two Noblemen and to take thaim backe to their prison againe, quibulo our further pleasure bee known. And since we will not haue our Lawis to haue respect to persons in spairing the great, and striking the meane sort: It is our pleasure, that the like course be also taken with Markham, being sorry from our hart, that such, not only the heynous nature of the saids condemned persons crime, but even the corruption is so great of their naturall disposition, as the care we haue for the safety and quiet of our State, and good Subiects, will not permit vs to vyle that Clemency towards thaim, quibulo in our owne naturall inclination, we might very easily be perswaded vnto.

(17) This Letter thus framed, the deliuey thereof his Maiefty committed vnto one John Gibb a Scottish Gentleman, a discreet person, and free from dependancy of any Noble man or Counsellor, neither was he of any extraordinary ranke, as well that the by-standers should not obserue any alteration for the execution, as the delinquents themselves take any apprehension by his presence, to the end that each of them feuerally should prepare to breath out their last breath, with a true confession of their secret consciences. The time approaching, Sir Griffin Markham brought to the Scaffold, (to that end erected on the Castle Greene) made himselfe ready for the stroke of the Axe, when secretly Master Gibb deliuey vnto the high Sheriffe of the Shire the Kings Warrant to the contrary, who soone perceiving his Maiesties intent tooke backe the prisoner, (as if he were first to confront the two Lords in the Hall vpon some seruice to the King,) from the Scaffold, and brought him into the Castle Hall. Then was the Lord Gray brought forth, who hauing powred out his praies vnto God, at length kneeling downe for the stroke of death, the Sheriffe bad stay, telling the Lord that some further seruice was expected of him, and thereupon likewise lead him againe into the Castle. The Lord Cobham then was brought to the Scaffold, who being in praies and preparation for death, the Lord Gray and Sir Griffin were brought backe againe, where the prisoners all three appearing together on the Scaffold, the Sheriffe notified his Maiesties Warrant for the stay of their Executions, and that as then they should not dy. Vpon which rare Clemency, vnexpected both of prisoners and spectators, arose such shouts of the people, as was wonderful, crying God saue the King, and the condemned overcome with his Clemency, willed they might sacrifice their liues to redeeme their own faults and to repurchase so mercifull a Princes loue.

(18) This businesse thus transacted, for the safety of the Kings Person and whole Kingdom; his Maiefty, (who well considered, that the quiet of a Weale-Publike cannot possible subsist long, without the peace and well managed gouernment of the Church,) hauing among many other Petitions which were presented to him at his first entrance, receiued one from certain persons of vnquiet spirits, against the established Gouernment and Liturgy in the English Church, resolu'd now by his Princely iudgement, as another Hezekiah to breake the Brazen Serpent, if Idolatry were thereunto committed, and like a second Iosiah, to reade the law of the Lord him selfe: whereupon by Proclamation hee commanded an assembly of select Diuines, such as could best deliuer the minds of both parts, to appeare in his Royall presence, at his Mannor of Hampton Court: whither the summoned accordingly repayed. For the maintained Church-state, were the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of London, Durham, Winchester, Worcester, Saint Davids, Chichester, Carlisle and Peterborough: the Deanes of the Chappel,

The Kings Maiesty
reprinted the Prisoners
dy to dy.

* Sir B. Tubb.

Sir Griffin Markham
returned from the Scaffold.

The Lord Cobham Lord Gray
and Sir Griffin Markham
reprinted.

The Ministers
petition to the
King against the
booke of Common
Prayer.

2. King. 13.
2. King. 24.

A Proclamation
for a conference
to be held at
Hampton Court
On Thursday
January 12.

The persons
summoned.

Christ Church, Worcester, Westminster, Pauls, Chester, and Windsor, with Doctor Field, & Doctor King, the now Lord Bishoppe of London. To deliuer the Plaintiffs desires, were summoned, and appeared Doctor Reynolds and Doctor Sparkes of Oxford, M. Knewstun, and M. Chaderton of Cambridge.

(19) The first sitting was vpon Saturday, the fourteenth of Ianuary, in his Maiesties Priuy-chamber at Hampton Court, wherinto the Church-Gouernours only being admitted (by his Maiesties command) in the presence of his Priuy Counsell, he made a most godly and princely declaration of his intent, in summoning this Assembly, in effect, thus; That "this proceeding was no nouell deuise, but according to the example of all Christian Princes, who in the commencement of their reignes, vntill they take the first course for the establishing of the Church both for doctrine and policy, to which the very Heathen themselves had relation in this their Prouerbe *à loue Principum*. And particularly in this land, King Henry the eight, towards the end of his reigne; after him King Edward the sixth, who altered more; after him Queene Mary, who reuered all and the last Queen of famous memory, who serled the Church state as now it standeth. Wherein yet his Maiefty deemed himselfe happier then they, in that they were faine to alter those things which they found established, whereas as himselfe saw yet no cause, so much to change any thing, as to confirme that which he found so well settled already. Which State he affected his Royall heart, that it pleased him, both to enter into a gratulation to almighty God, (at which words he put off his hat) for bringing him into the land of Promise, where Religion was purely professed, where he fate among graue, learned, and reuerend Diuines, who better knew what belonged to the State of a King, to the honor and order of a kingdom, then some other Nations did, and withall to assure the Prelacy there present, that hee intended not any Inuouation, acknowledging the Government Ecclesiasticall to haue bene approued by manifold blessings from God himselfe, both for the encrease of the Gospell, and with a most happy and glorious peace. Yet, because nothing could be so absolutely ordered, but that somewhat might be added, and in any State as in the body of man, Corruptions like ill humors might insensibly grow either through time or persons; his purpose was, after the example of a good Philitian, to make search into the supposed diseases, and to examine the complaints, so to remoue the occasions thereof, if they were scandalous, or to cure them, if they were dangerous, or if but friuolous, yet to take knowledge of them, thereby at once both to cast a stoppe into the mouth of Cerberus, and of all factious spirits, and withall to giue satisfaction to all quiet and sober minded men.

(20) His Maiefty concluding this his general advertisement, entered more particular discourse with the Bishops (for his owne priuate information) concerning the Booke of Common Prayer, Excommunication in the Ecclesiasticall Courts, and the prouision of fitte and able Ministers for Ireland. Touching matters in the said Booke, hee desired satisfaction; First, for Confirmation, which if it were held and so called, as if the Sacrament of Baptisme were thereby confirmed, & were inualid without it, then was it in his iudgement blasphemous: but if it were only that Children, who at their Baptisme made profession of their faith by the mouthes of others, might before the Bishops profess it in their owne persons, and so receiue Episcopall Benediction by prayer, and imposition of hands, then was it of very sacred use in Gods Church. Secondly, for Absolution, which his Maiefty had heard compared to the Popes pardons. Thirdly, for Private Baptisme, which hee vterly disliked to bee administered, but by a lawful Minister. His second point was Excommunication, wherein hee

moued two especiall considerations; the one of the Matter, that the sentence being so weighty, was not to be pronounced vpon euery sleight cause: the other of the Person, why Lay-men as Chancellors & Commisars, and not rather the Deane and Chapter, or other graue Ministers and Chaplaines should be assumed by the Bishops for their assistants therein. The last which was touching a sufficient Minister in Ireland, his Maiefty referred to another day.

(21) But his Maiefty receiued full satisfaction & contentment by the seuerall answers to all his demands. Touching Confirmation, that the Church of England held it no essentiall part of the Sacrament of Baptisme, but a practice of the Primitive Church, yea of the Apostles (as Calvin himselfe expounds their meaning, who also willed the restitution thereof in such Churches where it had bene abolished,) and for imposition of hands on children, warranted by Christ himselfe, a Custome still retained in our Church, as very godly and necessary for those very reasons and vses, which his Maiefty had mentioned, and truly obserued. Touching Absolution, it was answered, that as Christ desired not the death of sinners, so hee hath giuen power and commandment to his Ministers, to pronounce his mercy with remission of sinnes vnto all Penitents, that the practice hereof in the English Church, is so farre from Popery, as that the Reformed Churches of Augusta, Boheme, and Saxony, do both allow it, and retain it, yea, and Calvin himselfe approues it. Of Private Baptisme it was answered, that though the words seemed somewhat doubtful, yet the practice of the English Church did contradict all administration of it by Laikes and Women, in censuring them in that case: whereupon it was concluded, that a lawful Minister only should be employed in times of necessity, when the Infant was in danger of life; yet so vnderstood, that the person was in no wise to be reputed of the Essence of the Sacrament. And finally, for Excommunication, it was there resolu'd, that the abuses (if any such there were) being remoued and amended, that sacred censure should retain its necessary vigour in the Church; and so for that day his Maiefty dismissed the Assembly of his Prelates.

(22) Vpon Monday following, being the sixteenth of Ianuary, those other Doctors, who were to relate the dislikes of the Opposites, were called likewise into the Priuy Chamber, where in presence of his Prelates and Peeres his Maiefty deliuey vnto them, a pithy & princely declaration of his mind, "That he intended not to inuouate the gouernement neuer established, which by long experience hee had found accomplished with so singular blessings of God forty five yeeres, as that no Church vpon the face of the earth hath more flourished then this of England. But rather his meaning, and earnest desire was, first to settle vniormity through the whole, for the more quiet and flourishing estate thereof: secondly, to plant vnto for the suppression of Papists, and enemies of Religion: thirdly, to amend abuses as incident to Bodie politike, as to the shadow to the body Naturall; which once getting entrance, hold on as a Wheele doth his motion, when it is once set on going. Among the complaints therefore of many greuanances made since his entrance into England, none was more weighty, nor himselfe more willing to heare and amend, then such as might concerne the State of the Church, if the same did in any wise decline from the ancient and Apostolical rule. For which cause hee had sent for them, whom hee vnderstood to be graue, learned, & modest Diuines, to heare by them those greuanances, and seuerall objections at large, and desired them boldly to declare the same.

(23) Whereupon Doctor Reynolds, a very learned man, after a preamble gratulatory (vpon his knees) with acknowledgement of Gods mercy in giuing vs

The Prelates satisfaction to his Maiesties demands.
Of Confirmation.

* Calvin Ep. 79. Hieron. aduers. Iulianum. * Heb. 6. p. 2. * Calvin in Heb. Act. 8. v. 17. * Mat. 19. 13

Of Absolution.

Of Private Baptisme.

Of Excommunication.

The other Doctors appeared before his Maiefty.

The Kings Religious speech vnto them.

His Maiefty most willing to amend abuses.

D. Reynolds the Speaker for the Complainants.

to godly, so learned, so careful a King, reduced all matters, either desired or disliked amongst the *weak brethren* (whose *Spoke*man hee protested hee would not have been, but only upon his Maieities mandatory Summons) vnto those foure heades. 1. for preferment of true doctrine. 2. for placing of good Pastors, 3. for sincere administration of the church government; 4. for explanation of some clauses in the Common-prayer Booke. It would be here too impertinent, to force an historickall Narration with those Theologicall particulars, which upon those feuerall points were then produced, and are *elsewhere to be found exactly related. Yet as wee cannot but commend the iudgement of these foure Diuines (as touching the third point) in that finding no iust exception to the *Epi(copall) Hierarchie* of our Church, in no one word they impugned or disapproved the same; so much more mult we celebrate the admirable dexterity, iudgement and learning of his sacred Maieity, ioyned with so rare industry and patience, whose owne accurate search and exquisite expostions of Scriptures, Fathers, and primitive practices, did there both breed wonder & astonishment in that noble and learned audience, and also giue singular satisfaction (euen to the *agents for the *Opposites*) touching all the exceptions taken to the Church-state; which his Maieity now found to bee no other then the phantasies of a scrupulous indiscretion.

(24) The Wednesday following, being the 18. of January (appointed for the next meeting) his Maieity againe, with most of the Lords of his Priuy Councill, entred the Chamber, where the Reuerend Prelates with such others only as the L. Archbishoppe appointed, (for to his Maieity comanded) being admitted to his Royal presence, after some conference about the *High Commission court*, *Subscription*, *Oath ex officio* and the like, his Maieity (causing the other foure Diuines to be then called in) was pleased to declare what formerly had past; and for a conclusion, shut vp all with a godly exhortation, like another *Constantine*, perswading every man to vnitie, and to a diligent discharge of their duties, their in feuerall places; the superiors to gouerne without violence, the inferiors to obey without murmuring, and all of them to builde Gods Temple without sound of discord; desiring and commanding all present, not only themselves to labour that way, but to be a meanes to draw on all others vnto a peaceable conformity, the matters being no other (as now hee saw plainly) but of meere weakness: wherein persons *discreet* would doubtlesse bee easily henceforward reclaimed, and for the *undiscreet* & reluctant, their roomes were more behouefull then their seruices: by their fruites therefore He should discern and iudge them; Obedience and Humility being the markes of honest and good men, which thenceforth hee would expect from as many as would be held well affected to his Maieity and his State. Which princely exhortation (delivered with much more feeling words, and mouing earnestnes) was so piercing as it fetched teares from some of both sides, and all vnanimously protested their most dutifull obedience to those his Royall commands.

(25) Besides this maine fruit of this famous conference, the settling of the Church-peace, sundry other important matters (not here to be pretermitted, because necessarily tending to that noble end) were therein also projected, and by his Maieities euer prouident care had then their conception, though after-times brought the birthes to perfection. The first (both in due ranke and vie) was his sacred Decree for a new Translation of the holy Scriptures, vpon a princely and pious care of Gods eternall Truth according to the Originals, as also for an vniforme reading thereof in the Churches. To which end three selected Companies from *Oxford*, *Cambridge* and in *London*, most iudicious in the langua-

ges and learning being employed, after long conference, much reading, and diligent comparing of all translations with the ancient originals, it is now most exactly and happily published, as a witness to the world both of Gods constant promise, that *Heauen and Earth should perish, but his word should neuer*; and also of the Religious care of his Vice-gerent, in seeking euen at the first, the first thing that man is commanded to seeke after, whose praise shall stand for euer in the Record of that godly work, and the worke shall iustifie it selfe against all gaine-sayers to Gods eternall glory, and many foules great comfort.

(26) His second sacred proiect was, that as now in *England*, so also in *Ireland*, *Wales*, and the *Northerne parts*, true Religion (which hee there auowed to bee the *only* band of true obedience) might be thoroughly planted. Which religious purpose hee so zealously prosecuted, especially for the *North* and *all Scotland*, as that he held it not sufficient to haue ioyned these two Kingdomes into one Temporall Monarchy, vnlesse He might see them both vnitd also in the Doctrine, Regiment and Rites of one spiritual *Hierarchie*. Neither was his princely wisdom for the meanes lesse conspicuous then his zeale in the intendment, in making so heedfull choise of such English Diuines, as were (not long after) in this employment sent into *Scotland*; the very first, in which Apostolike Ambassage for establishing those Neighbour-Churches was he, whose eminency both for *Place* and *Piety*, is now worthily formost in guiding our owne; and whose blessed trauels in that seruice, as they were acceptable to God, his Maieity, and that Nation, so are they a document to others, how powerful & admirably successful true Learning is, where it is guided with true *Piety*, and where *Piety* and loue of Gods glory is linked with *Charity*, and zeale of mans good.

(27) This great business and conference so fully accomplished, his Maieities next care was (herein also as another *Constantine*) to perpetuate the maintenance of this flourishing Church (whose peaceable estate hee had thus provided for) with the reuencues of her ancient foundations; as also to establish salutary lawes for the peaceable gouernment of his people; to which purpose a Parliament was assembled at *Westminster*, the 19. of March, wherein, for the Church it was enacted, that neither Archbishoppe nor Bishoppe should alienate, assure, giue, grant, demise, or in any sort conuay, no, nor to the King himselfe, his Heires or Successors, any of the Honors, Castles, Manors, Lands, Tenements or Hereditaments, being parcell of the possessions of his Archbishopricke or Bishopricke; and if any so were, to bee vterly void and of none effect, notwithstanding any former law, statute, act, or ordinance to the contrary.

(28) Foure dayes before this Parliament commenced, it pleased his Maieity, with the most noble Queene *Anne*, and the most illustrious Prince *Henry*, attended with glorious troupes of great Peeres, Prelates, and Courtiers, to ride in triumph through the City of *London* to *Westminster*, the houses beautified with rich hangings, the streets adorned with goodly Trophies and Pageantes, of feuerall nations inhabiting, the rayles on both sides couered with blew cloth, the feuerall Companies honourably addressed, and ranked vnder the displayed Ensignes and Armes of their feuerall Trades and Sciences; the one shewing the wealth and state of the City; the other, the body of the Citizens and gouernement, and all making manifest the vnspokeable ioy they conceiued to receiue their great Soueraigne into this His City and Imperiall Chamber. In pledge of which their exulting ioy, vnfeigned loue, and vowed fidelity, the Recorder at the Crosse in Cheape, both gratulated his Maieity with a pithy speech in the name of the City, and wishing him a golden raigne, presented his Greatnesse with a cuppe

The Kings second religious proiect at the Conference.

The now Lord Archbishoppe of Canterbury (Dr. George Abbot) the first prelate sent into Scotland.

A Parliament held March 19. The Church lands not to be alienated.

Ex. Paviament. Iacobus primus.

March 19. The Kings triumphal passage through London.

Sir Henry Jern. Sec. Joh. Stow. Annals.

cuppe of gold; delivering another likewise to the Queene, and a third to the Prince, which were all no lesse graciously accepted, then most louingly presented.

(29) Neither lesse was his Maieities desire to retaliate the Citizens and other his Subjects true affections, when recounting the great hindrances of Marchanding and Nauigations of trafficke, by reason of the long continued breach betwixt *England* and *Spain*, his royall heart tending his Subjects tranquillitie, endeauoured to salue againe those wounds of discord with the sweet balme of Peace; which was solemnly proclaimed in *London*, August 19. the sea being made open to Merchants for their free commerce.

(30) Both Domesticke and forraigne affaires thus plausibly composd, as his Maieity was the first, who in this last age of the world held the Scepter of the whole Island in his royall hand, so to vnit the two stiles vnder the name of one entire Empire, and the two Nations into a ioint blessed vnitie; Hee caused himselfe by Proclamation to be entitled King of *Great Brittain*, according to the ancient name of this Isle before the Saxons Conquest; the restoring of which name againe, many foredooming spirits had anciently prefigured, as now wee see effected. Vnto which Imperiall stile, are rightly annexed the Kingdomes of *France* and *Ireland*, rightfully belonging by birth and Conquest vnto the Crowne of *England*.

(31) Two other Proclamations afterwards came forth; the one for the Banishment of all Iesuites & Seminary Priests, out of the land, and the other to confirme the Ecclesiasticall gouernment, and Booke of *Common Prayer*, in the same forme and estate, as Queene *Elizabeth* left them; to the no little griefe of the workers for *Rome*, whose designs began now to sucke in such poyson, as in the venting whereof, not onely the earth might haue trembled vnder the weight of such monsters, but euen the heauens be astonished and confounded, to giue those Serpents the breath or benefit of aire. Vnto which bloody, horrible and odious act to God and man my Stile must now turne: a matter indeed so distastefull for mee to remember, or to write of, that it abhorres my very soule to fill the penne with inke, or to blotte the paper with these far blacker spots of darknes, and deformers of *Englands* faire face.

(32) The plotte was to vndermine the Parliament house, and with Gunpowder to blow vp the King, the Prince, Clergy, Nobles, Knights and Burgesses, the very confluence of all the flower of Glory, Piety, Learning, Prudence, Authority in the land; fathers, sonnes, brothers, allies, friends, foes, Papists, and Protestants, all at one blast. A stratageme inuented by him that blowes the bellows of destruction, fashioned in the forge of the bottomlesse pitte, put in practise in a vault of darknesse, and forwarded by him that is the father of darknesse, and in darknesse I could wish it might euer dwell, whose life was neuer reuealed to the light of the Sunne. Their intent, when that religious atchieuement had bene performed, was to surprize the remainder of the Kings Issue, to alter religion and the State, and to bring in forraigne power. Sir *Edmund Baynam* an attained person (who stiled himselfe Prince of the damned Crew) was sent vnto the Pope, as hee was a temporal Prince, to acquaint him with the Gunpowder-treason; a fitt Poste indeed to bee employed betwixt the Pope and the Diuell.

(33) This treason was first set on foot in the last yeere of the late Queenes raigne, when *Henry Garnet* the Superiour of the Iesuites, *Catesby* and others lent *Thomas Winter* into *Spain* to negotiate with King *Philip* in the name of the English Catholikes; first, to send an army vnto them, who now were in a readinesse to ioyne their Forces with his; secondly, to grant some pensions vnto sundry per-

sons deuoted to his seruice in *England*; and thirdly, to giue aduertisement of the discontents that the young Gentlemen and Souldiers had conceiued vpon the death of *Essex*, whereby a most fit occasion was then offered to forward the common cause. To prosecute which business, he made for his means father *Cresswell* the Leiger Iesuite in *Spain*, *Don Pedro France* a second Secretary to the State, and the Duke of *Lerma*, a great Counsellor to the king; all of them being said to haue assured this ill commissioned Ambassador, that the office of his employment would bee very gratefull to their master.

(34) The place for landing concluded vpon by these wise Statists, was *Kent* or *Essex*, if the Kings Army were great; if otherwise, then *Milford Haven* in *Wales* was held fittest: with these and other like complots, *Winter* all that summer followed the King in his Progress, and lastly had answer by the Count *Miranda*, that his King would bestow a hundred thousand Crownes towards the expedition, halfe thereof to bee paid that present yeere, and the rest in the next Spring, when (at the farthest) hee meant to let foot in *England*; on whose behalfe hee willed the English Catholikes to maintain their promise, whom hee respected (as was auowed) as his owne proper Castilians: And further desired their continuall aduertisements, if in the mean time it chanced the old Queene to die.

(35) *Winter* thus laden with hopes, returneth from *Spain*, and emptieth his male into the bosoms of *Garnet*, *Catesby*, and *Tresham*, and they vnto others, all of them tickled to heare the newes, rested fully satisfied, expecting the day. But before the Spring-time was fully approached, that Morning Starre, and Mirror of her Sexe, did set in our West, the thrice glorious *Elizabeth*, who had now iudged *Israell* full forty foure yeeres in admirable tranquillity, as in her raigne wee haue sufficiently scene. To signifye whose death *Christopher Wright* was from *Catesby* and others sent into *Spain*, and *Guy Fawkes* likewise was posted thither from *Brussels* by Sir *William Stanley*, both of them to prosecute the former negotiation, assuring the Spanish King, that King *James* meant to runne the same course, and to proceede as rigorously against the Catholikes, as the late Queene had done: for whose defence they instantly desired that some *Spaniards* might bee transported vnto *Milford-Haven*, where the Romish-minded would bee forward to assist them, hauing in a readinesse two thousand horse furnished for the enterprise. But King *Philip* awell poizing his honour, as his zeale for Religion, and obseruing a great difference betwixt States in hostility, and of Kings raigning in friendship, in no wise would list to inuade *England*, or further to proceed in any forcible enterprise.

(36) In the meane while the Iesuites had been tampering to disswade the acceptance of King *James* into *England*, vrging it for a Maxime, that death was to bee endured, rather then to admit an heretike (so it pleased them to rearme the Lords appointed) and those that gaue him consent they held lyable to Excommunication by the censure of Pope *Clement* the eight, who had liberally bestowed vpon his sacred person the names of a Puritan, an Heretike, a Caluinist, a Persecutor of Protestants, and another *Italian Apostate*.

(37) The Romanists thus loosened from their Ankor-hold of *Spain*, and left by that Pilote to shift for themselves, now perceived their owne error in their long expectation, That change of State would change Religion: but hee now gone, whose life they had often laid for, and her godly Successor no whit inferior to her for aduancing the Gospel: their hopes grew desperate (as these desperates alleadged) and no other meanes now left them but onely to kill the King, whom they falsely calumniated to haue broken his promise for a toleration in Religion.

The plot determined for the inuasion of England.

King Philip answered and offered.

The hopes of the English Catholikes.

Christopher Wright sent into Spain to signifye the death of the Queene.

Proceedings against Traitors. Pag. 72.

King Philip refused all hostile attempts against England.

The desperate attempts of the Papists.

*The Conference at Hampton Court, printed 1604.

*They all promised obedience, and Doctor Spark wrote a booke to perswade vnto conformity.

The conclusion of the Conference.

The translation of the Bible intended and commanded.

King James (can-
dolized by the
Papists.

Bishop of Lincoln
Page 194.
Letters signed
by the King a-
paint the Kings
knowledge.

In his Booke
Philopater, Sect. 2

De officio Principis
Christiani,
Comp. 5.

Thomas Winters
Confession.

Thomas Winters
sent into the Low
Countries.
See the Booke
initialed. A dis-
cours of the
intended Treas-
ons.

See Winters
Confessions.

The Constable
dissembleth.

The great desire
the Spaniards
had of Peace.

Religion, as *Watson* and *Percy* had diuulged among them: yea, and a fraudulent message was sent to the Pope by the Scottish Secretary, that *K. James* would become his obedient sonne. But how farre his religious heart was from these aspersions, appeared both by *Watson* himselfe, who, condemned to die, took it upon the salvation of his soule, that hee could not draw the smallest comfort from the King for a toleration of the Catholics, but that himselfe had imparted his words in a milder tone then his Majesty meant them, only to keepe (as he excused the matter) the Catholics in love and duty unto the King: and since by the Lord of *Balmerinoth* (Secretary to the King in Scotland) who acknowledging his offence, hath bene arraigned and found guiltie of death, for devising letters, and sending them to Rome, which himselfe cunningly got signed in shuffling them amongst others, his Majesty being vterly ignorant of the Contents.

(38) Upon which false suggestions, the Atheistical position of *Catesby* was grounded, who helde it for an Axiome as *Father Parsons* had taught: That the whole Schoole both of Diuines and Lawyers make it a position certain, and to be undoubtedly beleued, That if any Christian prince whatsoever, shall manifestly turne from the Catholicke Religion, and desire or seeke to reclaime other men from the same, he presently falleth from all princely power and dignity, and that also by vertue and power of the Law it selfe both diuine and humane, even before any sentence pronounced against him by the supreme Pastor and Iudge. And that his Subjects of what estate or condition soeuer are freed from all bond of oath of Allegiance which at any time they had made vnto him as to their lawfull Prince. Nay, that they both may and ought (prouided they haue competent strength and force) cast out such a man from bearing rule among Christians, as an *Apostata*, an *Heretike*, a *Backslider*, and *Reuolter* from our Lord Iesus Christ, and an enemy to his owne State and Common-wealth, lest perhaps hee might infect others, or by his example or command turne them from the faith. Yea, one steppe further elsewhere is stood vpon, that if any Prince shall but fauour or shew countenance to an *Heretike*, hee presently loseth his Kingdome. And thus they conclude, that for *Heretike* a Prince is to be deposed, and his Kingdome to be beleued at the pleasure of the Pope, for whom the People vpon paine of damnation are to take part and fight: out of which detestable conclusions arose the first imoake of the Gunpowder Treason.

(39) For the Parliament dissolved the seuenth of July, and proroged vntill the seuenth of February following, *Catesby* being at *Lambeth*, sent for *Thomas Winters*, who before had bene employed into *Spaine*, and brake with him then for blowing vp of the Parliament house: who readily apprehending it, said, that indeede strake at the roote: onely these helpes were wanting, a house for residence, and a man of skill to carry the Mine; but the first *Catesby* assured him was easily to be got, and for the man hee commended *Guy Fawkes*, a sufficient souldier, and a most forward Catholicke. But first (quoth hee) because no peaceable way shall be intruded, you shall ouer to the Constable, and entreate him to sollicite his Majesty at his coming into England, that the penall lawes may here be repealed, and the Catholics tolerated and ranked with his other Subjects.

(40) *Winters* thus posted to negotiate with the Constable, found him at *Bergen* neere *Dunkirke*, and by the meanes of *Owen* the fugitiue Traitor, deliuered his message; whose answer was, that he had a strict command from his Majesty to doe all good offices for the Catholics, and for his owne part hee found himselfe bound in conscience not to omit any good occasion that might forward their cause: although indeed hee did but temporize as *Sir William Stanley* told *Winters*, for the great desire which the Spaniards had that the Peace might proceed with England. Where

upon *Winters* (hopelesse that way) returned for England, bringing with him the foresaid *Fawkes*, a fitt instrument for to diuulge a designe; and coming to *Lambeth*, told *Catesby* that the Constable was not the man whatsoever were his words, and that all now in these parts were bent for a conclusion of Peace; which founded so harshly in his ill-tuned cares, that his braines became more buified about his impious Project, and his mind in continuall trauell to bring forth that sinne, which hee had most vnaturally conceiued.

(41) *Robert Catesby*, *John Wright*, *Thomas Winters*, and *Guy Fawkes* holding a community in their mischiefs still about London; about the middle of Easter-Term, *Thomas Percy* as hote as the *Hottspur* himselfe to forward Rebellion, came puffing to *Catesbies* lodging in *Lambeth*, and the first word hee spake was this: *What Gentlemen shall wee alwayes be talking, and neither doe any thing? you perceiue (I know) how things doe proceed.* To whom *Catesby* answered, that something was resolved upon, but first an Oath for seuerall was to be ministered. For which purpose they appointed to meet some three daies after behind *S. Clements* Church without Temple-barre, where being met, and falling in Conference, *Catesby* alleged that this last Parliament had left the Catholics in as much danger as they stood before, & that now the peace with *Spaine* was rather a meane for harder lawes to proceed, then those in force against them to be abrogated; so that the ancient Romish Religion, & the Catholicke professors thereof must now be enforced to bid England adue, if Gentlemen of power and repute should thus giue way to the contrary proceedings, or thus make nice how to helpe, or where to beginne: at which speech *Percy* made present answer, *himselfe was the man that would undergoe the Catholicke cause, were it with the slaughter of the King, which hee was there ready to undertake and doe.*

(42) No *Tom* (said *Catesby*) thou shalt not aduenture thy selfe to so final purpose, if thou wilt bee a Traitor, there is a plot to greater aduantage, and such a one as can neuer be discovered: and thereupon all of them taking the Oath of seuerall, hearing the Masse and receiving the Sacrament, *Catesby* told them his diuulish deuise, which was by Mine and Gunpowder to blow vp the Parliament house, and at one stroke with the destruction of many, effect that at once, which had bene many yeeres in attempting. A matter easily performed (as he vrged) if men of resolution would thereunto bestow their purse and their paines; and mo st sure from suspicion of discovery, the designe being so estranged from the conceit of man: wherein he also obserued that religious Justice was thirity of reuenge, even vpon the same persons, and in the same place, whence the first received the vnjust lawes enacted against her. For case of conscience to kill the Innocent with the no-cent, hee told them it was warrantable by the authority of *himselfe*, the Superior of the English Iesuites, and of *Gerrard*, and *Tesmond* (Iesuiticall Priests likewise) who by their Apostolicall power did absolute and commend the fact, which for the aduantage of the Catholics was to be executed (they said) though with the death of some Innocents, rather then the seruice should quail, the necessity of time and occasion for requiring it. The Oath was giuen them by the said *Gerrard* (the Duels Attorney in this business) the forme whereof was as followeth.

You shall sweare by the blessed Trinitie, and by the Sacrament you now purpose to receiue, neuer to disclose directly nor indirectly, by word or circumstance, the matter that shall be propoed to you to keepe secret, nor desist from the execution thereof, vntill the rest shall giue you leave.

(43) The proiect thus farre passed, the practise was to proceed; and the first thing sought after was for

Percies speech to the Conspirators

The conference of the Conspirators behind, *Clement Chads*

Percies resolve and diuulsh in uere.

The Gunpowder plot revealed among the Conspirators.

Catesbies obseruations for iustice.

Proceedings against Traitors

The Oath of seuerall ministred to the Traitors.

The prouision how and where to be kept in the London straiton.

Fawkes changed his name into *Johson*.

Large house employed by the South Lords.

Robert Catesby, *Thomas Percy*, *Thomas Winters*, *John Wright*, *Guy Fawkes*.

The Traitors conference how to proceed after their treasons.

Duke Charles intended to be surprised.

The Lady *Elizabeth*, who intended to be taken from the *L. Harrington*

for a house wherein they might beginne their work, to which purpose, no place was held fitter then a certaine edifice adioyning to the wall of the Parliament house, which serued for withdrawing roomes for the assembled Lords, and out of Parliament was at the dispose of the Keeper of the place and Wardrobe thereunto belonging. These did *Percie* hire for his lodgings, entertaining *Fawkes* (as most vnknowne by face) for his man, who changing his name into *Johson*, had the Keyes and keeping of the rooms. Neither was this enough, but a house must be also had to supply *Percies* lodgings for prouision of Powder, & to frame and fit wood for the carriage of the Mine, which *Catesby* provided at *Lambeth*, & sware his man *Keyes* into their Conspiracies, making him the Keeper of those his prouisions, who in the night as occasion serued, conuaid the same vnto the custody of *Fawkes*.

(44) The appointed day for the Parliament being the 7 of February, in October before it was thought fite to beginne the worke, whereupon *Fawkes* returning forth of the Country, found *Percies* rooms appointed for the Scottish Lords to meet in, there to conferre touching the Vnion of the two Kingdoms: so that they feared (for that present) to initiate their attempt. But that honourable assembly dissolved, vpon the eleuenth of December late in the night, they entered into their *Workes of Darkenes*, and begun their Mine; hauing tooles prepared, and baked meates provided, the better to auoid suspicion by sending abroad.

(45) The Moles that first vnderwent these vnder-minings, were *Robert Catesby* Esquier, the morning Arch-traitor, and ruine of his name, *Thomas Percy* Esquier, kinsman and attendant vpon the Earle of *Northumberland*, *Thomas Winters*, *John Wright* and *Guy Fawkes* Gentlemen, all of them grounded scholars of the Romish Schoole, and such earnest labourers in this their Vault of Villany, that by Christmas Eue (which very day might haue remembered them of more Christian workes) they had brought the worke vnder an entry, vnto the wall of the Parliament-house, vnderpropping still as they went the earth with their framed Timber, nor till that day were they fene abroad of any man.

(46) During this vndermining, much consultation was had how to fashion the rest of the business, after the deed should be accomplished, and many questions propounded and argued at full, before they could pitch on a fited resolution. The first was how to surprize the next heire to the Crowne; for though they doubted not, but Prince *Henry* would accompany his Father, & take his lot with him, yet they feared lest *D. Charles* (being absent, as too yong to attend at Parliament) would escape their train, and perchance be so carefully guarded, and attended vpon at Court, that hee would hardly be gotten into their hands. Of which first rub in their way, *Percie* offered himselfe to be the first remouer, and shewed his meanes, which was, with some other Gentlemen, hee would enter the Dukes Chamber, which by reason of his acquaintance hee very well might doe without any suspicion: and others of his like acquaintance should be placed at several dores in the Court: so that when the blow was giuen, and all men in a maze, then would hee carry away the Duke, which hee presumed would be easily done, the most of the Court being then absent, and the present altogether vnprovided for to make resistance.

(47) For the surprize of the Lady *Elizabeth*, it was held a matter of farre lesse difficulty, she remaining at the Lord *Harringtons*, and *Albhy* (*Catesbies* house) near vnto her, whether vnder a shew of Hunting, diuers Catholics should be gathered, who hauing the aduantage in knowing for what purpose they were assembled, had the full liberty of that distracted time, to prouide money, horses, armour and other abillments of war, vnder pretence of strength

to guard and secure the heire apparant.

(48) Then it was discussed, what Lords they should saue from the Parliament; where it was agreed, that they should keepe thence as many as they could that were Catholics, or that way fauouring: all others to feele the snare, and the imputation of the Treason to be cast vpon the Puritanes, to make them more odious to the world.

(49) Next it was controuersed what forraigne princes should be made priuy to these their purposes; for to enioyne them to iecrefie, or to oblige them by oath, was not in their power: & to assaye their likes or dislikes, would proude the snare. For if any of them approved the design, their preparation might beget suspicion: if not then the feares of discouery would extinguish the enterprize, no man daring to proceed further therein. *Spaine* was held the fittest to second their attempts, but hee was too slow in his preparations, & *France* too neere and too dangerous to be dealt with, and how *Holland* stood affected to England they all very well knew. But in the midst of these turmoiles and minings vnder-ground, the Parliament was againe adiourned till the fift of October ensuing. Vpon which Proclamation they brake off both discouery and worke till the feast of Saint *Maries Purification*. At which time they laide in powder and other prouisions, and then beganne againe to worke, hauing taken into their company *Christopher Wright* and *Robert Winters*, both of them sworne, and receiuing the Sacrament for seuerall. The wall (which was very hard, & nine foot thicke) with great labour they wrought halfe through, *Fawkes* being their Centinell to giue warning when any came neere, that the noise in digging might not be heard.

(50) The labourers thus working into the wall, were suddenly surprized with a great feare, and casting from them their digging tooles, tooke to their weapons, hauing sufficient of shot and powder in the house, being fully resolved, rather to die in the place, then to yeeld or be taken. The cause of their feare was a noise they heard in a roome vnder the Parliament house, vnder which they meant to haue mined, directly vnder the Chaire of Estate. But al now at a stand, & their countenance cast each vpon other, as doubtfull what would bee the issue of this their enterprize: *Fawkes* scowled forth to discriy (if hee could) what was done abroad, and finding all safe and free from suspect, returned and told them, the noise was onely a remouall of coales there now vpon sale, and that the Cellar was to be ler, which would be more commodious to their purpose, and would also spare the labour in the Mine. Whereupon *Thomas Percy* vnder pretence for stowage of his winter prouision of wood and coales, went and hired the Cellar, which done, a new conference was had.

(51) Wherein *Catesby* found the weight of the whole too heauy for himselfe alone to support; for besides the maintenance of so many persons, and the seuerall houses for seuerall vses, hired and payde for by him, the Gunpowder and other prouisions would rise to a very great summe, and indeede too much for one mans purse. Therefore he desired that himselfe, *Percy*, and some one more might call in such others as they thought fit to helpe to maintain the charge, alleging that they knew men of worth and wealth, that would willingly assist, but were not willing their names should be known to the rest. This his request they approved as necessary, and withall surceasing further to digge in the Vault, knowing the Cellar would be of better vse for their designs, they remoued twenty Barrels of Gunpowder into that roome, which they couered with a thousand of Billers, and five hundred of faggots, so that now the lodging roomes were cleared of all suspicious prouisions, and freely might be entered without danger of discry.

(52) But the Parliament being againe prorogued

The feates continued to open the treasons to forraigne Princes.

The Parliament againe prorogued.

Robert Winters, *Christopher Wright* taken into confinement. The worke againe begun.

The feare of the Traitors.

rogued vntil the fift of Nouember following, these forsaide vnderminers of our State and happinesse thought fite they should againe (for a while) disperse themselves (matters being already in so good forwardnes) and that *Guy Fawkes* should go ouer to acquaint Sir *Willm Stanley*, & *M. Hugh Owen* with these their proceedings, yet so as the oath of secrecie should be taken of them. For their policy was to haue Sir *William Stanley*es preference so loone as the diuinal blow should bee giuen, to bee a leader to their intended stratagems, whereof (as they thought) they should haue great need, & that *Owen* should remain where hee was, to hold correspondence with forraign Princes, to allay (as much as hee might) the odiousnes of the fact, or to impute the Treason to the Puritanes discontents.

(53) *Fawkes* comming into *Flanders* found *Owen*, vnto whom, after the oath, hee declared the plote, which hee very well approued. But Sir *William Stanley* (at that time in *Spain*) *Owen* said would be hardly drawne into the businesse, for that hee had suites in the English Court himselfe, yet hee promised to forward him in all that hee could, and to send him into *England* with the first, when their proiect had taken effect. Whereupon *Fawkes* to auoid further suspition, kept stil in *Flanders* vntill the beginning of September, and then returning, receiued the keyes of the Cellar, and laid in more powder, billes and fagots; which done, hee retired into the Country, and there kept till the end of October.

(54) In the meane while *Catesby* and *Percy* meeting at the *Bathe*, it was there concluded, because their number were but few, that *Catesby* himselfe should haue power to call in whome hee would to aide their designe: by which authority hee tooke in Sir *Euerard Digby* of *Ruslandshire* knight, and *Francis Tresham* of *Northamptonshire* Esquier, both of them of sufficient estate and wealth, had they not abused both to their owne destruction: for Sir *Euerard* offered fiftene hundred pounds to forward the action, and *Tresham* two thousand. But *Percy* disdaining that any should outrun him in euill, promised foure thousand pounds out of the Earle of *Northumberland*s rents, and tenne horse of speed to speed them when the blow was past. Against which time to provide munition, *Catesby* likewise tooke in *Ambrose Rookwood* and *John Grant* two Recusant Gentlemen, and vnderdoubtly others were written in the same Roll, had these two grand Electors bene apprehended alieue, whose owne tongues only could vnfold their Catalogues Record.

(55) The businesse thus forwarded by their complices abroad, their Innates did not neglect the supplies at home. For *Percy*, *Winter* and *Fawkes* had stored the Cellar with thirty fixe Barrels of Gunpowder, and vpon them belowered (in stead of thort) Barres of Iron, logges of timber, massie stones, Iron Crowes, Pickes-axes, and all their working tooles, and (to couer all) great store of Billes and fagots, so that nothing was wanting but fall in a readinesse attending that great and terrible day. Neither were the Iesuiticall Priests slacke on their parts, who vually concluded their Masses and oblatory Sacrifices, with their prayers for the good successe of their expected hopes, as by these verses, made and vsed by *Garnet* is to be seene.

*Gentem auerte perisilam credentium de sinibus,
Vt Christo laudes debitas persoluamus alacriter.*

And others thus, *Prosper* Lord their paines that labour in thy cause day and night, let Heresie vanish away like smoake, let their memory perish with a cracke, like the ruine and fall of a broken house: Allusions doublelesse to the labours in the Vault, the mounting smoake of powder, and the fall of the Parliament house, which if it had hapned, they might haue said to haue bin Prophetically foretold by their high Priests for that yeere.

(56) But the Lord that neuer slippeth the deliuerance of his elect, kept this his *Israel* as the Apple of his own eye, & this pit digged for the destruction of others, they fell into themselves: so that we may well say, if the Lord had not bin on our sides when we rose up against vs, they had swallowed vs up quicke, when their wrath was kindled against vs, but praised bee the Lord which hath not giuen vs a pray vnto their teeth: so we are escaped euen as a bird out of the snare of the fowler, the snare is broken, and wee are deliuered. For this Cockatrice egge hatched by themselves proued a Serpent onely to themselves, and themselves (by Gods hand) made the onely Instruments to breake the shell of their owne treason.

(57) For vpon Thursday in the euening, tenne dayes before the intended Parliament, a letter directed to the Lord *Monteagle* was deliuered by an vnknowne person vnto his footman in the streete, with a straight charge giuen, to giue it into his Lords owne hand, which accordingly hee did. The letter was without date and subscription, and somewhat vnlegible, so as the Nobleman called for one of his seruants to assist him therein, the strange contents whereof much perplexed the true construction, as whether writ by some *pasquill* to scarr him from attendance, or as matter of consequence from aduise of some friend. Howsoeuer, though it were supper time, and the night as darke as the purport of the letters yet to discharge his loyall duty, hee forthwith repaired to the Kings Palace at Whitehall, where he imparted the letter to the Earle of *Salisbury*, Principall Secretary, and they both presently acquainted the L. Chamberlaine therewith, who deemed the matter not a little to concern himselfe, the charge of his office being to ouersee all places whether his Maiesty was to repaie, these two Counsellors shewed the same letter to the Earles of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, who together concluded (how sleight soeuer the contents seemed to appeare, as proceeding from some fumes of an idle and light braine) to acquaint the King himselfe with the same, which accordingly was done, and was as followeth.

My Lord, out of the loue I beare to some of your friends, I haue a care of your preservation. Therefore I would aduise you, as you tender your life, to deuise some excuse to shifte off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man haue concurred to punish the wickednesse of this time. And thinke not sleightly of this advertisement, but retire your selfe into your Country, where you may expect the euent in safety. For though there bee no appearance of any stirre, yet I say they shall receiue a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsell is not to be contemned, because it may doe you good, and can doe you no harme, for the danger is past so loone as you haue burnt the letter. And I hope God will giue you the grace to make good use of it: to whose holy protection I commend you.

(58) His Maiesty a while pausing, & then re-reading the letter, deliuered his iudgement, that the stile thereof was too quicke and pythy to bee a libell bred from the superfluities of an idle braine, and on the instant did apprehend by these words; that they should receiue a terrible blow at this Parliament, & yet should not see who hurts them, that a sodaine danger by blast of Gunpowder should be intended by some base villaine in a corner, no insurrection, rebellion, or desperate attempt appearing. And therefore wished, that the vnder rooms of the Parliament house might bee thoroughly searched, before himselfe, or *Percies* should sit therein. To which purpose it was then concluded, that the L. Chamberlaine should (according to his office and place) view all the rooms about and below: but aswell to stay idle rumors, as to let things ripen to reueale their own mysteries, this his search should bee deferred vntill Monday, the day immediately before the Parliament, & then to bee with a seeming slight eye, to auoid suspition.

(59) The Earle of *Suffolke*, Lord Chamberlaine, according to the conclusion, vpon Monday in the after

Phil.

The letter sent to the Lord Monteagle.

November 4

afternoone (being accompanied with the L. *Monteagle*, who fill thirsted to see the issue) repaired vnto those vnder-rooms, and finding the Sellar so sufficiently stored with wood and coales, demanded of *Fawkes* (the counterfeite *Iohnson*, who stood there attending as a seruant of small repute) who owed the place; his answer was, that the lodgings belonged to *M. Thomas Percy*, and the Sellar likewise, to lay in his winter prouision, himselfe being the Keeper and *M. Percies* seruant. Whereunto the Earle as void of any other suspition, presently replied, that his Master was well prouided against *Winters* blasts: but being come forth, the Lord *Monteagle* told him, that hee did much suspect *Percy* to bee the inditer of the letter, knowing his affection in religion, and the friendship betwixt them professed, so as his heart gaue him (hee said) when hee heard *Percy* named, that his hand was in the act.

(60) The Lord Chamberlaine returning, related to the King in presence of some Counsellors, what hee had seene, and the suspition that the Lord *Monteagle* had of *Percy*, and himselfe of *Iohnson* his man; which presently encreased his Maiesties apprehension and ialousie, whereupon hee insisted, that a narrow search should be made, and those billes and coales should be turned to the bottome, which as he confidently supposed was the couering of some notable intended treason. But some moued the doubt how this search should be made: for albeit no caution could be too much in so great a danger, yet the inducement thereunto, being no more then a namelesse inscript, shuffed no man knew whence, and might wel be the euaporation of an idle brain, would seeme (if nothing were found) some scandall vnto the State, to bee ouer suspitious of so friuolous a toy, and which might leaue some bad imputation on a great counsellor of the land. Notwithstanding, his Maiesty still persisting in his former opinion, willed that the search should be thoroughly made, and no possibility of danger left vnexamined, vntlesse they meant to goe to the Parliament, and leaue the hazard to the euent, which hee thought they in conscience were loth to doe. Whereupon it was concluded, that the search should be made; but vnder color of searching for certaine hangings belonging to the house which were missing, and conuaued away.

(61) Sir *Thomas Knevet*, (now Lord *Knevet*, then a Gentleman of his Maiesties Priuy-Chamber) was employed herein, and about midnight (before the very morning when the Parliament was to beginne) went vnto the place with a small but well affected company. At the dore of entrance into the Cellar, finding one (which was *Guy Fawkes*) at so vnseasonable a time, cloaked and booted, hee thought fite to apprehend him, and entering the place, ouerturned the billes and coales, when presently hee found the Serpents nest, stored with thirty fixe barrels (small and great) of gunpowder, then searching the villaine that should haue hatched these egges, found about him a darke lantern, three matches and other instruments for blowing vp the powder: who no whit daunted, instantly confessed his guiltines, and was so farre from contrition or repentance, as hee vowed, that had hee been found within the house (as indeed hee was then but immediately come forth from his worke.) hee certainly would haue blowne vp the house with himselfe, and them all: & was so obdurate in his Romish resolution, that being brought before the Lords of the Council, hee lamented nothing so much, as that the deed had not beene done, saying, that the *Diuell* and not God was the discoverer of the plot.

(62) As desperate were *Catesby*, *Percy*, and the rest, who hauing notice that the L. *Monteagle*s letter did giue some ouerture of suspition, yet would they stay to see the successe, and forsooke not *London* vntill the same day wherein the deed should haue bene done: *Catesby*, *Percy*, *Rookwood*, both the *Wrights*, and *Thomas Winter*, posted all into *Warwickshire*,

where *Grant* and his associates had taken certaine great horses out of a stable, to forward their hoped great day. These meeting at *Dunehurth*, where Sir *Euerard Digby* had made a match for a set hunting, not with hounds for the hare (which was only the colour) but with *Nimrod* for bloud, and surprize of the most vertuous young Princeesse Lady *Elizabeth*, were told (by the escaped) of their certaine discouery, and presently scarred with report of pursuit, when strucke with terror, not knowing where to make stay, or whither to flie, they desperately beganne an open rebellion, pretending the cause was Religion, and affirming for truth, that all the *Catholikes* throates were appointed to be cut. And so trouping together, wandred through *Warwickshire*, the edges of *Worcester*, and borders of *Staffordshire*, their seruants and aiders being about fourescore men, & those euer ready to scale away from them, more care was in keeping, then trust reposed either in their faith or defence. Yet thus ranging, and finding no resistance, they rifled the Lord *Windfords* house of all the Armour, shot, powder, and other warlike prouisions, but the weather rainy, and the waters somewhat high, the powder in carriage took wet, and thereby became more vnseruiceable, God in his iustice so ordering the successe, that the element of water, and accident of fire fought against them, as the stars in their courses did against *Sisera*.

(63) For their last fort of refuge, being *Halbach* in *Staffordshire* (the house of *Stephen Littleton*) whither Sir *Richard Walshe* (high Shiriffe of *Worcestershire*) pursued them, who thinking the fire no greater (though so great enough) then some fray or riot, sent his Trumpet vnto them, commanding to render themselves vnto him his Maiesties [Minister, with promise of his best meanes (if they so did) to allay the offence. But their owne consciences witnessing what the Shiriffe knew not, told them the fault was too weighty to leaue them any hope of fauour: and thereupon returned answer, that hee had neede of greater assistance then of those few numbers that were with him, before hee could be able to command or controll them. So preparing for resistance, they made ready their weapons, and hauing laid two pound of the said powder in a platter to drie in the chimney, one (a *Millar*) comming to amend the fire, threw in a billet, wherewith a sparke flying out, chanced to fall on the powder, whose sodaine blast was so violent, that (though being of so small a quantity) it blew vp the rooffe of the house, and scorched the bodies and faces of *Catesby*, *Rookwood* and *Grant*, with some others, whose consciences then stricken with the guilt of their sinne, made them see Gods searching iustice in punishing like with like. Thus being deicd with the accident, and now knowing that all was lost, like desperatemen, they there resolved to die together, let open the gate, suffered the Shiriffes followers to rush in among them, and by valour (as they termed it) fought for their owne destruction; for both the *Wrights* were therein shot downe dead, *Ambrose Rookwood*, & *Thomas Winter* were very fore wounded; and lastly, *Catesby* and *Percy* resolutely fighting, backe to backe, were both of them slaine with one bullet of musket-shot.

(64) Thus these high aspiring spirits, deccied with the spirit of illusion, vnder opinion of religion, and dreaming of nolesse then destruction of King, Princes and people, with alterations of kingdomes, Church and State, were miserably defeated, not by humane prouidence, but diuine mercy. Some presently slaine in heate of Rebellion, others deadly wounded were taken alieue, the rest either whole or but lightly hurt, were led prisoners to *London*, and to other places, all the way gazed at, reuiled and detested by the common people, as some strange Monsters of the world, for this their hellish and horrible Treason; and lastly condemned & executed as they most worthily deserued; whose inditments, arraignments and confessions, I refer to be read in the true Relations

Iudge. 5. 10.

Fire-working Traitors punished by fire.

Relations already printed thereof, with sundry other weighty matters thereto incident, in that learned discourse, written by the most honourable Lord Henry Howard, Earle of Northampton, now Lord Priuy Seale.

An.D. 1605.

(65) In memory of which great deliuerance, the fifth of Nouember (the day appointed for mercilesse destruction) was by authority of the same Parliament enacted to be for euer celebrated with thanksgiving, prayse and prayers vnto our heavenly Preseruer, and to bee kept holy vnto the Lord through our generations, which we wish may bee obserued, with no lesse acknowledgement of Gods infinite mercies to vs-ward, then was among the Iewes, the institution of their Purim, for their deliuerance from the practise of wicked Haman, that so our Temples being thus freed from their prophane idolatry, wee may euer make this day as the feast of our dedication, like to the Maccabees, who in the same moneth did institute theirs, by cleansing Gods Temple of heathenish pollutions. So shall Christ with his spirituall approach beautifie this Church of ours, as with his humane presence in the Temple at Ierusalem he celebrated that Winters feast of theirs: wherein hee taught that himselfe was the true son of God, and the only dore by which all must enter. Through which therefore let vs with Ieremy approach his Altar to make supplications for the Kings peace: and with Baruch to pray for the Kings life, and life of his sonne, that their dayes may be vpon the earth as the

Heli. 9.

1. Maccab. 4.

John 10. 32.

Ier. 29. 7.

Baruch. 1. 11

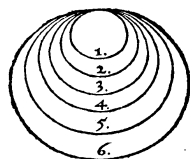
dayes of heauen, their branches as the beauteous Olive, & their roots fastned as the Cedars of Lebanon. (67) In offering of which Sacrifice my selfe (his Maiesties loyall seruant) hold vp my handes towardes Heauen, for His continuall preferuation, His noble Queenes felicity, their Royall Issues prosperitie, our Churches Peace, and Great Brittaines euer flourishing State: and doe at this place (as of most note & eminency) end my many yceres trauels, hitherto purposely continued, that this last foule blot of infamy, though it cannot vtterly bee wiped away, yet may it bee somewhat vailed, and lie obliuiscd in this hindermost frame of our now finished Theatre: that so, when any more noble, and more enabled spirit and penne, shall attempt to continue and enlarge the life and raigne of this mighty Monarch, our learned and wise Salomon, hee may adorne the frontispice of so glorious a worke, with some porch and entrance of more pleasing aspect. For my part, I haue here onely pointed at His Maiesties first entrance and acts, rather to shew a liberty of writing the kingdomes affaires, which neuer is permitted, sauing vnder good Princes, then by my vnable performance to enter into that which requires the pen of some iudicious Tacitus, or eloquent Xenophon, and conclude with the aduise of Ammianus Marcellinus the famous Historian: *Let other men for experience more sufficient, and for learning better knowne write the rest, whom, if it shall please them to enter thereupon, I aduise to frame their pennes vnto an higher stile.*

Holi. 146

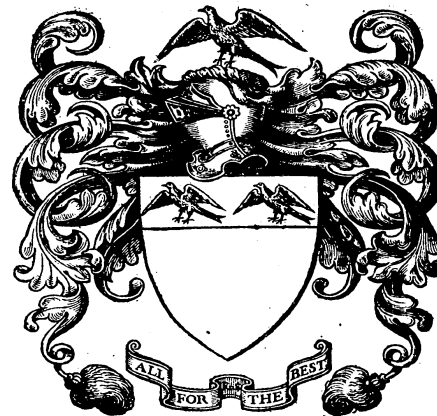
Ammian. lib. 31. cap. 17



The Circumferences of these ancient Monies being diuers and different, wee haue in this Sculpture obserued, by shewing three Diameters, whose Circles import the bignes of their Mintage and their figures compared with these, direct their proportions to be of the same as thou seest.



A summary Conclusion of the vvhole.



By the assistance of the All-Sufficient (the onely defence and Preseruer of man) my insufficient abilities, haue attained the end of this worke, and my weak vnble Person brought to a Period this large Edifice of GREAT BR I-

TAINS THEATRE. How acceptable to others, I know not; but with what paines and traualle to my selfe, my decayed strength too manifestly hath felt, and with what care of truth, the Authorities alleaged through the whole Proesse, are my witness; whose lines haue bene the measures, and Antiquities the matter, that hath railed the Fabrick vnto this height. The attempt was great, and farre vnfit (I must confesse) for me to vndergoe; which, euen at the first entrance was so censured by the Iudicious, and in the continuance hath so proued: that now it being finished, as the Silkworme endeth her life in her long wrought clew, so I in this Theatre haue built my owne Graue; whose Architecture howsoever defectiue it may be said to be, yet the proiect is good: and the cost great, though my selfe haue freely bestowed this paines to the Presse, without pressing a penny from any mans purse. For me to shew the vtilitie of History, were to light a dimme candle before the bright Sunne; or to prescribe a methode for their vices, were, with Phormio to read a Lecture of Cheualrie vnto great Hannibal, warres experienced Conductor: But, as our owne concer-

neth vs neere (wherein my pen hath taken the freest access) so let me abridge the whole in a small Circle, and incompasse that briefly, which hath bene related in a farre wider circumference.

(2) Our Land, peopled from Iaphet the first sonne of Noah, fell vnto those sonnes of Gomer, who inhabited these parts of Europe, whose issue were most famously knowne by the name of Brittaines. At first, naked, rude, and ignorant of the true God; yet no sooner were frequented with the ciuill Romanes, but that they couered their Cut-painted bodies with Garments; and shortly imitated them euen in their most ciuillized actions; yea, scarcely was Christ taken downe from his Crosse but they became Christians (the greatest glory of any Nation) and among them the Gospell had her first progresse by established authority. Their Government was vnder Kings, and those of as honourable a respect, as were any other in these West-parts of the World, both in training their Subiects vnto due obedience, and ministering of Lawes for the maintainance of estate. Their warres domestike and forraigne were so managed with Politie and valour, as in the one they valiantly defended themselves against their assaults, and in the other speeded the Romanes in most of their Conquests: which cost them lastly their owne subuerfions, when their warriors and virgins were consumed and transported into other parts, whilst their native Land lay exposed to the will of Inuaders.

(3) The glory-thirsting Romanes (from a crew of lawlesse Shepherds now lately become Lords of the World) were the first that set foot, with displayed Ensigne, for the Conquest of Brittain, and the same

The first Inhabitants.

Their ciuillite.

Christianity.

Government.

Warres.

The first Conquerors.

A summary conclusion

first assailed by *Julius Caesar* from the Coasts of *Gallia*. Which his attempt was to honourable in esteeme of their Emperors, that *Claudius* (the fifth in succession) holding the Triumph but bafe, that attends vpon authority without action of Price, made choise of *Britaine* to adorne his triumphant Chariot, that this Island (sted, as was thought, in another World, and but part thereof shewed by *Caesar* to the *Romans*) might adde remembrance of name to his forgetfull Person; and to that end, hauing made hither himselfe, stamped his Conquest vpon his Coines thus, DE BRITANN: and vpon his aged knees crept vp the steps of the Capitoll, to giue thanks of victory vnto his gods on the day of his *Triumph*; which, though for a small part of this Islands subiection, was yet accomplished with more then ordinarie magnificence, and the shewes greater then vially had bene scene, for the Conquests of farre larger and better knowne Kingdomes. And with as great a care was it kept, whilst the *Romans* kept their owne greatnes. But when their high-mounted Pillar ouerlaid her owne base, and the farre-spread boughes were growne too weighty for the stemme, many hands at once grasped at the Emperiall Crowne, and all of them together tare the Branches from the Body of that faire Tree. By whom also the faire and flourishing Cedars of *Britaine* were shaken, and left naked both of fruit, and leafe. So that now the glory of the one declined, and the beauty of the other vterly defaced, and neither of them able any longer to support their owne standings, gaue place vnto *desiny* that would now haue both downe; whereby the *Tewell* so much desired, and which had bene kept with such care, was now laid at flake to them that could winne it, and *Britaine* abandoned by the *Romans*, without further claime, after they had bene Lords thereof the space of five hundred yeres.

(4) The next Actors vpon *Britaines* faire Stage, were the *Saxons*, a people of *Germany*, fierce, bold and irreligious, as, for the most part, the rest of Nations in those daies were. These infesting with Piracies the Coasts of *Britaine* and *Gallia*, grew both fearful and famous in profession of military serices. In *France* they seized vpon the Country of * *Baio-casses*; in *Germany* by intrusion they vntreated the *Suenians*; in *Holland* and *Friesland*, they incoached vpon the *Batavians*, and *Cimbria Cherfonesus* (now a continent of *Denmarke*) they made the place of their aboad. From whence they often assailed the Coasts of this Island, euen whilst the *Romans* held it for theirs, and were often put backe by *Stilicho* and others, whose praises the *Poet Claudian* chaunted aloud. But the *Romans* departed, and *Britaine* left bare of men, their land wafted by famine, tumultuous vprores, and by bandings of Great-ones who should be greatest; the *Scots* and *Picts* (ancient Enemies to their Peace) tooke the aduantage, and continually made bloody incursions into their Land. And albeit a stone-wall was raised athwart the whole Continent, to impeach their inroades; yet that auailed little, their assaults were so great. Wherevpon the *Saxons* were sent for, and in their first serice freed the *Britains* from those raging *Picts*; The Lands defence then they undertooke, and the Inhabitants consented to maintaine the charge; which whilst it was in giuing was thankfully received, but once receiued was vngratefully forgot. And they (like the *Rauens* of *Arabia*, who so long as they are full, yeeld a pleasant noise, but being empty make a horrible cry) emptied faster then the *Britains* could fill, and euer complained they had not enough, till lastly by surprize they got all into their owne clauies. Then decided they among themselves the best of the Land, and droue their Receiuers into the worst and waste mountaines of *Wales*, euery of their Captaines sharing a part to himselfe, and of one Emperiall Crowne made seauen *Diadems* to adorne their owne heads; which long were not worne, without

intestine warres, each of them struing to enlarge his owne, vpon his next, till God and destiny againe brought all vnto one, euen to great *Egbert*, who forbade the *Islands* old Name, and commanded these now vnted Provinces to be called *Anglia*. Yet no sooner was this accomplished, with assured hopes conceiued, that the *Saxons* glory should thence forward ascend and spread forth with peace, but that a sauage nation, as fierce as the *Scythians*, cast their eyes of desire vpon that beautifull Crowne, and presently attempted, but neuer intermitted any bloody cruelties that could forward the same, till they had let it on their owne *Helmets*; and these *Saxons* worne out with resistance, gaue place to the *Danes*, when time had worne out five hundred sixtie three yeres of their Government.

(5) These *Danes* thus succeeding (though with no better right to enioy) were a stout furiat Nation whose many Piracies both *France* and *Britaigne* had many times felt, before they attained the end of this their Goale. For these, multiplying like *Bees* in the Hue, the land of their owne natiuitie was too little for each to haue a part: vpon which occasion a custome was practised to banish some that the rest might haue roome. These Exiles therefore (chiefely consisting of their youth) fell vpon other Landes with no lesse danger, then the falling of a sword out of the sheath, and greuously wounded whersoeuer they fell; but no where more deadly then in *England*. Which for two hundred and eightene yeres continuance, they vncessantly assaulted; sometimes harrowing the Country before them, and carrying away great Booties to their Ships: sometimes impouertishing the People, by exacting great summes of money for composition of Peace: sometimes expelling the Inhabitants, and seating themselves in their places: and sometimes sharing the Country with their Kings, and taking vnto themselves none of the worst; but not as other Conquerors to build, sow, and plant, but to lay wast, cast downe, and destroy, sparing neither Erections for ciuill vnto, nor places of Oratory dedicated to diuine. Yet the Garland once gotten by their King *Canut*, was worne with great glory, and by three of those *Danish* Kings, *Englands* Crowne was enioied. The first of them Potent, religious, wife and iust. The second, illegitimate, an vsurper very agill, but idle: And the third a Tyrant, a Taxe-raiser, lasciuious and a glutton, in which excess he at *Lambeth* he suddenly ended his life, when the Land became cleared of the *Danes* for oppressions, after they had a long time attempted, and their Kings for five and twenty yeres space worne the royall diademe of this Realme.

(6) These four Nations fulfilling their times by Heauens assignement, in gaining, keeping, and againe loosing, the rich Garland of GREAT BRITAINES government: a fit, inferior to none, made thereunto a double claime; and by a third (more sure then both) which was their conquering sword, got it. These last (which I pray may be last) were the *Normans*, a people fierce and valorous, whose many Sea-aduentures were so great, in the daies of *Charles the Great*, as that he wept to see the harmes they would doe to his *France*, which proued so many that *Charles the Bald* (his Grand-Child) was forced to part with the Earldome of *Chartres* vnto *Hasting* a Norman; *Charles the Grosse* with the County *Newstria*, vnto *Godfrey* their Chieftaine; and *Charles the Simple* with all the Countreys which lay betwixt the Riuier *Seine* and *Loyre*, vnto *Rollo* their Leader, whereof he became Duke, and that Dutchie from him named *Normandy*. Whence *William the Bastard* the seventh in descent, in a bloodie field at *Batell* in *Sussex*, was the English Crowne from King *Harald* that held it: when, by changing of Lawes, disheriting of Nobles, and bestowing the Lands Reuenues vpon his, he laid the foundation of a glorious Monarchie. At first, somewhat bloodie, (as Conquests commonly proue) and the Crowne

The Heptarchie againe resoured to a Monarchie.
The Saxons conquest.
The Danes conquest.
The occasion thereof.
Their continuance here.
Their death here.
The Normans.
Their title to England.
Their attempt and seizure of France.
William the Conqueror victorious.
The succession of the Crowne vnto Henry I.

Crowne banded for, among brethren and kindred (as what will not the desire of a Diademe doe?) the two younger brethren successively wearing it, to the prejudice of their * *Elder*, and *Stephen* hauing no right, but such as Intruders pretend. But *Henrie Plantagenet* placed on the Throne, and three hundred thirty one yeres taken vp in the Reignes of foureteene Kings of his line, their Acts afforde matter of more Princely consequence, their Dominions spread wider, themselves being the lawfull Inheritors to the third part of *France*, and to the Whole by the Title of their third *Edward*, and by the Conquest of their fifth *Henry*. And surely had not the ciuill dissensions of *Lancaster* and *Torke* spent their weapons in the woundes of themselves, those Kings and their Successors vndoubtedly had bene double crowned euen to this day. But these *Rafes* plucked off by diffident hands, and their Branches torne downe in home-bred broyles, their roiall rootes lay as it were dead in the Earth, till *Tender of Lancaster* with *Plantagenet* of *Torke* gaue them vigor and sappe, by binding both together in wedlocke; goulden band. Whereby also the long dead Remme of the ancient British Kings beganne againe to bud forth, and fue renowned Princes of that Sirname succeeded in *Englands* Throne. The first of them, the richest, and wisest King of this Westerne World; The second, the forest wonder of the Papall authority; The third, the forwardest in all pious actions. The fourth the feruentest for the Religion of *Rome*; And the fifth a *Mayden-Queen*, the most famously renowned among the Worlds Monarks, vnder whose reignes one hundred and sixteen yeres were fully complete and run. And were it not that the English are taxed to be ouer-much addicted vnto vaine Prophecies, and that *Melins* was prohibited by decree of Counsell, I might alledge his, and that of *Aquila* at *Shaftesbury*, both of them foreseeing that the British Empire after the *Saxons* and *Normans*, should returne againe to her ancient *Stoque* and *Name*. Notwithstanding Truth bids vs acknowledge, how farre God hath accomplished both these in the royall Person of our now-Soueraigne, the one by his descent from the loines of that Roiall *Tuder* King *Henry the Seventh*; and the other, by his *Edif*, in restoring to the Land her ancient Name, *Britannia*: himselfe being the first Monarch of the two Kingdomes *Vnion*, and the greatest of Command, since *Canutus the Dane*. The Cordes of whose Royall *Tents*, we pray, may be further extended, that those naked *Virginians* may be couered vnder the Curtaines of his most Christian Government; and that the *Scepter* of his Peace may bud, as *Aarons Rod* in his hand, and in the hand of his Sonne, and Sonne Sonnes, so long as the *Sunne* and *Moone* endureth.

(7) These then (worthy Reader) are the Heads, whence haue issued such plentifull Springs, that now met together in one Body the Streame is grown very bigge, which thing I euer feared, but could neuer prevent; offending rather with the *Niggard* who thinketh euery mite too-much, then finning with the *Prodigall* in superfluous excess; so plenteous is our Story, and so largely requires it to be writ. Through all which my weak body with many yeres labour hath alone trauelled, as well in the reuiewing of the Geographicall parts of the Land, as in the compiling of the succeeding History, though far vnable to perfect either, according to their owne worths. But lest the weight of the whole should rest vpon so slender a propp as myselfe: I haue laid my buildings vpon far stronger arches, as by the many alleged authorities may appeare. For first, the Chards for the most part traced by others, and most of them diuulged vnto view, were the foundations of my begunne paines; in supplying their wants with my many additions, and dimensions of the Shire-townes, and Cities true platformes. The further descriptions of sundry prouinces, I haue gleaned from the famous workes of the most worthy and

learned *Cambden*, whose often sowed feedes in that Soile hath lastly brought forth a most plenteous harvest. For the body of the Historie, many were the manuscripts, notes, and Records, wherewith my honored and learned friends supplied me; but none more (or so many) as did the worthy repaire of eazing times ruines, the learned *Sir Robert Cotton* Knight Baronet, another *Philadelphus* in preferring old Monuments, and ancient Records: whose Cabinets were vnlocked, and Library continually fet open to my freecesse: & from whence the chieftest garnishments of this worke haue bene enlarged and brought: such as are the antique altars, & Tropies in Stone, by him preserued from perishing obliuion; The Coines of gold, siluer, alcumy, and copper, of the *Britains*, *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *English*, with the Broade Seales of those Kings since the same were in vse: all of them so followed from the originall moddles, and monyes, by the most exquisite and curious hand of our age, as any eye may witness they are the true prints from those stamps. The like most acceptable helpe, both of Bookes and Collections, (especially in matters remoter from our times) I continually receiued from that worthy *Diuine*, *Master John Barkham*, a gentleman composed of *Learning*, *Virtue*, & *Curtisie*, as being no lesse ingeniously willing, then learnedly able, to aduance and forward all vertuous endeuours. Besides these, some other supply I haue had: for my disease growne dangerous, and life held in suspense, it behoued him who had towards the publishing bestowed to great cost, to forward the finishing; and to that end hee procured mee to his further charges an * assistant in the liues of our middle English Kings: whose Stories and raignes (by the Iudicious) may by their stiles bee knowne to bee writ with another penne. Lastly for the matters of *Heraldrie*, the willing and ready paines of *Master William Smith*, *Rough Dragon*, (an Officer at armes) was euer at hand: and by these hands this building is mounted to such an height as thou seest: which thus now finished, this scant Epitome, may well serue thy foote-steppe, as staires to ascend these five nationall Stories already finished, and leade thee into the sixth now most happilie begunne. Where from those mounted heights, thou maist behold, how Time hath squared the Stones of these buildings: how Fortune hath varied in contriuing the Worke: and how the Fates haue erected, polished, and puld downe, the supporting Pillars of GREAT BRITAINES THRATRE. From whose *Tarraz* with *Dauid* cast not thy lusting eye vpon vnlawfull delights: Nor with *Babels* King boast, that this was built by thy owne might: But with *Moses* confesse that from a small stocke (as a graft of the Lords planting) thou art now growne into a great Nation, mighty, and full of people. And with *Salomon* make supplication vnto thy great *Iehouah*, that the Arke of his strength may euer rest in this House, & his eyes be euer open thereon day and night. With the *Prophet* pray that this building may be as beauteous as his, the Foundations laid with *Saphires*, her Windows with the *Emeraude*, and her Gates with the *Carbuncles*. That the defarts of this chosen *Zion* may be as *Eden*, and her wilderness like the *Garden of God*. Her Government Peace, her People the *Saints of Salvation*, & her Kings the *Signes* on Gods right hand, successively to sit on this Royall Throne, till *Christ* the King of Kings shall come in the Cloudes, and from the Raine-Bow the Throne of his Maiefty pronounce vs blessed, and make vs heires with himselfe of that Kingdome, which neuer shall haue end. Vnto which *CHRIST*, with his FATHER, and HOLY SPIRIT, three in Persons but ONE God eternall, vndivideable in Deity, be ascribed all Praise, Honour, Glorie, Wisdome, Power and might for euermore. Amen.

FIN JS.

Christ. Swiftest.

* At Ed. 6.

Deu. 26.

2. Chro. 6.

Isaiah 54. 12.

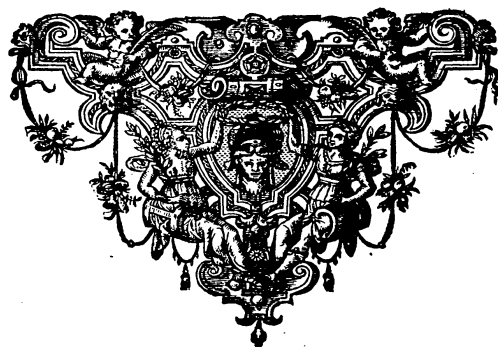
Isaiah 51. 3.

Hag. 2.



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THE SECOND INDEX, OR ALPHABETICALL TABLE CONTAINING THE PRINCIPALL MATTERS OF THIS HISTORY.

The first Number noting the Page, the second the Section.

A



- Fol. Self.*
Aron, A Martyr in Britaine, 206. 19
From Abraham to the law, what time. 278.2
Abbey of Saint Albans guilded by King William Conqueror. 419.25
Abbot of S. Albans his answer to Lewis of France demanding homage. 509.4
Abbot of Haleshaged, 620.46
George Abbot (after Archbishop of Canterbury) the first Preacher sent into Scotland, for an union in the Hierarchy. 888.26
Abbot of Lewis with other taken prisoners by the French. 593.4
Absolution by the Minister, how allowable. 887.11
Academies or Vniuersities in Brittain. 168.8.
Acon or Acher, the same that Ptolemais. 475.30.54.2.3
Besieged by Christian Princes. 476.31
Rended vnto the Christians, and sacked. 476.32
Delivered from the siege of the Sultan of Babylon. 542.3
Adam d'Orton or Tortleton Bishop of Hereford, fideith with Queene Isabel against the Spensers. 561.6
His equiuocating writ for the death of King Edward the 2. 566.7
Adda King of Bernicia. 302.2
Adela, Adelicia, Adeliza, or Alice, third daughter of William Conqueror. 445.1
Adela, Adelicia, Adeliza, or Alice, daughter of Jeffrey Duke of Louaine, second wife to K. Henry the first. 440.41
Remarried to William Daubenei Earle of Arundel. 442.61
Adelme a rebel, vanquished by King Canbred. 299.13
His victory and restoring to fauour. *ibidem.*
Adrianus a King of the Britans his coine. 275.2
Being banished flieth to Caligula Cesar. 192.3
Albanus an vflurper of the Roman Empire. 246.3
L. Albius Cesar to Adrianus. 119.8
ibidem
His Coine. *ibidem*
Aelphagus Archbifhoppe of Canterbury martyred by the Danes. 392.16
Emilianus Maurus defeareth the Gothi. 243.5
Is made Emperour. *ibidem.*
His defcent. 243.1
Murdred by his fouldiers. 243.3
His short raig. *ibidem*
C. Iulius Emilianus his coine. 243.
Aequinoctium what it is. 185.15
Afar, left in the name of Cesar, what it fignified. 749.70
Ethelgida King Seberts wife where entombed. 301.3
Ethelmere, elect Bifhoppe of Winchefer. 529.76
Ethiua Gouvernour in France, vnder Valentinian the third. 279.5
Sent vnto from the Brittaines. 281.12
Agatha wife to Edward the Out-law, both parents to Edgar Etheling. 384.21
Agincourt, See Azincourt.
Agreement betweene King Stephen, and Henry Fitz-Empreffe. 453.47
Agreement betweene Richard 1. King of England, and Philip King of France, at the fetting forth to the Holy-land. 474.14
Agreement betweene King Richard the first, and King Tancred of Sicilie. 474.19
Iul. Agricola made Brittain a Prouince. 172.5
Found it to bee an Iland, *ibidem.*
Iul. Agricola Lieutenant vnder the Romans in Brittain. 211.10
He vanquifheth the Ordovices *ibidem.*
Not valnglorious. 211.12
Good to the poore. *ibidem.*
Cureth blind and lame miraculoufly. 211.14
Iul. Agricola enlarged the Roman Empire. 212.5
His opinion of Ireland. 213.4
He fercheth out the limits of Britaine. 213.6
Winneeth the field againft Galgacus. 215.12
Receiueeth triumphall ornaments. 215.16
Agrippina wife to Claudius Cesar, worketh his death. 196.2
A monfter of the femall feixe. 199.19
Aidan a Chriftian Bifhoppe in Scotland. 336.4
Aimeric de Valencepitteth king Robert Bruce to flight. 550.51
Alans D. of Britaigne in France fideith with K. Stephen. 449.25
His defcription. *ibidem.*
Alaricus a valiant Goth the fcurge of Rome. 276.4
Albane Martyr in Brittain. 206.19
Beheaded. 255.11
Canonized a Saint. 345.11
Saint Albans Monastery builte. *ibidem.*
Founded by king Offa. 307.12
Battell at S. Albans, the first. 667.64
Battell at S. Albans the fecond. 672.93
Duke of Albanie offereth battell to the Earle of Surrey with all curtefie. 760.49
His answer to the Scottifh Nobility, diffwading offence warre. 761.51
Albemarle Earle fideith with K. Stephen. 249.25
Albertus Cardinall, and Arch-Duke of Austria, Gouvernour in the Low-Countries. 367.248
Albigenfes what maner of Heretikes. 514.21
Warred vpon by King Lewis of France. *ibidem.*
Albina the beaufull daughter of Dioclefian. 158.4
Clod. Albinus Lieutenant in Britaine. 225.8
Entituled Cesar. *ib.* 227.3
His Coines. 279.8.227.3
Made fuccellor in the Empire. 228.2
His death plotted. 228.2
Proclaimed Traitor. *ibidem.*
Vanquifhed by Septim. Severus. 228.2
A valiant Captaine. *ibidem.*
Saint Albins battell in France. 734.24
Albinus the Abbot an Historiographer. 163.15
Albin a name of Britaine, imposed by the Gracians. 158.4
Whereofso called. *ibidem.*
A name of long continuance. 158.4
Albion a Giant. *ibidem.*
Albion whence deriued. *ibidem.*
Alcayon of Mahomet. 323
Alcibiades, faire, being olde. 204.7
Alcuinus borne in Yorke, in- ftructor to Charles the Great. 388.10
Aldred Archbifhop of Yorke. 416.5
Aldulf King of the East-Angles. 310.10
His Coine. *ibidem.*
His raig. *ibidem.*
Alchus his trechetie. 255.8
His Coine. *ibidem.*
Slaine. *ibidem.*
Alen Cardinall his traiterous libel. 857.187
Alexander Abbot of the Benedictines, heartneth King John againft Pope Innocentius. 497.40
Deprived by the Pope. *ibidem.*
Alexander Bifhop of Chefter cleareth himfelfe of difloyalty. 520.45
K. Alexander the Great, whither he came into Britaine. 168.9
His picture in Gader. 182.1
Alexander K. of Scots a peacemaker betwix Henry the 2. King of England, and his LL. 523.57
Alexander the third, King of Scots, espoufeth Margaret, daughter of Henry the third, King of England. 530.79
His wiry infinuation to K. Henry the third, in the behalfe of Philip Lancel. 530.79
He with his Queene highly entertained in England. 533.86
Alexander Severus made Emperour of Rome. 235.1
His parentage and breeding. *ibidem.*
A louer of Liberrall Sciences, and a fauourer of chriitian *ib.*

R r r r r

THE TABLE.

His Justice. *ibidem* 3
His martial prowesse. *ibidem*
His bounty. *ibidem*
His Coine. 235.1
Murdered. 236.4
His raigne and age. *ibidem*
Alexander King of Scott dieth
of a fall from his horse. 345.18
Alexander King of Scots mar-
rieth the Lady Iohn, sister to
Henry the third. 511.12
Alexander Neul Archbishop
of Yorke, removed from king
Richard the second. 604.77
Alexander the 5. Pope, chosen
in lieu of the 2. Antipapes.
620.47
Alexander Prince of Scotland
knighted by John King of
England. 498.45
Alexander Seton slaine by Ed-
ward Baili. 568.24
Alexandrus, Cesar to Helioaba-
lus. 235.1
Named afterwards Alexander
der Scuerus. *ibidem*
Alfonso or Alphonso, son of
King Edward the first, his
death and buriall. 52.60
Alfonse King of Spain claimeth
Galceigne. 531.82
He quitteth his claime. *ibid.*
83
His good aduise to K. Hen-
ry the third. 531.83
Alfred King of Northumber-
land murdered. 305.21
His raigne and issue. *ibidem*
Alghith the wife of King Ed-
mund Ironside. 383.20
Alghith wife of King Canutus
barren, yet seemed fruitful.
392.19
Prince Alfred, King Canute
his sonne, right heire to the
Crown of England, entrap-
ped by fraud, bereft of his
eyes, and cruelly tormented
395.67
Algar, Leofriks sonne banished
403.2
Alghith, widow of Gruffith
Ap Llewelyn, King of North-
Wales, King Harolds wife.
408.53
After Harolds was slaine, liued
in Westcheester priuie. *ibidem*
Alice, See Adel. 356.4
Alice daughter to King William
the Conqueror. 426.74
Her issue. *ibidem*
At last a professed Nunne. *ib.*
Alice daughter of Lewis King
of France, married to Rich-
ard King Henry the second
his sonne. 467.85
Alice sister to Philip King of
France, contraded to Rich-
ard the first, King of Eng-
land. 475.22
Supposed to haue had a child
by his Father King Henry
the second. *ibidem* 22
Restored to her brother.
480.62
Married to John Earle of
Ponthif, or Ponthieu. 485
Alice daughter of King Edward
the first. 552.66
Dame Alice Piers, albeit the
old age of King Edward the
third, as his Concubine.
588.148
Almost insolent woman. *ibid.* 149
Alice Piers banished. 591.1
Aliphus Lieutenant vnder the
Romans in Britaine. 265.4
Interrupted by fearful fires
in recedifying of Ierusalem.
265.4

Alkfrid King of Northumber-
land an excellent Philosopher.
304.12
His life, raigne, death, and
issue. *ibidem*
Alphon what it signifieth. 184
Alphonso K. of Galicia first foun-
der of Portugal much renow-
ned. 426.77
Alphonso, O. Campo leader of
Spaniards to invade Ireland.
875.317
Taken prisoner. *ibid.* 319
Alphon. 158.4
Atrick King of Kent, the last
in lineall succession. 294.14
His raigne and death. 295.14
An Altar stone portrayed. 239
Alter to the Goddesse Surin.
222.5
To Goddesse Fortuna. 222.4
Alured, alias Alfred conuertyth
the Danes to Christianity.
205.17
Alured, murdereth his Souer-
aigne, and becometh king
of Northumberland. 305.20
His descent and issue. *ibidem*
Expelled out of his King-
dome. *ibid.*
Ambition and emulation of
the ancient States of Britain.
172.3
Ambresbury Abbey founded.
372.17
Ambresbury, whence it tooke
the name. 315
Saint Ambrose Bishoppe of
Milaine excommunicated
and absoluth Theodosius the
Emperour. 275.8
America first discovered. 746
Amicitie solemnly made be-
tweene William King of the
Scotts, and John King of Eng-
land. 488.14
The same renewed by two
crosse marriages. 497.41
Amity, betwene King Philip
of France, and King John of
England. 488.14
Amity betwene Henry the 5.
King of England, and Charles
the 6. King of France, vpon
what conditions. 641.52
Amoud a King of the Danes.
356.4
Anaphibalus a Martyr, Saint Al-
banes teacher. 206.19, 25.11
Anarchie in France. 583.20
Anclutis where seated. 173.4
An Anchortis counsell to the
British Bishops and Doctors
touching Austen the Monke,
his sonne. 590.11
Andates Goddesse of victorie.
167.8
Andragabith a murderer drow-
neth himselfe. 272.7
S. Andrees Church in Welles
founded. 299.15
Androgorus, is Mandrubacius.
173.5
Angiers wonne by a stratagem.
493.28
Ruined. 484.4
Angle-land, England, whence
the name is deriued, imposed
first by Egbert. 160.9
Angles, what nation. 284.6
Angles invaded, and the in-
habitants cruelly vied. 431.29
Anglia, whence it tooke name.
285.10, 11
Old Anglia. 185.10
Anlaf, sonne of Danish Gur-
mo baptised. 366.3
Anlaf Sitbricky sonne chased
into Ireland. 364.5
Called by Writers King of
the Irish. 364.7
His stratagem. *ibid.*
His fouldiers fidelity. *ibidem*
His Coine. 364.9
Called out of Ireland, to be-
come King of the Danes in
Northumberland. 365.2
Baptized. 366.3
Sent backe againe into Ire-
land. 367.3
Anlaf a leader of the Danes.
378.23
Anne Dutcheffe of Britain mar-
ried by Proxie, with what Ce-
remonies. 736.28
Queene Anne wife to King Rich-
ard the second dieth, with
many other great Ladies. 605.
60
Buried in Westminst. 610.19
Queene Anne, King Richard
the 3. his wife dieth. 725.61
Her buriall. *ibidem*
Her parentage, and double
marriage. 726.61
Anne Afer burned in Smith-
field for Religion. 780.112
Put on the racke. *ibid.*
Her tormenting displeased
King Henry the 8. 780.113
Her commendable partes.
780.112
Scandalized, and slandered
by a Romanist Writer. 780.
112
Anne Bullen second wife to K.
Henry the eight, her descent.
1770.80, 785.137
Her Religion. 770.81
Inuested Marchionesse of
Pembroke. 770.82, 785.137
Married to King Henry the
eight. *ibidem*
Crowned Queene of Eng-
land. 771.85
A great louer of the Gospell.
771.86
Delivered of a dead child.
771.67
Charged with high Treas-
on, and sent to the Tower.
771.87
Defended. 771.88
Condemned for adultery, &
incest, and beheaded. 771.89
Thought to die guiltlesse, of
the crime. 772.92
Her penance. 772.93
Her godly life. *ibid.*
Where entered. 785.137
Anne of Cleue married to King
Henry the eight. 770.105
Anne of Cleue vpon diuile op-
py diuorced from King Henry
the eight. 779.21, 785.139
Her parentage. 785.139
The fourth wife of K. Henry
the eight. *ibidem*
No more to be filled Queen
Anne. 779.108
Anniballianus his Coine. 262
Ansime Archbishop of Can-
terbury. 430.19
Held guilty of high Treason.
432.33
Recalled home. 435.5
He standeth against married
Priests. 436.13
Ansime Archbishop of Canter-
bury goeth to Rome. 436.13
His death. 438.29
Anna King of the East Angles,
slaine in battell by Penda.
310.7
His raigne, issue and buriall.
ibidem

Antinus a Duke of the South-
Saxons. 296.4
Antioches Primacy before
Rome. 524.60
Antonia a river in Britan 194.18
M. Antonia his gouernment, &
viceroy what Prouinces. 188.2
Proclaimed enemy to the
State. 188.2
Discomfited. *ibid.*
Don Antonio the expelled King
of Portugal, seeketh Queene
Elizabeth. 226.86, 123.2
His title to Portugal. 863.227
Antonina a gracious name a-
mong the Romans. 231.8
The name abolished. 231.6
Antoninus Caracalla, the same
that Bassianus the Emperour.
213.1
He seeketh to Astrologers.
232.7
Is murdered. *ibid.*
His coine together with his
brother Geta. 231.1
His natural properties. 232.5
His incest with Iulia his fa-
thers wife. 232.6
His time of raigne. 232.8
Slaine. 232.7, 8
Antoninus Pius Emperour. 230.1
His Coine. *ibid.*
His birth and commendation
ibidem
A great defender of the chris-
tians. *ibid.*
His Edict for their protectio-
n. *ibid.*
His Apophthegm. 221.5
His personage, & commenda-
ble parts. *ibidem*
His death, age and raigne. *ib.*
Anaximus an Aliafine traiter-
ously woundeth Prince
Edward, after King Edward
the first. 542.5
Ap. Arthur a fabulous Writ-
ter. 317
Twelve Apostles of the King
of Spain. 269.266
Apprentice of the Law, what
he is. 615.21
Apulder Castle built by the
Danes. 358.20
Don John D. Aquila sent out of
Spain into Ireland. 875.314
Aquatus how large a Dutchie
666.60
Reuolteth from the English.
588.147
L. Arbellaher paratage. 756.75
Arbogast a traitorous murder-
er of Valentinian the yonger
Emperour. 273.10
He killeth himselfe. 274.5
Ardadius and Honorius Empe-
rours. Their Coines. 275
Ardadius fellow Emperour with
his father Theodosius. 272.4
Ardadius Emperour in the East.
274.6
His death and raig. 277.11
Arch of victory on a Coin. 193
Archers English how forcible
in times past. 616.28
Arifrid a Philosopher of A-
thens, fauoureth Christianity.
219.8
Arletta, the mother of K. Wil-
liam the Conquerour, mean-
ly defended. 413.26
Armes of King Arthur. 648.85
Armes of the Dukes of Bruns-
wick. 259.6, 470.108
Armes of Bruns and the KK. of
Troy. 163.13
Armes of England set before
those of France at first. 572.52
Arms

Armes of Hingist, and Horsla.
289.6
Armes of the Princes & Dukes
of Saury. 228.2, 290.6
Armenia the fountain Region
of all Nations. 162.6
Armorica, i. Little Brittain in
France. 159.6
Giuen to British Souldiers.
279.8, 9
Conquered. *ibidem*
America, a Prouince descri-
bed. 279.9
The Diuision thereof. *ibidem*
It retaineth the British Dia-
lect. 280.9
Earle of Arraue, Lord Gouer-
nour of Scotland. 782.121
Arrianus impugned by Chri-
stian Bishops. 206.19
Arrius Aper murdereth Nume-
rianus. 253.4
Executed. *ibid.*
James or Jaques d. Artois, a
Burger of Gaunt, supporteth
King Edward the third his
quarrell in France. 570.41
See more in Jaques.
Arthur King of the Britaines,
begotten of dame Igerm, by
Fier Pendragon. 316
His battels against the Sax-
ons. *ibidem*
His Act. 291.16
A benefactor to Glaffenbury
Abbey. *ibidem* 207.21
Of Roman bloud. *ibidem*
Slaine by Mordred. 317
His raigne. *ibid.*
His buriall. *ibid.*
His body found interred. *ib.*
His Monument. 318
His Ensigne or Armes. 206
20, 207.21, 316.1
Arthur sonne of Geoffrey, fourth
sonne of King Henry the se-
cond, heire apparent to King
Richard 1. 470.105
Supposed to be made away
by King John his vnclie.
470.105
Arthur Nephew to King Rich-
ard the first, Duke of Britain.
478.44
Arthur Duke of Britaigne, and
John competitors for the
Crown of England. 484.2
Arthur his adherents. *ibid.*
Committed by his mother
to the protection of Philip
King of France. 484.3
Reconciled to King John.
485.7
Hee flieth from him for fear.
ibid.
Committed to strait custo-
die in the Castle of Roan.
490.18
His death. 490.19, 20
Arthur Earle of Richmond,
made Constable of France.
233.10
Arthur Lord Lisle, Bafe sonne
to King Edward the fourth.
692.50
Dieth of an excecutive ioy.
ibidem
Arthur eldest sonne of King
Henry the seventh, Prince of
Wales, weddeth Katherine of
Spaine. 747.63
A Prince of great towardsness.
ibid.
His death, bookes and lear-
ning. *ibid.*
Whether he did consummate
actually the marriage with his
wife Katherine. 447.63
Duke Also of Cornwall, and
Earle of Chester. 751

His birth. 731.11
Life, death and place of bur-
iall. 731.72
Articles of attonment betwixt
John K. of England, and Philip
King of France. 486.8
Articles of peace betwene K.
Edward the third, and Lewis
of France. 510.8
Articles agreed vpon by the
Rebels in Cornwall, sent vnto
King Edward the sixth. 806.22
Answer of the King to them.
806.23
Sir Robert D. Artois solliciteth
K. Edward the third to claime
the crown of France. 570.37
Arviragus a famous British
King. 177.14
He weddeth Claudius the Em-
perour his daughter. 177.14
His coine. *ib.* 216
King Arviragus in the time of
Domitian. 174.12
His Coine. 216
Hee resisteth the Romans pro-
ceedings. *ibid.*
Thomas Arundel Archbishop of
Canterbury persecuteth Wick-
liffians. 655.12
His strange death. 626.14
Thomas Arundel Bishop of Ely,
stoutly maintaineth Bishops
temporalities. 600.57
Earle of Arundel slaine. 657.22
Aldon field in Essex lost by the
English against the Danes.
245.1
Robert Atke General in the
Yorkshire Insurrection. 773.96
His letters. 774.96
His haughty spirit. *ibid.*
Executed with others vpon
a second insurrection of his.
778.98
Arafines a sect of Sarazens
in the East. 477.43, 542.5
Ardon field won against the
Danes. 355.8
Apar a Captaine vnder Va-
lentinian the third Emperour.
279.5
He slew John the vsurper. *ib.*
Astrologers what kind of peo-
ple. 202.5
Thomas Astwood executed.
346.60
Athanasius Bishop banished by
Constantinus. 264.9
Recalled from exile by Ionia-
nus. 268.4
King Athelfan his stile. 157.13
Athelfan, See Gormond. 111
Athens kingdom of what
continuance. 278.2
Atrius a Gouernour vnder Iu-
lius Cesar. 184.3
Aulon. i. Glaffenbury. 201.2
Audentius refused to be Em-
perour. 233.2
Augusta. i. London. 270.4
Augustus Cesar his raigne.
190.7
His vertues. *ibidem*
His fault. *ibidem*
His deuotion euen towards
Christ. *ibidem*
His stature and endowments of
body. *ibidem*
His death. *ibidem*
See more in Othavian.
August the month why fo-
called. 190.7
Augustus a name sacred. 190.7
S. Augustines Arm at Countree
at an high price. 392.14
Augustines or Austines Oke.
330.11, 206.20.
See more in Austen.
Auitall customes maintained.
460.36

THE TABLE.

Aumbelliers a Castle in Nor-
mandie wonne. 636.42
Sir John Aunfley Knight, en-
treth combat with Kairring-
ton, and is victor. 598.44
M. Aurelius Emperour. 221.1
His Coine. *ibidem*
See more in Marcus.
Aurelius Ambrosius a valiant
captaine of the Britains. 291.
15, 314.3
Dieth of poison. 314.3
His raigne. 315.3
Aurelius Conanus King of the
Britains. 319.7
Reproued by Gildas. *ibidem*
Aurelius Viktorinus and his son
vsurpers. 246.3
Murthered. *ibidem*
Marcus Aurelius Emperour,
his Coine. 220.
Aurelianus Emperour. 248.1
His parentage. *ibidem*
His rising. *ibidem*
Named sword-bearer. *ibid.*
His employments. *ibidem*
His valour. *ibidem*
His coine. 249.6
His indulgence to Christians.
ibidem 8
Becomes a persecutor of chris-
tians. *ibidem*
Scared with a thunderbolt.
249.8
His person & severity. 249.9
Aurelius vsurpeth in Illyria.
245.1
Austun or Augustine the Monke
207.20
Sent into England. 320
Saint Austins Church and Mo-
nastery in Canterbury. 330
His questions to the Pope.
330
See more in Augustine.
An Ayde granted for marriage
of Mawde to Henry the
4. Emperour. 438.33
Azuicourt, alias Agincourt bat-
tell. 633.60

B

No first radical letter in
any British word. 158.6
Babel-Tower the cause of sun-
dry languages, and dispersi-
on of people. 161.2
Babilas Martyr. 266.5
Anthony Babington, principall
of a traitorous conspiracie,
with others executed. 848.
111
John Ballard a Seminary priest
executed for treason. 848.111
Lord of Balmerinosh found
guilty of death, for deusing
letters in King James his
name, and sending them to
Rome. 89.38
Bambrough Castle built 302
Ban, alias Bag & Buz, a place in
Ireland, what it signifieth. 463.54
Banner of Constantine against
Maxentius, &c. 260.5
Banner with a golden Dragon,
lost by Ethelbald. 342.2
Banchor, alias Bangor in Wales,
the first Monastery in the
world. 206.20
Founded by King Lucius.
207.20, 303.7
The mother of all other,
Bangor or Banchor Monastery,
and the Monks there descri-
bed. *ibidem*
Hemfry Banisher betrayeth his
Lord and Master, Henry D.
of Buckingham. 720.35
How

THE TABLE.

How hee was rewarded for his treachery. *ibidem*
Banockburne battell in Scotland. 558.25.735.27
 Baptisme priuate how allowable. 887.30
 L. *Nardolfe* wounded to death. 620.46
 Monsieur de *Barbascon*, or *Brabon* sentenced to death, escaped by a quirk of Heraldry. 645.62
 Robert *Burnes* burnt for Religion. 780.21
 His Prayer. *ibidem*
Barnes field wonne by K. Edward the fourth, by what error. 683.64
 Barons forfak King *Iohn*, and deny their helpe. 500.51
 Their disloyalty to K. *Iohn*. 501.52
 They come into the field in armes against King *Iohn*. 503.55.515.24
 Shew themselves in open rebellion. 501.56
 Cursed and excommunicated from the Pope. 504.57
 They raile on the Pope. 504.57
 They plette to betray the Crown of England to *Lewis* Dolphin of France. 504.58
 They demand their liberties of King *Henry* the third. 512.15
 Their rebellious message to King *Henry* the third. 515.24
 They contenne King *Henry* the third his summons to Parliament. 518.37
 Their traitorous errand to him. 518.38
 Barons and Bishoppes capitulate with King *Henry* the 3. in Parliament at Oxford. 533.93
 Their conuention or mutuall oath. *ibidem*
 Come armed to the Parliament. 535.93
 Barons fend twice to King *Henry* the third for a Pacification. 537.99.100
 Barons hanged, drawne and quartered. 559.41
 What Barons at once perished by hatchet and halter, vnder King *Edward* the second. 560.43
Bartholomew Down, the place of *Julius* Cæsar's Camp. 184.6
Andrew Barton a Scot slaine, maketh quarrell between King *James* the fourth, and King *Henry* the eight. 254.6
Gilbert Lord *Basset* rebelleth. 579.39
 Recieued into fauour. 220.48
Belesianus sonne of *Seuerus*, gouerneth the fourth part of Britaine. 220.6
 His disloyalty. 220.10
 Surnamed *Antonius*, and made Emperour. 220.14
 Styled *Britannicus* *Adrianus*. 231.1
 Surnamed *Caracalla*. 231.1
 His Coin. 231.1
Belesianus the younger, surnamed *Heliogabalus* Emperour. 234.6
 Battell at *Basing* on the Danes side. 355.9
 Battell, or Battell field between King *Harold* & *William* the Bastard, Duke of Normandy. 407.38.39.41.51
 Battell Abbey founded. 424.63
 A Sanctuary or priuiledged place. 424.64
 Battell between *Lewis* King of France, and *Henry* the first King of England. 439.38
 Battell between King *Stephen* and his Barons. 450.28
 Battell of *Bonnes*. 503.55
 Battell at *Crecy*. 577.87.88
 Battell of *Poitiers*. 582.116
 Battell at *Blore*, where the Lancastrians lost the day. 668.72
 Battell of *Shrewsbury*. 617.36
 Battell of *Spurs*. 754.8
 Sir *Henry* de *Bath*, a bribing Iusticiar. 530.78
 Sir *Henry* de *Bath* profcribed by King *Henry* the third his owne mouth. 530.78
Beati *Pacifici*, the *Mot* of *James* King of Great Britaine, &c. 161.11
Beatrice or *Beatrix* Countesse of *Provence*, landeth at *Dorner*. 526.67
 Mochet to 5. *Queenes*. *ibidem*
Beatrice daughter to K. *Edward* the first. 552.69
Thomas Beauchamp Earle of *Warwick*, his valor & death. 586.139
Richard Beauchamp Earle of *Warwick*, Regent of France. 660.36
 His death. *ibidem*
Henry Beauchamp sonne of *Edmund* Duke of *Somerfet*, standeth for K. *Henry* the first. 667.66
Beaufort a surname, who imposed it. 606.94
 Whence it came. 590
Thomas Beaufort, half brother to King *Henry* the fourth, L. Chancellor. 620.47
Henry Beaufort Bishopp of *Winchester*, his dignities and Titles. 623.3
 He perswadeth war against France. 636.39
 He taketh the Crowne to pawning of King *Henry* the fifth. 645.65.636.39
 The rich Cardinal. 645.65
Henry Beaufort Duke of *Somerfet* taken and beheaded. 676.15
Beaulieu Abbey built. 487.11
 A Sanctuary. *ibidem*
 Bishopp of *Beauvais* taken prisoner in fight, all armed. 480.60
 What anfwere he had from the Pope. *ibidem*
Beaumont King *Henry* the first his pallace at Oxford. 442.59
John L. Beaumont, high Countable of England. 662.41
Thomas Becket Chancellor of England. 456.3
 His birth, profession, rising, and aduancement. 457.11
 Reputed a Martyr. *ibidem*
 Archbishoppe of *Canterbury* vpon the death of *Theobald*. *ibidem*
 Debate betweene *Thomas Becket*, and King *Henry* the second, vpon what occasions. 457.12
 He opposeth and contesteth with the King, and claimeth regalities. 457.13
 What points he would not yeeld vnto. 457.15
 Promiseth to obserue the King's lawes, *Bona fide*, &c. 458.19
 Hee relapseth from his promises. 458.20
 He swears in *verbo Sacerdotali*, to keepe confessions of his amies. 458.21
 He would not subscribe, *ib.*
 Called to account, and sundry wayes molested. 458.23
 Adjudged of perjury and treason. 458.25.23
 He disguiseth himself vnder the name of *Dereman*, and goeth into *Flanders*. *ibidem*
 All his kindred banished the Realme. 459.26
 He excommunicateth *Gilbert* Bishopp of *London*. 406.32
 An accord treated betwixt the King and *Thomas Becket*. 461.34
Thomas Becket publisheth the Popes letters of suspension, against *Roger* Archbishop of *Torky*, and *Hugh* Bishopp of *Durham*. 461.40
 Murdered in the Church of *Canterbury* by foure knights. 461.41
 Censured after his death diuinely. 461.42.43
 His murderers flie. 461.44
Thomas Becket canonized a Saint by Pope *Alexander*. 464.63
 His rich shrine defaced. 778.100
Bede his historie. 163.15
 What he was. 305.16
 His story dedicated to King *Cosmo*. *ibidem*
Beda a Saxon Monke writeth partially. 322
 Sir *Simon de Bedford* hanged with *Roger Mortimer*. 568.23
Bedford Castle forced by siege, and demolished. 513.18
 Beech trees grow plentifully in Britaine. 160.7
Beles *Cimbros*. 161.7
Beles the King his habergeon. *ibidem*
Belga & *Welles*. 207.21
Robert Belisarius against King *Henry* the first. 436.12
 He and his associates abjure the land. *ibidem*
 A bloody and vnnatural wretch. 438.30
 Taken and emprisoned. *ibidem*
Robert Belknap his saying when he subscribed to humor King *Richard* the second, against the popular and reforming Lords. 603.72
Robert Belknap with other Judges and chiefe Lawyers arrested vpon the Bench, and sent to the Tower. 604.78
 Sir *Walter de Berley* his fortune seruice in little Britaine. 581.11
 Saint *Bennets* Abbey in *Norfolk*. 392.14
 Sir *Henry Bennisfield* Lieutenant of the Tower, a straite layler to Lady *Elizabeth*. 823.60
Beorn King of the East Angles. 311.12
Beorn *Bocadors* wife, in the case of *Lucretia*. 387.34
 Himself allied vnto the Danish royall blood. 386.6
Berengaria daughter of *Sanchez* the fourth King of *Nanarre*, her descent. 482
 Married to King *Richard* the first. 475.15
 Her loue to him, and her other vertues. 479.54
Berengaria daughter to King *Edward* the first. 552.65
Beremice the beautifull Queene of *Senry*. 212.4
Beremice a British fugitiue. 193.3
Beremice his murder & fallshood to his Prince. 388.7.8
 Saint *Berin*, an Italian Diuine. 297.7
 Bishopp of *Dorchester*. *ibidem*
Berking Abbey built. 310.7
Bernardus Andreas of *Tholous* a Poet Laureat. 728.4
 Instructor to Prince *Arthur*, King *Henry* the seuenth his eldest sonne. *ibidem*
Bernicia a Prouince in the Kingdome of *Northumberland*. 302.1
Bernulph King of *Mercia* by usurpation. 308.16
 His coine. *ibidem*
 Slaine in skirmish. *ib.*
Berowus a Writer late comforth suspected and reiected. 158.3
 A forged Author. 162.9
Berta a vertuous Christian Lady espoused to King *Erhelbert*. 329.3
 Where buried. 332.15
Bertfrida a sonne of King *Edred*. 368.7
Berthulf King of *Mercia*, as tributary. 308.19
 His Coine. *ibidem*
Berthun a Duke of the South Saxons slaine. 296.4
Bertram de *Glequin*, or *Glequin* a braue warrior. 585.133
 Faithful the English. 587.140
 Made Constable of France. 587.143
 Marshall of France taken prisoner by Sir *Iohn Chandos*. 584.128
Bertram de *Gurdon*, killeth King *Richard* the first. 481.69
 Fleyed quicke and hanged. *ibidem*
Peregrine Bertu, L. *Willoughby*, General of the aids for *Henry* king of *Nanarre* in France. 867.255
Berwick wonne by the English. 546.26
 Recouered by the Scots. 559.3
 Lost, and regained by *Henry Percy* Earle of *Northumberland*. 598.45
 Surprised and regained by the Scots. 581.113
 Burnt and dismanetled. *ibidem*
 Delivered vnto the English. 689.111
 Surprised by the Scots, and recouered within 9. dayes. 594.9
Bethlem a Monastery erected. 648.83
Beton Archbishop of *S. Andrews*. 782.121
Iohn of *Benerley* a godly preacher of *Wicklifs* doctrine. 626.15
 Executed as an Heretike, *ib.*
 Bible in English commanded to be read in Churches. 778.101
 Bible presented to *Queene Elizabeth*, and graciously receiued. 822.3
 Bible borne by the Rebels of the North. 842.65
 New

THE TABLE.

New translation of the Bible in English intended, and commanded by *James* King of Great Britaine, &c. 888.25
 The same published. 888.25
Bibros what inhabitants. 173.2
Hugh Bigot or *Bigod* Earle of *Norfolk* fideith with King *Henry* the younger, against King *Henry* the second his father. 465.73
Hugh Bigot, or *Bigot* chiefe Iusticiar of England. 535.63
Hugh Bigot or *Bigod* holdeth the Cattle of *Norwich* against all but King *Stephen*. 446.8
 Sideth with King *Stephen*, & is described. 449.25
Francis Bigot in the *Torkeshire* Commotion, or holy Pilgrimage. 774.97
Hugh Bigot or *Bigot* Duke of *Norfolk*, rendreth vp his Cattle to King *Henry* the 2. 456.7
 Bishops and Archbishopps erected in England. 206.18
 Archbishoppe of *Bowes* his proud speech in Ambasse to King *Henry* the 5. 628.27
 Bishops removed, and others in their Sees placed. 817.15
 Bishops how they were buried. 487.11
 Bishops temporalities restored. 600.57
 Bishop an additament of honour in the Romane Emperours stile. 251.1
Bithrie or *Brithicke*, King of *West-Saxons* his Coine. 299.16
 Poisoned vnwittingly by his owne wife. *ibidem*
 Blacke Crosse of Scotland, a Jewell. 567.13
 Blacke Prince, See in *Edward*. 742.47
 Blacke Heath-field. 742.47
 Blackelock a place where *Piers Ganeson* lost his head. 556.14
Blanch Queene mother of *France* her policy to hinder the English designs. 514.23
Blanch daughter to King *Edward* the first. 552.70
Blanch Tagne a fowrd in the river of *Sone*. 575.85
 Blazing starre. 373.2
Walter Blawet executed. 746.6
Blore battell. 668.72
 Bloody-toure in the Tower of *London*, whyfo called. 691.119
Charles Blunt Lord *Montjoy* Lord Lieutenant General of *Ireland*. 874.310
 His exploits in *Vlster*, and *Lease*. 874.311
 In the *Glinner*. 875.313
 See more in *Montjoy*
 Sir *Christopher Blunt* beheaded on Tower-hill. 889.244
Bondica, or *Bondica*, Queene of the *Icenians*. 170.2
 Body a Commissioner for pulling downe Images, killed. 809.19
Bodoni, i. *Bondica* Queene of the *Iceni*. 176.13
 Wife to *Prasulaga*, King of the *Iceni*. 198.9.176.13
 Chosen leader of the *Iceni*. 198.13
 Surprised the *Colonia*, *ib.*
 Puteeth *Petilius Cerealis* to flight. 198.15
 Slew seuentie thousand Romane Citizens, and Prouincial confederates together. 198.16.176.13
 Surueith in perfon the troups of her Army. 199.18
Queene Bondica or *Bondica* her active. *ibidem*
 Her speech to her Army. 199.19
 Her victory of the *Romans*. 176.13
 Poisoneth her selfe. 177.20
 Her Coine. 206.21
Bodotria, i. *Edenburgh* *Frithe*. 212.6
Bodoni yeeld to *Plantius*. 193.5
Bohemians lament the death of *Iohn Hus*, and *Ierome* of *Prage*. 630.36
Humphrey de *Bohyn* Earle of *Hereford* taken prisoner, and recovered by exchange. 558.25
 Slain by a *Welshman*. 559.39
 Boier Maior of *Bodmin* hanged by *Martiall* law. 807.28
Bologne or *Bullen*, besieged by King *Henry* the seuenth. 737.31
 Sir *Thomas Boleine* or *Bullen*, Vicount *Rockford*, Earle of *Wiltshire*, &c. his descent. 770.80
 Sir *Godfrey Boleine* or *Bullen*, Lord Maior of *London*. 770.80
 His grauestone. *ibidem*
Boleins or *Bullens*, an ancient family in *Norfolk*. *ibidem*
 His charity. *ibidem*
 Sir *Godfrey Bolein* ancestor to *Queene Anne Bolein*, and to *Queene Elizabeth* of famous memory. 667.69
 Hee keepeth *London* quiet, notwithstanding the great troups of *Yorkists*, and *Lancastrians*. *ibidem*
George Bolein or *Bullen* Lord *Rochford* beheaded. 771.89
Bolton Prior of Saint *Bartholomew* in *London*, buildeth on the topp of *Harrow* hill, wherefore. 771.83
Bonifacius Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*. 525.62
Bononia, i. *Buloigne*. 263.6
Bonifacius rebelleth against *Probus*. 252.6
 His birth. *ibidem*
 A mighty drinker. *ibidem*
 He hangeth himselfe. *ibidem*
 Docto *Borne* assaulted with a dagger at *Panler* *Crosse*. 817.7
Bosworth field. 735.58
Bowmer battell. 503.95
Bradney monastery in *Lincolnshire* founded. 341.3
 Sir *Robert Brakenbury* Lieutenant of the Tower, denieth to murder King *Edward* the fifth, and his brother *Richard*. 735.16
 Sir *Nicholas Bramble* late L. Maior of *London* plotte to kill, destroy *Thomas* of *Woodstock*. Duke of *Glocester*. 602.68
 Duke of *New Troy* executed. 604.78
Charles Brandon Duke of *Suffolke* marrieth *Queen Mary*, widow to King *Lewis* the 12. of France. 756.23
 His two fowes died of the English fower. 811.605
 See more in *Charles Brandon*
 Sir *William Brandon* Standard-bearer to *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, slaine by King *Richard* the thirde. 725.57
Rainold Bray, employed about the marriage of *Henry* Earle of *Richmond*, with *Elizabeth* daughter to King *Edward* the fourth. 718.28
 He maketh a faction against King *Richard* the third. 719.31
Henry de *Braybrooke*, Iusticiar Itinerant, imprisoned in *Bedford* Castle. 513.18
Nicholas Breinbre, alias *Bramble*, Alderman of *London*, beheaded, and endowed with lands. 596.25
Brennus a Britaine or *Cimbrian*. 162.5
Falsastus, alias *Fomkes* de *Brent*, vsurpeth *Earledomes*, and holdeth Castles. 511.11
 His outrage and rebellion. 513.18
 A Norman, his birth and rising. 513.18
 Vpon submission pardoned & banished. *ibidem*
 Lieutenant of *Bedford* Castle. *ibidem*
 Taken and hanged. *ibidem*
Bretta a Spanish word. 159.6
William de Bruse, disloyall to K. *Iohn*, flieth into France. 497.42
 His wife raieth vpon King *Iohn*. *ibidem*
 Her strange present to the Queene, King *Iohn* wife. *ibidem*
Bridania. 159.6
Bridewell an house of correction, giuen to the City of *London*. 814.85
Bridgenorth, more truly *Brigdenorth*. 456.4
 M. *Bridger* Lieutenant of the Tower, his fauour to the *Ladie Elizabeth*. 823.60
 Brigants what people. 220.3
 They make an Insurrection, *ibidem*
 Subdued by *Petilius Cerealis*. 211.8
Brightned slaine by the *Danes*. 570.7
Brighwold, Monke of *Glaffenbury* his vision. 398.2
Brigit an holy maid, canonized a Saint. 630.35
Briget or *Brigit* a Monastery erected. 648.83
Brissow a fugitiue maintaineth *Queen Elizabeth*. 844.76
Brit or *Brith* 159.7 the original radix, or primitive of Britanic. *ibidem*
 What it signifieth. *ibidem*
 Britaine Admirall of the seas. 155.1
 A Garden of pleasure. *ibidem*
 Store-house of profite. *ibidem*
 Lady of all other Ilands. *ib.*
 Another world. 155.2
 The great Iland. *ibidem*
 Compared to a dish, or two headed axe. 155.3
 Discovered to bee an Iland. *ibidem*
 Thought to haue beene one continent with France. 155.4
 The bounds thereof. 155.3
 The length. *ibidem*
 The breadth. 156.8
 The site of Britaine. 156.6
 The aire and soile. 156.6, 7
 S f f f f f
 British seas warme. 156.8
 British sea-winds. *ibidem*
 British seas fit for traffike. *ibidem*
 The commodities thereof. *ibidem*
 Britaine aboundeth with all sorts of graine. 156.9
 The feat of *Queene Ceres*. *ibidem*
 Well stored with timber. *ib.*
 A Paradise of pleasure. *ibidem*
 Britaine first discovered to be an Iland. 172.5
 In Britaine the nightes not void of flight. 156.10
 Britaine full of metall mines. *ibidem*
 Taken from the fortunate Ilands. 156.11
 Sustained eleuen Kings. 157.12
 British Empire limited with the *Orades* and *Pyrenean* mountains. 157.13
 Britains first names and inhabitants not discovered. 157.1
 How anciently stamped. 158.4
 First peopled from the *Galls* or *Gauls*. 162.6
 Britaine so named, first by the *Grecians*. 158.5
 Why so named. *ib.*
 Britaine first mentioned, by what *Greece* Writers. 160.7
 Peopled before *Noah* flood. 161.1
 Diuided into three Kingdomes. 160.9
 Britaine Sea coasts peopled out of *Belgia* and *Gallia*. 163.6
 Conquered by the *Romans* and reduced to a Monarchy. 177.15
 Without forraign garrison, and government in *Tiberius* *Cæsars* dayes. 191.4
 Britaine eaten by her owne vipers. 192.20
 Britaine the fairest plume in the *Romane* Diadem. 280.13
 Exhausted of her Natiues, & very flowre. 280.11
 Britaine or Britaine in France, annexed to the Crowne of France. 735.25
 Britaine or Britaign in France, defended by King *Henry* the seuenth against the French. 735.25
 Britaines downefall. 281
 Britaine abandoned of *Roman* Garrison. 281.1
 Conuerted her Conquerors to the faith of *Christ*. 205.14
 The first Prouince that by publicke ordinance recieued the faith. 205.18.22.6
 Wholly discovered by *Iulius* *Agricola*. 225.15
Britannus the father of *Celtice*. 159.6
 Britanes assisted the *Galls* against *Cæsar*. 162.8
 Their multiplicity, and communion of wiues. 167.6
 More giuen to warre then to husbandry. 167.7
 Their Diet. 167.7
 Slaine to the number of 80. thousand men. 200.20
 Professed Christianity before it came from *Rome*. 207.22
 Their batley drinke. 167.7
 Conuerted many Countries and by what preachers. 272.2
 Vnskillfull

THE TABLE.

Vnskillfull in making cheefe, 167.7
 Civilized by *Int. Agricol.* 211.13
 Their perfons. 166
 Britans the first Conuerts, 204
 Their customes and manners in old time, 166.167
 Britans fore infested by Scots and Picts 279.6
 Foraken quite of the Romans *ibidem*
 Britaines fle into *Wales*, and there remaine. 321.10
 Transported out of the llands to the Roman warres. 279.8
 Their Religion and Learning 167.8
 Sent into *Amorica*. 280.9
 Fle into *Amorica*. 280.10
 Fle diuers wayes, and are oppressed with famine 282.3.4
 Their commerce and traffike 169.10
 Trusting in God, vanquish Irish and Picts. 282.4
 Their shipping. 169.12
 In time of plenty, multiply finnes. 282.4.5
 Their manner of warre. 169.13
 Britans debarred passing ouer *Offier Ditch*. 349.17
 Britans liued long 167.4
 Their conditions and dispositions. *ibidem*
 Their domesticke matters. 167.5
 Britans driuen into the West-
 Angle of the Isle. 298.9
 Their townes and manner of building. 167.5
 Their Ambassage and speech to the Saxons 283.7
 Abandon the land. 290.12
 They died, and painted their bare bodies, and wore no garments. 167.2
 Britans and Galls like in many respects. 162.8
 They colored themselves with Wood 159.7
 The offspring of *Gomer*. 162.6
 Their ornaments. 167.2
 Some Britans clad in leather. *ibidem*
 Britans submission to *Caesar*, generally pretended by a second Ambassage. 184.7
 Their haire. 167.3
 They wauer in performance. 184.9
 They reuolt. *ibidem*
 Their complexio ns 167.3
 Their manner of fight. 185.13
 Their wit 167.3
 They assemble a great power 185.15
 Their horses; footmen and armour. 169.13
 Leaueth the field, and retire into their feuerall prouince. 186.8
 They sweare fealty to *Augustus Caesar*, and become subiect to the Romans. 189.5
 Pay tolls and custums to the Roman fateine. *ibidem*
 Detaine tribute and reuolt. 189.3
 Take heart againe *ibidem*
 Rebell in *Neroes* time. 198.9
 Britans wall, the Sea. 195.15
 Britan house in Holland. 192.3
Brithicke or *Bithricke* King of the West Saxons his coine. 299
Brithin a drinke. 159.6

British gouernement, in olde time. 170.1
 Not meere Monarchicall, somewhat Aristocratically. 170.1
 British States submit to *Caesar*. 183.3
 British women valourous in fight. 169.1
 British Nobility massacred. 285.8
 British women faire, & of good feature. 167.3
 British Writers vary from *Caesars* reports. 187.12
 British companies seruing *Caesar* in the warres. 280.11
 British Princes that withstood the Saxons from *Fortigern*, to *Cadwalader*. 312
Ralph Briton Treasurer of the Kings Chamber displaced. 517.31
 Briton 159.6
 Britona a Nimph 159.7
 Britons in France, came from the Britaines 159.6
 Britons dislike of the French kings gouernment. 594.9
George Brooke executed for treason. 886.15
 Sir *George Browne* beheaded. 720.36
Robert Bruce or *Bruse*, maketh head against King *Edward 2.* 557.21
 Purposeth to make himselfe King of *Scots* 550.49
 His escape and stratageme. *ibidem*
 He killeth *Cumin*. 550.49
 Crowned King of *Scotland*. *ibidem*
 Put to flight 550.5
 His misery *ibidem* 551
 His magnanimity. 551.51
 He maketh head againe. *ibidem* 53
 His modest and deuout carriage, against the battell. 557.21
 He inuadeth *Northumberland*. 557.18
 Hee dieth of the Leprie. 567.12
 His worthy praise *ibidem*
William de Bruse, or *Brusa* intercepted by the Welsh. 515.25
 Hanged by *Llewelin*, and wherefore *ibidem*
Thomas Bronghton an abettor to *Lambert* against *K. Henry* the seuenth. 734.18
 Slain in battell at *Stoke*. 733.22
Bruce supposed to bee the first progenitor of those in *Brutwick*. 284.1
Bruce after some, gaue name to Britaine. 158.6
Bruce descended from *Iupiter*. 163.11
Bruce the imaginary Stocke-father of the Britainers, neuer raigned in this world. 164.18
 His conquest of *Britain* cofuted. 165.20
 He with his Troians supposed to haue conquered Britaine. 163.11
Britis, a rousing people in Italy. 159.6
Henry Duke of Buckingham refused to come to *K. Richard* the 3. 719.32
 His forward affection to *Richard Duke of Gloucester*. 716.21

Falleth in dislike of him being King 716.21
 The occasions thereof. 716.21
 Prepareth war against King *Richard* third. 719.33
 He is beheaded. 720.35
Henry Duke of Buckingham his Oration in the *Quill hall* to the Commons of *London* 706.56
 the onely *Dadalus* and raifer of King *Richard* the 3. 710
Bulloigne besieged and won by King *Henry* the eight himselfe in person. 783.128
Bulloigne with other townes surrendered to the French. 811.65
Charles Duke of Burbon his desperate attempt. 761.53
 Slaine before *Rome*. *ibidem*
 Bastard of *Burbon* taken prisoner. 635.37
 At *Burdeaux* a stratagem against the French 573.55
Burdeaux deliuered to the English 666.60
Thomas Burdet Esquier beheaded for words wrefted. 688.103
Burdred the last Mercian King. 308.20
 He flieth the land, and lieth buried at *Rome*. *ibidem*
 His Coine. 308
Burgenbild King *Kennolfes* daughter. 347.8
Hubert de Burgh, the mirror of constant loyalty 509.3
 Gouernour of *K. Henry* the third his person, and chiefe Iusticiar of England 511.11
 He weddeth *Margaret* sister to *Alexander* King of *Scots* 511.12
Hubert de Burgh, or *Burgh*, Earle of *Kent*, incurreth the enuy of the Barons. 515.24
 In the Kings displeasure. 515.27
 His fall 516.30
 He taketh a Church, is rescued by his friends, & conuained into *Wales*. 519.39
 Reconciled to the King. 520.48
Hubert de Burgh Earle, put fro his place of chiefe Iusticiar. 517.31
 Called to a strict account. *ibidem*
 Articled against in points of treason, &c. 517.32.33
 He taketh *Saithuay*. 517.33.34
 Haled out of Sanctuary, restored to Sanctuary. 518.35
 Yeeldeth himselfe prisoner, and is committed to the Tower. 518.35
 His treasure deliuered to *K. Henry* the third 518.35
 In free prison, at the Castle of *Deuiffes*. *ibidem*
 Duke of *Burgundy* sends for aide to King *Henry* the 4. against the Duke of *Orleans*. 620.48
 Duke of *Burgoyne* or *Burgundy* doeth homage to *Signifmund* the Emperor for *Flanders*, and *Artois*. 635.39
 He taketh truce with King *Henry* the 5. 635.39
 Hee maketh a league with France contrary to his oath. 636.39
Charles Duke of Burgundy follied by King *Edward* the 4. for aid. 681.56
 Dissuaded by the Duke of

Somerfet. *ibidem*
Charles Duke of Burgundy com-
 porizeth with King *Edward* the fourth and with *Edmond* Duke of *Somerfet* 682.57
 Underhand he helpeth King *Edward* the fourth *ibidem*
 Burgundians sent to inhabit Britaine 252.8
 Buriall first allowed within the walles of Cities. 299.13
Thomas Lord Burrough, Lord Deputy of Ireland. 872.295
 His death. 873.297
Henry Burwaulf Bishoppe of *Lincolne* ioyneith with *Qa Isabel* against the *Spensers*. 561.51
Piers Butler, L. of *Osfor*, made L. Deputy of Ireland. 762.55
Elihan Butler supposed to haue beene contracted to King *Edward* the fourth. 712.3.
 C
 Struck out of *Caesars* name by lightning, what it portended 749.70
Jacke Cade rebelleth 664.50
 Stiled *Iohn Amend-all*, by the contrary, i. *Murre-all*, also Captaine of *Kent*. *ibidem*
 His demands. *ibidem*
 Hee entrench London. 664.52
 His behauiour there. *ibidem*
 Proscribed and killed by *Alexander Eden* 664.53
Cadiz voyaged. 864.266
Cadiz assaulted and surprised. 869.272
Cadwalader last King of the Britans. 723
 His Armes. *ibidem*
 Dieth at *Rome* in religious habite. 723
 There buried. *ibidem*
Cadwalador a valiant and victorious Prince. 323
 His raigne. *ibidem*
Cadwalador Prince of *Wales*, when he raigned. 164.6
 His story doubtfull. *ibidem*
Cadwallo or *Cadwallin* King of the Britans. 322
 Ioynd in amity with *Penda* King of the Mercians. 323
 A most wicked Prince. *ibidem*
 Slaine in battell. 322
 Buried in London. *ibidem*
 His cast-image of brass vpon *Ludgate*. *ibidem*
 Thrown downe by *Egbert* 348.6
Cadwan King or Ruler of the Britans in *Wales*. 322
 His raigne *ibidem*
Caen in Normandy wonne by King *Henry* the 5. 636.43
Celestine the Pope dashed the Emperours Crowne to the ground. 474.24
Celestin scholar to *Pelagius* 277.10
Caesar a glorious name. 190.7
Iulius Caesar first enterer, but not conquerour of Britaine. 172.3
 See more in *Iulius*.
Calabria sometimes named *Prytania*. 159.6
Calais besieged by *K. Edward* the third. 579.102
 In *Calais* a Colonie of English planted. 580.108
 Yeelded to King *Edward* 3. 580.108
 Besieged

besieged by *Philip Duke of Burgundy*. 639.30
 The siege raised by *Humfrey Duke of Gloucester*. 639.30
Calais harboreth the Yorkists 664.76
Calais besieged by the Duke of *Guise*. 829.114
 Surrendered to the French with great dishonour of the English. 830.117
 See more in *Calais* or *Callis*
 Calamities in England during *William Conqueror* his raign 421.47
Caledonians a German descent. 162.7
Caledonians craue peace. 299.7
 Rebel, and are massacred by *Seuerus* 229.11
Caledonians in Britain most pusillat 213.5
C. Caligula Caesar his parents. 191.1
 His Coines. *ibidem*
 His ridiculous expedition & letters 175.7
 His prodigality 191.1
 His contrary conditions. *ibidem*
 He was cruel and libidinous. *ibidem*
 His vile actions. *ibidem*
 His glorious vanity. 192.3
 He deludeth the Senate. *ibidem*
 He intended to inuade Britaine 192.2
 His warre with the Sea. 192.3
 His ridiculous victory. *ibidem*
 His ambition and crueltye. 192.5
 His death how complocted. *ibidem*
 Hated after death. 192.6
Calpurnius or *Calphurnius Agricola* his inscription vpon the Picts wall 222.5
 Lieutenant in Britain. 221.5
Callis claimed by Queene *Eli-zabeth* 832.7
Callais surprised & turns Spanisht. 868.260
 See more in *Calais*.
Camalodunum. i. *Maldon* in Essex. 174
 Surprised by *Claudius Caesar* 194.10
 Made a Colony of Romane Citizens. *ibidem*
Cambrisi, i. *Wales* 160.9
 the partition thereof. *ibidem*
Cambridge Vniuersity supposed to be founded by *Sigebert* King of the East Angles 310.5
 Goeth beyonde all other Schooles. *ibidem*
Laurence Campeius Cardinal, in Commiffion with Cardinal *Wolsey*, about the diuorce betweene King *Henry* the 8. and *Katherine of Spain*. 767.69
 He stayeth sentence of diuorce and departeth 686.74
 Suspected of theuery and searched 768.74
 Cardinal *Campeius* sent into England as Legate from Pope *Leo* the tenth. 757.31
 His honourable receiving, and lately riding to London 758.31
 His treasures shewed with shame in *Cheapside* 758.32
Campobachi Earles in the Kingdom of *Naples*, whence descended. 507.70
Cangis people in Britain. 195.12

First Canons Regular in England 454.52
Cantebury giuen to *Anthon* the Monke 330.8
Cannus King of *Denmark* and *England*. 379.32
 Winneth the Ioue of the English. 379.34
 Disfembreth the English hostages 374.34
Cannus with *Harold*, inuade England, and compound for a tribute. 379.35.36
 Elpoufeth Queene *Emma* 390.4
 Hee refuseth to weare the Regall Crowne 456.9
 His Pilgrimage to *Rome*. 391.11
 His letters from *Rome* to the Bishops and Nobles of England 391.12
 Complaineth of the Popes extortions 391.12
 His Apothege to conuince his flatterers 392.15
 His humility. 392.15.16
Cannus his care of iustice and Religion. 392.12
 His Munificence. 392.13
 His buildings. 392.13.14
 His bounty to Monasties. *ibidem*
 His descent and pedigree. 392.17
 Hee crowneth the Crucifixe with the Crowne that hee wore. 205.17
Cannus the Dane, Monarch of England. 390.1
 His Armes and coine. *ibidem*
 Crowned at London. 390.2
 His good lawes. 391.7
 His expedition into Scotland against King *Malcolme* 391.11
 Sir *William Capell* Alderman of London, commanded to the Tower of London by *Edmond Dudley* a Promoter 750.70
Caractacus a renowned Prince of the *Silures*, his Coine. 195.13
 His manner of encamping. *ibidem*
 His resolution, and animating of his Souldiers. 195.13
 Put to flight. 195.14
 His wife, daughter and brethren taken prisoners. 194.14
 Resisted the Romans nine yeeres. *ibidem*
 Betrayed by Queene *Carismandua*. *ibidem* 176
 Led in triumph. *ibidem*
 His habite and attire. *ibidem*
 His vndaunted spirit. *ibidem*
 His oration to *Claudius Caesar*. 195.15
 Pardonned by *Claudius Caesar*. 195.16
Caracalla Cardinal accuseth Cardinal *Poole*, and asketh him forgiveness. 826.80.83
 Pope by the name of *Pant* the fourth 826.84
Carauajur a Britaine rebelleth. 254.4
 His coin. *ibidem* 255.8
 His parentage. 254.5
 His policy to become rich. *ibidem*
 Vfurpeth and enioyeth the Empire 7 yeeres 255.7
 Maketh peace with *Maximianus*. *ibidem*
 His good gouernment in Britaine. *ibidem*
 Murdered perfidiously by *A. Iellius*. 255.8

Cardigan field lost by the English against the Welsh. 446.6
 Cardinals 2. sent from Pope *Benedict* the 12. to treat about a peace betweene France and England, but in vaine. 571.45
 Cardinals Hat deliuered to Cardinal *Wolsey* in great pompe 757.26
 Cardinals not wel learned. 440
Carentine in Normandy burnt to ashes by King *Edward* the third 577.73
Carinus, *Caesar* and *Augustus* with his father *Carus*. 253.2
 Slaine *ibidem*
Carleil recified. 429.18
 Endowed with priuiledges. *ibidem*
Carleil in the Scots hand. 446.7
Carlingford skirmish disastrous to the Irish Rebels. 874.312
Carriage what it is. 526.68
Carver his good seruice at *Bul-loigneberg*. 811.63
Carriage when built by *Dido*. 165.21
Carismandua Queene of the Brigantes. 170.2
 Falleth in loue with *Vellonatus* 196.20
 Her aduerty, disloyalty and treachery 176.12
Carus a King in *Kent*. 173.3
Carus Emperor with *Carinus*, and *Numerianus*. 253.2
 His birth. *ibidem*
 Their Coines. *ibidem*
 Killed with a thunderbolt. 253.3
Cascais Castle in Portugal surprised by Sir *Francis Drake* 865.239
Cassan king of *Tartary* guesthe Turkes a great ouerthrow, and is baptizd. 549.41
Cassian what Country they inhabited 173.2
Cassibela a British Prince. 173.3
 His Seignory and Coine. *ibidem* 186.5.183
 Brother to King *Lnd*. *ibidem*
 General of the war against *Iulius Caesar* 186.6
Cassibela besieged in *Verulam*. 186.9
 Hee repulsed *Caesar* twice. 187.12
 His Coine. 186.5
Cassius Posthumus an vrsper in the Romane Empire. 146.3
 His death and his finnes. *ibidem*
 Lord of *Castell* a Briton, burnt *Plumouth*, and slaine by the people of *Deuonshire*. *ibidem* 618.40
 Castles raised by King *Henry* 2. 453
 Castles cast down. 467.83
 Castles generally both raised, and razed in England. 466.5
Castris *Exploratorum*. i. old *Carleil*. 238.2
Cassacrus, the sonne of *Kimbelius*, or *Cambeline*, taken prisoner. 193.5
 Lead Captiue in *Rome*. 193.5
 A Catalogue of pecuniary aids in 28 yeeres space of *K. Henry* the third. 526.68
 Sir *William Catesby* a Counsellor King *Richard* the 3. beheaded. 725.38
Catesby depepe *Lewyer* and dissembler, to *William L. Hastings* Lord Chamberlaine. 702.41

Set to found the L. *Hastings*. *ibidem*
 Falleth to the Lord *Hastings* his founder. *ibidem*
Cateby a Conspirator & chiefe plotter of the Gunpowder treason. 890.41
Catharine. See *Katharine*.
Cathari what heretickes, 206.19
Catti in Germany from whence the Saxons should come. 285.8
Catus See *Decianus*.
Causin, certaine Roman Vrsuers in England 521.52
Caufeys or high-ways in Britaine made by *Trainis*. 218.7
 Cautionary townes and forts in the Low-Countries deliuered into Queene *Elizabeths* hands. 855.166
Ceadwall, or *Ceadwalla*, a glorious King of the West-Saxons 298.10
 His descent and exploits. *ibidem*
 His vow to God. *ibidem*
 His bloudshed in *Kent*. 298.10
Ceadwall his repentance, baptism death, buriall and Epitaph. *ibidem*
 He killeth *Edilmach* 293.6
Cearlick or *Cearlick* of the West-Saxons his raigne. 297.5
Ceanlin or *Cheanlin* King of the West-Saxons disposessed, and slaine. 297.4
Ceanlin or *Cheanlin* Monarch of the English. 328.
 His Armes. *ibidem*
 His victories. *ibidem*
 Flieth out of the field. *ibidem*
 His raigne and death in exile. 329.
 His issue. *ibidem*
Cecilio, daughter of *William Conqueror*, a vailed Nunne, and Abbess of *Canunberie*. 426.72
Celts and *Gauls* our fathers. 162.8
Celte whence so called. 159.6
Celtinagor, a people where they dwelt. 173.2
Ceolnoth Archbishoppe of *Cantebury* his Coine. 365.14
Ceolnoth King of *Northumberland*, a peaceable and victorious Prince. 305.16
 Became a Monke in *Lindeforne* Mle, or *holy Hand*. *ibidem*
Ceolwulf the last lineall King of the Mercians 308.15
 Expelled out of his kingdom. *ibidem*
Ceorl King of the Mercians. 306.3
Charemon Bishoppe of *Nihus*. 242.3
 Chaire of marble transfused out of Scotland vnto *Wol-minster* 547.21
 The prophesie of it now fulfilled. *ibidem* 85.10
Chinus castle wonne by King *Richard* the first. 481.69
Cham his offspring seated in *Africa* 161.2
 His posterity vntuly supposed to haue conquered & inhabited Britaine. 162.10
 Sir *John Chandos* an expert Capitaine slaine. 587.143
Chardford a Towne why lo called. 326.2
Chariot fight vied by Britans. 169.13
 Charity

THE TABLE.

Charity to the poore regarded
of God by a miraculous ex-
ample 521.50
Charles the great his Speare
lent vnto Ethelstane or Al-
thelstane 564.12
Charles Prince of Achens de-
ceded out of Captiuitie by
king Edward the first 543.16
Charles K. of Sicillie, perished
at Sea 542.3
Charles de Blois taken prisoner
580.106
Charles Earle of Flanders, a title
for the Dukedome of Bre-
taine Armoricaine 584.128
His claime vnto that Duchy
574.69
Charles the Dauphin, Regent
of France whiles King John
his Father, was prisoner in
England 583.122
Charles the Dauphin, disabled
for succcession to the crowne
of France 643.54 644.56
His complots to vphold him-
selfe 584.52
Enfiled King of Berry 651.2
Charles, a third sonne of Ma-
thew Earle of Lennox, by
Margaret daughter of Ar-
chibald Douglas, and father
of the Lady Arbella 752.75
Charles Duke of Burbon, King
Henry the eight his Cham-
pion and Capitaine generally,
against Francis the French
King 758.35
Condemned in France of trea-
son 761.54
Charles Brandon Duke of Sul-
fholme, entred France in ho-
stilitie, and winneth diuers
places 760.48
See more in Brandon.
Charles the son of Philip duke
of Burgundy promitteth to
side with King Henry the
sixth 682.55
His hote speech vnto K. Ed-
ward the fourth 687.94
Slaine at the battle of Maury
689.105
Charles Duke of Burgundy,
wedded Margaret siter to
Edward the fourth King of
England 678.27
Bends himself against Richard
Neuil Ea. of Warwick 680.42
See more in Burgundy
at the letter B.
Charles Duke of Orleans long
time prisoner in England
660.37
Set at liberty for a ranfome.
ibid.
His enlargement opposed by
Humphrey Duke of Gloucester.
Charles the fifth, Emperour, his
greatnesse and many Domi-
nions 764.61
He pretendeth marriage with
the Lady Mary K. Henry 8.
his Daughter 764.62
He with the Queene of Ar-
ragonne cometh into England,
to breake peace with France.
758.33
He cometh into England a-
gaine & affianceth Lady Ma-
ry K. Henry the 8. his daugh-
ter 758.37
He departeth out of England
& falleth for Spaine 760.42
Sore aggrieved at the Popes
Captiuitie 761.54
Charles the fifth K. of France,
furnamed the wise, his cun-
ning practises against the
English 585.135
He quarrelleth with Edward
the second K. of England
581.49
Hee summoneth Edward the
blacke Prince to Paris
584.126
Charles the sixth K. of France
a young, foolish, and vaine
glorious prince, intendeth
the inuasion of England 599.48
Phrenticke 612.9
Stricken into a Lunacy 617.25
Vpon what occasion and how
640.44 45 &c.
He seeth a spectre in forest of
Meaux 640.46
His Death 651.2
Charles the seuenth crowned
King of France 655.17
His dishonorable association
with Philip duke of Burgun-
die 657.24
Charles the eighth K. of France
practiseth to ioinie Britaigne
Armoricaine to his Crowne.
734.24
He pretendeth marriage with
Margaret daughter of Ma-
ximilian the Emperour, but
intendeth to marry Anne
Dutcheffe and heire of Bri-
taine 736.28
He marieth Anne dutcheffe
of Britaigne and annexeth it
to the Crowne of France 736.29
Charles Cardinall of Burbon
proclaimed Lieutenant go-
uernour of France and slayed
Charles the tenth 867.255
Charles Mount, a Fort erected
in Vlyber, by Charles Blount,
Lord Montjoy 876.324
Magna Charta confirmed, 572
54
Confirmed twelue times by
King Edward 3. 584.126
Charta de foresta confirmed. ib.
Charter of William Conqueror
to Norman hunter 424.59
Charter of London by K. William
Conqueror 424.6
Charters and Liberties gran-
ted by King Henry the third
513.13
Reuoked and cancelled, 514
23
Chastillon Admirall of France,
wounded 876.35
Treacherously & barbarously
murdered 876.35
Monsieur Chastillon raiseth a
battillion before Bulloigne
783.132
Repelled with losse from Bul-
loigne 811.62
Sir Geoffrey Chaucer, our Laure-
at Poet 589.154 590
When he liued 589.154
Chedwal or Cendwal the most
famous King of the West-
Saxons 297.7
Cheirburgh in Normandy mor-
gaged to King Richard the
second 593.6
Chelred K. of Mercia and Mo-
narch of the English 341.6
307.9 342.2
His armes 342
His wife, raigne, and death
307.9 ibid.
His buriall 307.9 ibid.
He fighteth a battell with Inas
ibid.
Chelwalf King of the West-Sax-

ons, his vaigne and death

397.6

Cheridick entred Britaine 326

327

His Armes 326

The first King of the West-Sax-
ons 326

His raigne, issue, and death 326

His Genealogie 326

Cheridick thore 296.2

Cheridickford now Charsford
ibid.Chesline King of West-Saxons
& Monarch of the English 328

His Armes 328

Henry Chicheley Archbishop of
Canterbury, a stout Champi-
on against Wickliffe doctore
626.17His pollicy to diuert the King
and state from looking into
the Clergie 626.19Chichester built by King Cissa
326.7 296.2

Children, Martyrs 242.37

Chilham Castle in Kent, by
whom built 507.74Chinen besieged and surprised
494.33

Chistbury a fort, founded 296.2

Christ suffered death in Tiberius
Cesaris time 191.5

Christian Bishops 206.19

Christians sinnes, cause of their
miseries 256.16Christianissimus, the French
King his title vnto King
Lewis the 12. from Pope Inno-
cent the second 776.20Christian King of Denmarke
with his Queene come into
England 760.47A counterfeit Christ or pseudo-
Christ detected and executed
by immuration 512.13Christiana, daughter of Edward
the outlaw, a Nunne in Ram-
sey in Hampshire 84.21Christian and Turkish captiues
beheaded 476.35Christian Religion groweth vp
at Rome in Nerous court
197.4Christians persecuted by Nero
ibid.Chistians obtaine raigne by prai-
er 221.3Chrysanthus, Lieutenant of
Britaine, made Bishop of
Constantinople 277.10Chrysanthus a Christian British
professor 206.19Churchlands withhold bring
a curse to the withholders
528.71Churchlands not to be aliena-
ted 888.27

Cimbricia Chersonesus 161.6

The original of the English
and British 161.6The wombe that brought
foorth Nations that conque-
red vs 411.3Cimbri or Combi, a Colony
led into Italy 161Cimbri or Comeri, a name com-
mon to Britons and their
neighbours 159Cincia, Cynthia, or Scientia, si-
ster to King Henry the third,
his wife 526.67Married most sumptuously to
Richard Earle of Cornwall.
526.67

Cingetorix a king in Kent 173

Taken prisoner 186

A Canna murdered by Titus
Emperour 212.4Cissa king of the South-Saxons
295.2

His raigne 296.2

Cissarian Abbots denie aide to
King John 487.11Cits-Cotibose, Catigorne his
monument 290.9Civill warre betweene York
and Lancaster, trayed by
occasion of a fray 668.70John Clapham his stratageme
679.34Clarendon Councell in Wiltshire
458.18Clarence and Clarencieux, titles
whence they come 589.158Duke of Clarence slaine in fight
by the Scots 646.67Richard Claringdon, reputed
base son of Edward the black
Prince 616.26Hanged for his affection to
his brother king Richard the
second 594.10Dutcheffe of Clarence, deliue-
red of child vpon shipboord
Clarke a Priest condemned for
Treason, executed 886.15Claudianus the Receiver, and
Suetonius the Generall at
odds in Britaine 200.23

Claudius Drusus Caesar 193

His parentage and right to
the Empire 193.5

His Coines 194.5

Entred Britaine in person,
with a great Army 175

His clemency to Britons 194

Honoured of the Britanes as a
God 194.11Entred Rome in triumph of
Britaine 194.11Claudius Caesar his words, occa-
sion of his death 196.22

He dieth of poison 196.22

His endowment of Body, ibid.

His imperfections 196.22

First Conquerour of the Bri-
tanes 196.22His triumph for the Conquest
of Britanes 196.22Claudius Emperour. See
Tacitus.Claudia Rufina, a Lady that em-
braced the Faith 203.7The fame that Saint Paul, and
the Poet Martialis doe speake
of 205.15Cleric a Schoolemaster, raiseth
rebellion in Norfolke 828Clemens Maximus rebelleth &
is slayed Emperour 272.5

His coine 272.5

He is beheaded 272.5

Clement the Pope with his Car-
dinals, besieged in the Ca-
stle of S. Angelo 760.54Pope Clement the eighth his
Bulles to prohibit succcession
in the Crowne of England,
to any after the death of
Queene Elizabeth, vntill hee
were a Catholicke 844.4

Burned by Garnet 844.4

Saint Clements Dames, a Church
without Temple Barre wher
he called 396.3Cleopatra. Queene of Egypt
199.19Clergy vntre to King Edmund
and swear fealty to Canu-
tus 381.1Clergy-men Comotors ex-
ecuted 778.99Clergy mens dissolute life and
impunity, in King Henry the
second his time 457.12.13.

Clergy

THE TABLE.

Clergy men degenerate, as
well as tame foule become
wild in William Conqueror
his time 611.47
Clergies excesses complained
of in Parliament 626.18
Clergy giuen to fleshly de-
lights 412.35
Lord Clifford slaine with an
headlie arrow 675.6
Walter Clifford forceth an offi-
cer to cate his Writ, &c. 539.
75
Sir Roger Clifford beheaded for
attempting against King Ri-
chard the third 720.36
Robert de Clifford slaine at Ban-
nockburne 558.25
Sir Robert Clifford ioineth with
the Dutches of Burgundie, in
setting vp Perkin Warbeck.
ibid.
Clito, an Addition proper to
the Kings sonnes of England.
553.6
Clodius Balbinus Emperour with
Pupienus Max. 237
His descent 237
Cl. Balbinus his Coine 237
Clothworkers, and Cloth-ma-
king in England, much
esteemed of by King Edward
the 3. 571.43
Lord Cobham assailed by Wat
in Cowling Castle 819.33
Henry Brooke Lord Cobham, ar-
raigned and condemned for
treason 886.4
Reprised 886.4
Captaine Cobler a Priest execu-
ted 718.99
Cochricus a King of the Danes
slaine 350.4
Coggeshall Abbey founded 454
49
Cogidunus, a British King 175
He raigneth ouer certain Ci-
ties in Britaine, ibid. 194.4
Coiffy a Bishop delitoyeth idols
Altars, &c. 334.7
Colius a British King 287.3
Coines of Britanes 169
By what forme knowne.
280.12
Coines of false money how
punished 435.4
Coines made purer 834.11
Coines first stamped in Britaine,
189.6
William Collingbourne cruelly
executed for making a
Rhime 720.37
Colman his speeches touching
the celebration of Easter 331
12
Colonie English the first in Ire-
land 463.55
Colonies of Romans the feede-
plots of all our Cities 232.
7
Christopher Columbus discou-
ereth America 746.62
Columns or pillars set vpon
the Caucasus in Britaine 218.
7
Combat betweene John Ppton
and John Down in Smithfelde
655.19
John Cumberton, alias Cumber-
towne. See John Northamp-
ton 598.43
Combi, See Cimbri.
A Comet or blazing starre for
thirty dayes in England 571.
44
A Comet or blazing star 667
64
Comets prodigious 294.1
A Comet in King Harolds time
404.18
John Comin Lord of Strabogie,
submitte to King Edward
the first 547.30
Philip Comines sent for Charles
Duke of Burgundy vnto Ca-
lais to found Flanders, 682.
55
Comius of Arras his Coine.
172.1
The first in Britaine, ib. 182.3
King of the Atrebatij in Bri-
taine 182.3
Commodus Emperour 224.1
His Coine 224.1
His qualities 224.2
His death plotted 224.3
Murdered by his wife and o-
thers 225.8
His raigne and age 225.8
His portraict 225.8
Styled *Hofia humani generis*
ibid.
Commons spared in the Sub-
sidie 594.10
Commotion in Cornwall for
maintenance of Popery 805
20
Commotions for Enclosures,
807.30
Commotion in Norfolke for
Enclosures vnder Ket. 31
Cardinal Coms his letter to
Parry, confirming him in
his intended treason 849.
101
Competitors for the Crown of
Scotland 547.27
They submit to the awarde
of King Edward the 1. 546
20
Composition between Saxons
and Britons 289.2
Between Robert Curthois, &
King Henry the first his bro-
ther 435.9
Composition treated of at Ar-
ras, between French, Eng-
lish, and Burgundians 657
23
Computation of yeeres by the
Scripture, most certain 166
23
Computation of yeeres much
different in Writers 165.23
Con-Onel a right Irish 837.18
Submitte to King Henry
the eight 837.39
Surnamed Bucca, wherefore,
837.38
King of Conaught rebelleth, &
is taken prisoner 516.28
Conference of Diuines about
gouernment of the Church,
and the Liturgy 876.18
Conference as touching points
of Religion 832.5
Confirmation of children how
allowable 887.20
Sir Coniers Clifford Gouverneur
of Conaught, slaine in fight,
873.303
Coniers a Chaplain in Kets re-
bellion 807.34
Sir John Coniers rebelleth a-
gainst King Edward the 4.
679
Conan planteth Armoricaine with
Britons 280.9
Conquest a Castle in Normau-
die won 635.42
Conrad a Marquesse murdered
at Tyre, wherefore 477.43
Conspiracy against K. James of
Great Britaine revealed 885.9
Conspiracy for the deliuey of
King Richard the second de-
posed begun 613.12
Chiefe Conspirators who
they were 613.12
Discouered by whom 613.12

Conspirators against K. James
who they were 885.10
Entred and condemned.
875.11
Constance wife to Geoffrey, son
to King L. Iury the second,
470.105
Constance daughter of William
Conqueror 426.73
Wife to Rannulph Earle of
Chester, leaues her husband,
and is married to one Guido
485.5
Constance the sonne of one Con-
stantine, of a Monke became
Emperour 276.6
Slaine 276.6
Constance his part of the Em-
pire 262.2
Constantine sonne of Cadoc, K.
of the Britons 318
His wicked life described by
Gildas 319
Slaine 319
Constantine the Great, Empe-
rour 259.1
The first Christian Emperour, a
Britaine 259.13
Constantine the Great, Caesar
to his father Constantius
Chlorus 257.3
His birth and parentage,
249.9 259.2
His Attributes 260.8
His staies in Britaine 260.9
His sword 364.12
His Coine 259.9
He altereth the forme of go-
uernment 260.11
He drew the Prouinces for-
ces to Constantinople 261.14
Hee established Christianity
261.15
His Baptisme 261.18
His death and sepulture 261
17
His 3. sonnes, successors
261.18
Their Coines 262
Constantine built by Constan-
tine the Great 261.12
Loft by a Constantine 261.13
Constantine the younger his son,
what part hee had in the
Empire 262.1
Slaine 262.1
Constantine of a common sol-
dier for names sake made
Emperour 276.6
Allowed by Honorius, ibid. 7
Beheaded 276.6
Constantius sonne of Constan-
tine the Great, what part he
had in the Empire 262.1
Slaine 262.1
Sole Emperour 263.4
Disquieted with an apparition
263.2
His death, age & raign 264
9
He fauoured Arrians, ibid.
His vertues and vices, ibid.
His personage 264.11
The place of his buriall, ibid.
Constantine the younger 2
Constantius the younger 5
Their Coines 262
Constantinus Chlorus, Caesar to
Maximianus Emperour.
254.4
His Coine 257
Emperour with Galerius,
257.1
Why called Chlorus 257.3
His vertues 257.3
His small port and frugality
257.5
His policy to trie true Chri-
stians 258.6

S s s s s s s

THE TABLE.

ford, 824.66
Thomas Cranmer disablieth the Bishop of *Rome's* authority, against the word of God, 769
 Graced by the Pope with the office of Penitentiarius, 769.79
Cranmere Castle erected by King *Stephen*, 453.43
Peter-Croan King *Charles* the sixth his Minion, makes debate between the Duke of *Oyleance* and his Dutcheffe, 640.44
 Dismissed the Court, fleeth into *Bretaigne*, *ibid.*
Credington, alias *Cridington*, a Bishops See removed to *Excester*, 401.25
 Cardinal *Gremenst* the Popes Legate restraineth Priests of marriage, 440.46
 Himself taken with a whore, *ibid.*
 Returneth homewith thame *ibid.*
Crescy battell 577.87 &c.
Creswell a Iesuite his traitorous Booke 849.113
Crida first King of the Mericans his descent, raigne and Issue, 306
Crispian, *Constantine* the Great his base sonne put to death, 260.8
ibid.
 His Coine, *ibid.*
Sir James Crisp arraigned for *Watts* conspiracy, and pardoned, 821.47
Cromer, high Shiriffe beheaded by *Elifex* Rebels, 664.53
Thomas Lord Cromwell his rasing, 772.94
 A Blacke-Smithes sonne, *ib.*
Thomas Cromwell maketh the marriage between *K. Henry* the eight, and *Anne of Cleve*, 775.105
 Lord *Cromwell* emprisoned, 779.106
 After his death attained in Parliament, 779.106
 Himself made an ad, occasion of his owne death, 779.107
 Beheaded, *ibid.*, 108
 Cause of his death, his dislike of *Katharine Howard*, and defence of *Anne of Cleve*, 779.107
 Crosses of sundry colours, badges of *Christ* his Souldiers, 469.98
 The Crosse in *Decentius* his time, 263.3
 The Crosse what forme it had, 259.4
 Crosses erected in honour of *Queene Eleanor*, King *Edward* the 1. his wife, 455.16
 Crosse, the first erected in *England*, 236.3
 The Crosse at *Winchester* of great value, 392.19
 Crossebacke, or Crossehead, where it came, 285.8.39.107
 Crowched or Crossef Fraters, why so called, 285.8
Crowland Monastery founded, 307.10.343.4
 Crowne-lands in the possession of the Barons, how *K. Henry* the third recovered, 512.16
 Crownes of *England* and *Ireland* entailed by Parliament vpon King *Henry* the 6. his heires males lawfully begotten, 681.53
 In remainder vpon the heires

of *George Duke of Clarence*, 682.53
 Crucifixion forbidden by *Constantine* the Great, 512.13
Henry Cusse executed at *Tiborn*, 880.344
Thomas Calpepper hanged at *Tiburne* for adultery with *Queene Katherine Howard*, 880.344
Cumbra a faithfull Counsellor to King *Sigebert*, murdered by him, 299.14
Cumbri, i. Welshmen, 161
Rob. Cumis with his Normans slaine in *Durham*, 475.15
John Cumis Earle of *Bucquison*, Gouverneur of *Scotland* vnder King *Edward* the second
 Vanquished, *ibid.*
 Chosen of the Scots their Gouverneur, 549.42
Cunegislaus a Prince of the Britains, 321
 Described by *Gildas*, *ibid.*
Cunobelin or *Kimbeline* King of the Trinobantes, 189.6
 His Coines, 174
 In his time Iesus *Christ* our Sauour borne, 174
John Curcy Earle of *Wiltshire*, his rough and rude speech to *K. John* of *England*, 492.28
 A mighty strong Champion, 492.26
 After long imprisonment set at liberty by King *John*, 492.26
 He neuer could recouer *Ireland* though oft attempted, 492.26
Curist, alias *Isacius* Emperour of the *Griffons*, a Tyrant, spoileth King *Richard* the first his shippes, 475.26
 His inhumane demeanor to *Queene Berengaria* and other Ladies, *ibid.*
 Put into fetters of siluer & gold, with his onely daughter, and led into Captiuitie by King *Richard* the first, *ibid.*, 27
 Sent to *Tripolis* in *Syria*, *ib.*, 29
 His Imperiall Standard offered vpon by *K. Richard* the first, at the Abbey of *Saint Edmund*, 479.55
Sir Robert Curson Captaine of the Castle of *Hamme* neere *Calais*, like a *Synon* betrayeth *Edmond de la Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*, 748.67
 Customes called *Auita*, 458.18
Cuth a valiant warrior, 297.14
Slaine, *ibid.*
Cuthburga King *Offrics* wife becometh a Nunne, 299.9
Cuthburga King *Ofreds* wife, a Nunne, 304.13
Cuthred King of *West-Saxons*, 299.13
 His Coine, *ibid.*
 His raigne, death and Issue, *ibid.*
Cuthred King of *Kent*, 295.16
Cuthwin sonne of *Cheaulin*, 329
Cymbertus, 163
 Cyprus the Ile, with some prouinces of *Syria*, subdued by King *Richard* the first, 157.
 Cyprus committed in haffe to *Richard de Camille*, *K. Richard* his Viceroyes, 475.30

D
Sir Thomas Dagworth his valiant exploits in Little *Bretaigne*, 880.106
 Slaine by *Richard Rauld de Cahors*, 880.106
Damianus, alias *Diulianus*, a great Clerke, 206.18
Danes compound with the English, 357.8
 Sue to *Elfred* for peace, 357.15
 Arruall in *Britaine*, 300.16
 Baptized, 357.16
 Inuade and infect this Iland, 308.10.311.15
 Arruied vpon the coast of *Kent* in King *Ethelred* his dayes, 375.3
 They doe much harme in *Deuonshire*, *ibid.*
 Discomfite the English, 349.12
 Inuade sundry partes of *England* at once, 376.7
 Sent out of the land by King *Canutus*, 391.5
 Haue money paid at diuers times, 378
 Massacred, 377.16
 Vanquished by King *Egbert*, 349.13
 They take and fire diuers Cities and Townes, 378.24
 The *Danes* fifth Inuasion, 350.2
 They take *Elphagus* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*, and slay 900. Monks, 378.26
 Their manner of Tithing men to slaughter, *ibid.*
 Destroy Monasteries, and murder all in them, 354.5
 Possessed of the Crowne of *England*, 384.23
 Discomfited in sundry places, 350.4.5
 From whence descended, 385.4
Danegile, 378.30.389.13
 To what summe it arole, 389.13
 Remitted, 399.7
Daner whence deriued, 386.6
 Giuen to Piracies from the first, 386.8
 Therefore called *Wicings*, *ibid.*
 Named also Pagans, Deniscan, and Heathen men, *ibid.*
 Their ancient Religion, or superstition, 386.9
Danes first arruied at *Teignemuth* in *Deuonshire*, 387.1
Danes, vpon what motives first they attempted *England*, 388.5.6
 Their murderous facts at sundry times, 389.12
 Casthered and disabled from raigning any more, 399.3
 A *Dane* of great valour, 405.22
Danes converted first to Christianity here in *Britaine*, 205.17
Danes with English fugitiues inuade *England* in *William Conquerours* daies, 417.16
 Put to flight, 418.17
Daniel Bishop of *West-Saxons*, 163
Daniels Prophecie fulfilled, 236.13

William Danbeny beheaded for *Perkin Warbeck* his conspiracy, 739.37
Dauciones, supposed ancestors of the *Danes*, 385.4
Sir Philip d'Arcy alias *Darcy* appeareth *S. Henry de Bath* a bribing Iudge, of Treason charging *Sir Charles Dauter* beheaded on Tower hill, 880.344
David King of Scots inuaded *England*, 446.7
 Winneth *Carleil* and *Newcastle*, *ibid.*
 Reinuadeth *Northumberland*, 447.11.4
 His Soldiers inhumane cruelty, *ibid.*
David brother to the King of Scots taketh part against *K. Henry* the 2. 465.65
David Prince of Wales, inuadeth the English Marches, 526.67
 Seeketh to draw his head out of the yoke, from the King of *England*, 526.67
David Prince *Llewellyn* brother surpriseth *Hawardin* Castle, 544.13
 Hanged, headed, and quartered, 545.15
David Bruce King of *Scotland*, while he was Prince, married *Iona*, daughter to King *Edward* the second, 367.11
 King *David* the second with his *Queene* fly into *France*, 568.25
 They returne into *England*, 579.35
 He inuadeth *England*, whiles *Calais* is besieged by the English, 580.162
 Vanquished and taken prisoner, *ibid.*
 Lodged vnder sure garde in the Tower of *London*, 580.105
 Set at liberty vpon a ransomne *Spain*, 582.119
 From King *David* vnto *Zadachiah* what time, 578.2
 Earle of *Deane* taken prisoner and freed by leauing his son hostage, 593.7
 Earle of *Deanes* sonne his ruse fidelity and honesty, 594.11
 Dearth and Death in *Gasconade*, *ibid.*
 Laders time, 323
 Dearth and mortality, 376.5
 Debate between *Simon Montford* Earle of *Leicester*, and *Richard* Earle of *Gloucester*, 538.112
Decentius *Cesar* hanged himselfe, 263.3
Decimus his oppression in *Britaine*, 198.9
 Fleeth into *Gallia*, *ibid.*, 15
Decius murdered *Philips* Father and sonne, 241.3
 His birth, 241.2
 Persecuteth Christians *ibid.*
Decius enforced to bee Emperour, 241.5
 His ignoble death, 242.4
 Defender of the Church, a title giuen to *Charles* the fifth Emperour, vpon what occasion, 759.39
 Defender of the Faith, a title giuen to King *Henry* the 8. wherefore, 759.39
 Deification of *Roman* Emperours, 231.4
Deira, a Prouince in the kingdom of *Northumberland*, 30.21
Michael De la Pole, Lord Chancellour

cellour disgraced, and the Scale taken from him, 602.67
 Dieth in exile at *Paris*, 604.82
 By-named in *scorne*, *Michael* at the Pole, 603.74
 See more in letter P.
Delmatians, alias *Dalmatians* *Nubitanus* his coine, 256.262
Delphi spoiled by *Brennus*, 161.5
 Saint *Denis* Abbey at *Wilton*, founded, 372.21
Den-mare, whence it tooke the name and originall, 385.5
 Deposition of *K. John* of *England* decreed by Pope *Innocentius*, 499.46
Francis Dereham dieth at *Tiborne* for adultery with *Katharine Howard* before shee was *Queene*, 780.109
Dermot Mac-Murrough King of *Leinster* secretly stole away King *Rothericks* wife, 492.47
 Pursued by *Rothericks*, *ibid.*, 47
 Fleeth for succour to *K. Henry* the 2., *ibid.*
 His perswasive oration to *Richard Strongbow*, for to aide him, 462.52
 He dieth at *Fernis*, 464.58
 Earle of *Desmond* well hoped to be King of *Ireland*, 853.147
 Beheaded, *ibid.*, 148
Descalidones, *Western* *Pills*, 269.4
Deuenter traiterously sold to the *Spaniard*, 857.177
John Deuere Esquire executed with *Roger Mortimer*, 568.23
Walter Deuereux slaine before *Roan*, 867.256
Robert Deuereux Earle of *Essex* Comander in a Fleet against *Spain*, 868.264
Robert Deuereux Earle of *Essex*, Lord Lieutenant and gouernour General of *Ireland*, 873.301
 He entrench *Mounster* & cleareth it of Rebels, *ibid.*, 362
 He vanquisheth *O-Coners* & *O-Moiles* in *Leinster*, *ibid.*, 303
 He entrench *Ulster*, *ibid.*, 304
 Hee and *Tir-Oen* meete in Parley, 874.305
 His proceedings in *Ireland*, distasteth at home in *England*, *ibid.*, 307
 Hee returneth into *England*, *ibid.*
 Committed to the custody of *Sir Thomas Egerton* L. Keeper, *ibid.*
 His discontent bewraied in a letter to the Lord Keeper, 877.331
 Suspended from exercise of his offices, *ibid.*, 333
 He detaineth 4. of the Council vnder sure Custody in owne house, 879.337
 He entrench tumultuously into *London*, 879.338
 Proclaimed Traitor in *London*, *ibid.*
 Resisted by *Richard Bancroft* the stout Bishop of *London*, *ibid.*, 339
 Fortifieth his house in the Strand, *ibid.*, 340
 Conuieed to the Tower of *London*, *ibid.*

Arraigned at *Westminster* and condemned to death, *ibid.*
 Beheaded, *ibid.*
 His speech at his death, *ibid.*, 342
Devil appearing in the habite of a Friar Minorite, 616.12
Dunifels Castle, fortified against King *Stephen*, 448.17
 By whom built, *ibid.*
 Accounted the goodliest Castle in Europe, 448.18
Deuonshire men & women be-haue themselves valiantly against the French at *Dorsetmouth*, 618.4
Diadumenus *Cesar* sonne to *Macrinus* proclaimed Emperour, 233.5
 Put to death, *ibid.*
Diiflor *Perpetuus* the highest title of honour in *Rome*, 189.11
A. Didius Lieutenant in *Britaine*, 196.19
Didius Iulianus buieth the Empire, 227.2
 His Coine, 226
 Slaine by his Souldiers, 227.5
John Dighton one of the murderers of King *Edward* the 5. and his brother, 715.18
Sir Thomas Dimocke beheaded, 680.39
Diocletian, Emperour, 253.5.254
 His Coine, *ibid.*
 His parentage, *ibid.*
 Killeth *Atrius Aper* with his owne hands, *ibid.*
 His tyrannicall edicts, 256.15
 Resigneth vp the Empire, *ibid.*, 18
 Poisoneth himselfe, *ibid.*, 19
 Diffembling betweene *Richard L.* Protector and the Duke of *Buckingham*, 708.59
 Diuine Seruice in the English tongue, 834.10
Dimitrius gouerned part of *Gaul* and of *Britaine*, 162.7
Dobuni yeeld to the Romans, 175.8
Robert D'aily father of *Henry D'aily* by Edith widow of *Robert* the fourth naturall sonne of King *Henry* the first, 443.69
Doelman, alias *Parsons*, 113
Domesday, or *Domus Dei* Booke, 421.42
Domitian Emperour his youth, 213.1
 Arrested by *Henry Fitz-Alen* Earle of *Arundel*, 187.13
 He with others committed to the Tower, 187.14
 He recanted, and was beheaded, 187.17
Ambrose Dudley Earle of *Warwicke*, General of the English at *Newbanc*, 836.29
Robert Dudley Earle of *Leicester*, Deputy General in the Low-Countries installed at *Dunhage*, 856.170
 His proud carriage mistrusted by the States, 856.171
 His doings moue grudges & greouances in the States, 856.177
 Hee returneth into *England* for what cause, 857.178
 Discharged of his gouernement of the Low Countries, 857.181
 Lieutenant of the English forces at *Tilbury* Campe, 859.196
 His death, 862.220
 Duel or combat intended be-

Archibald or *Archibald Douglas* with other Nobles of *Scotland* slaine at *Hallydon* hill, 569.28
 Raileth spoiles in *England*, *ibid.*
 Taken prisoner, *ibid.*
Archibald Douglas prisoner without ransom, hath *Berwick* allotted vnto him after a cocited victory, 617.3
Sir James Douglas his relolute attempt vpon *K. Edward* the third his paulion in the night, 566.11
William Douglas taken prisoner by the English, 568.26
Sir William Douglas slaine by *Henry Percy* alias *Hotspurre*, 604.79
Dragon-Gules the Standard of King *Edward* the third at the battell of *Crescy*, 578.92
Dragon in Standards against Infidels, 316
Sir Francis Drake his voyage, 852.143
 His ship kept as a monument, *ibid.*
Sir Francis Drake Vice-Admirall of the English against the Inuincible Armado of the *Spaniard*, 859.198
 Dreames prefiging King *Henry* the first his death, 441.53
A Dromond, i. a great Argois of *Saracens* conquered by *K. Richard* the first, 475.30
Druides in *Britaine* the onely learned Clergy and instructors of *Britaines*, 168.8
 Priuiledged in *Britaine*, 168.8
 Allowed no Images nor visible forme of the Godhead, 204.10
Edmond Dudley Esquire, an instrument for King *Henry* the seventh his auatic, 750.70
 His difcent and quality, 754.3
 See more in *Empson*.
John Dudley Earle of *Warwick*, entrench *Norwich* against *Ket* and the Rebels of *Norfolke*, 808.41
 His noble heart and loue, 808.45.46
 Created Duke of *Northumbreland*, 811.66
 Appointed L. Lieutenant for *Queene Jane* against *Ladie Marie*, 816.7
 Arrested in *Cambridge* by a Sericant at Armes, 817.12
 Arrested by *Henry Fitz-Alen* Earle of *Arundel*, 187.13
 He with others committed to the Tower, 187.14
 He recanted, and was beheaded, 187.17
Ambrose Dudley Earle of *Warwicke*, General of the English at *Newbanc*, 836.29
Robert Dudley Earle of *Leicester*, Deputy General in the Low-Countries installed at *Dunhage*, 856.170
 His proud carriage mistrusted by the States, 856.171
 His doings moue grudges & greouances in the States, 856.177
 Hee returneth into *England* for what cause, 857.178
 Discharged of his gouernement of the Low Countries, 857.181
 Lieutenant of the English forces at *Tilbury* Campe, 859.196
 His death, 862.220
 Duel or combat intended be-

tweene *Paramour* Defendant, and *Low* and *Kyme* Plaintiffes, 851.135
 Duel or single fight offered by a French man, who would not stand to it, 492.26
 Betweene *Newton* and *Hamilton* about words, 811.61
 Duel or combat between *John Wells* Esquier, English, and *Marshall* a Gentleman *Nauarrois*, 598.44
 Dukes place in *London* vnder *Algate*. See Priory of the Trinity.
Dulcinius a renowned Captain, 270.5
Dunbar Castle yeelded to King *Edward* the first, 547.18
Dunmalle King of *Cumberland*, 366.4
Dunstan Abbot of *Glastenbury* had a great hand ouer King *Eadred*, 367.5
 Banished by King *Eadry*, 368.2
 His iugling miracles and deuotions, 374.4
 His Prophecie, 375.3
Dunstan-Dale, a valley where *Ket* and his rebels entrenched themselves, 804.42

E

Eadred Monarch of *England*, 367
 His Armes and Coine, *ibid.*
 His lenity and iustice, *ibid.*, 5
 His works, 368.6
 His death and sepulture, *ib.*
 His Issue, *ibid.*, 7
 Eagle the Romans maine Ensigne, 184.5
Eanfled King *Edwins* daughter, 335.17
 First baptized in *Northumbreland*, 334.5
Eanfrith or *Eainfrid* King of *Bernicia*, 303.9
 An *Apostata*, 322.2
 Slaine, *ib.*, 304
 Earthquakes, 421.46.432.39
 Eatter when it should be celebrated, breedeth a long diffention, 331.12.12. &c.
 The question argued to and fro, *ibid.*
East Angles kingdom with the circuit, 309.1
 The Armes of it, *ibid.*
East-Saxons kingdom and circuit, 300.1
East-Saxons neither affected, nor attained to the Monarchie, 293.2
Eaton Colledge founded, 685.82
Elbe, Abbess of *Coldingham* disfigured her selfe, wherefore, 389.13
Elbiffa a Saxon Captaine sent for by *Hengist*, 290.7
 Eclipse of the sunne, 238.6
 Eclipses strange of Sunne and Moone, 305.17
 Eclipse of the Sunne a little before King *Henry* the first his death, 442.55
Edmunde King of *Scot* enuieeth *Ethelfred*, 302.7
 Is ouerthrowne, *ibid.*
Edbald King of *Kent*, 293.6
 Refuseth Christianity, and marieth his fathers wife, *ibid.*
 Often plagued, 244.6
ibid.
 Liberall

THE T TABLE.

Liberal to the Church. *ib.*
His Issue, raigue, death and buriall. *ibidem*
Edwige Abbess of *Minster* in the life of *Thane*. 332.19
Edwige daughter of King *Edward* the elder, fourth good books, and leadeth a Monasticall life. 863.26
Edwige Monastery built. 359.25
Edwige the where King *Edward* lived. 357.11
Edwige burnt by the English. 782.123
Edwige Castle surrendered to the English for *K. James* the sixth his wife. 82.139
Edwige rendered to King *Edward* the first. 547.29
Edwige King *Edwin* sonne murdered by *Penda*. 335.14
Edwige Monarch of England his Armes and his Coine. 369.
Sonne of King *Edmund*. *ib.*
His Style. 157
Surnamed the peaceable. 370.3
Favorable to Monkish profession. 370.3
An enemy to married Clerks. *ibidem*
To Drunkenesse. 370.4
Favorable to Danes. *ibidem*
His Navy Royall, and scowring of the seas. *ibid.*
His gifts in Winter, and circums through the Countrie for executio of Justice. 370.7
He bindeth diuers Princes to his Allegiance. 370.8
His Magnanimity and Devotion. 370.9.10
How many Monasteries he built and repayed. *ibid.*
His cruelty & incontinency. 370.10
Deceased with a maidervnt brought into his bed. 371.13
His person, raigue and buriall. 372.15
Edwige 6. son of King *Edwige*. 380.57
Edwige *Atheling*, or *Etheling* leueth England. 417.11
See vp again *William Conqueror*. 418.2
Courteously vsed by King *William the Conqueror*. 419.33
Heire apparant to the crown of England. 339.10
Edwige *Etheling* Englands darling. 415.2
He with the Bishops and others, yeeld to *William of Normandy*. 415.23
Edwige *Etheling* his parentage. 384.21
Edwige a daughter of *Algar*, wife to King *Harold*. 404.10
Edwige a daughter of King *Ethelred* the vntready, married to *Edwige* a Traitor. 380.49
Edwige the naturall or false daughter of King *Edwige*. 372.21
A veiled Nunne, beautiful and chaste. *ibid.*
Her answer to *Bishoppe Ethelwold*. *ibidem*
Her buriall. *ibidem*
Edwige a daughter to King *Edward* the elder. 362.21
Edwige alias *Edith* King *Egbert* daughter died, and buried at *Polesworth*. 349.20
Saint *Edgith* or *Edith* of *Polesworth*. *ibidem*
Edwige the 11. daughter of *K.*

Edward the elder. 363.27
Edwige wife to King *Edward* the elder. 361.1
Her death. *ibidem*
Edwige daughter to King *Edward* the elder. 362.21
Edwige, See *Ethelwold*.
Edwige or *Molla* King of *Northumberland* slain. 305.19
Edwige Swans-halfe, or Swanneke, King *Harold* his sweet heart before hee was King. 408.52
Edwige or *Egitha* wife to King *Edward* Confessor, Earle *Goodwin* daughter, 402.25
Her buriall. *ibidem*
Saint *Edith* the Chast, begotten by King *Edward*. 370.11
Edwige, alias *Beatrice* daughter of King *Edward* the elder. 362.15
Foundeth a Nunnery at *Tamworth*. *ibidem*
Edwige sonne of King *Edward* the elder, King of the West Saxons, and Monarch of England, his Armes and Coine. 365
Edwige a third sonne of *Ethelred* the vntready. 380.44
Commonly called *Ironside*, his Armes and Coine. 381
Edwige sonne of *Edmund Ironside* liueth priuate in Exile. 384.22
Edwige or *Edmund* King of the East Angles. 311.15
Mort cruelly put to death by the Danes. *ibidem*
His Raigue. *ibid.*
Edwige sonne of King *Edward* the elder, Monarch of England. 362.24, 365
He vanquisheth the rebellious Danes, and ioyneth *Northumberland* to his Dominions. 366.3
His lawes translated into Latine by *Lambert*. 366.4
Saint *Edmundsbury* giuen by him to the Monkes there. 366.4
His vntimely and vntfortunate death. 366.5
His Issue. *ibid.*
Saint *Edmundsbury* why he called. 311.15
6. *Edmundsbury* Church built. *ibid.*
Burnt by the Danes. *ibidem*
Reedified and enriched by *K. Canutus*. *ibid.*
Saint *Edmonds* Dieth. 360.4
Edwige second sonne of King *Edward*. 372.19
Edwige, second sonne of King *Edward* the first: his marriage and issue. 553.72
Earle of *Kent*. *ibid.*
Beheaded. *ibid.*
Edwige *Crouchbacke* Earle of *Lancaster*. 248.8
Edwige *Crouchbacke* why he termed. *ibid.*
Titular King of *Sicilia* and *Africa*. *ibid.*
His other honours. *ibid.*
His wifes and issue. *ibid.*
Henry the third his second sonne. 532.85
His broad Seale. *ibid.*
Deceased by the Pope. *ibid.*
Edwige the 2. son of *K. Henry* the 3. commended to the Parliament from his Father. 534.91
Edwige *Crouchbacke*, the original of the contention betweene *Torke* and *Lancaster*. 539.107
His death and buriall. *ibid.*
Not deformed. 534.91
Edwige Earle of *Arundel*, beheaded with others to satisfie *Roger Mortimer*. 563.66
Edwige Earle of *Kent*, halfe vntle to King *Edward* the third, opposing the Queene *Dowager* and *Mortimer*, beheaded. 567.19
Edwige of *Langley* created Earle of *Cambridge*, & Duke of *Torke*. 590.600.56
Sent with an Army into *Portugal*. 594.17
Edwige Archbishop of *Canterbury* dealt with King *Henry* the third, about redressing of the State. 520.45
A Saint, and dieth in voluntary exile. 525.62
Edwige Earle of *March* detecteth a conspiracy of *Richard* Earle of *Cambridge* & others. 629.30
Edwige *Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset* taken forth of *Sandwich* at *Tenchebury*. 684.72
Edwige *Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset* arrested of high Treason, and sent to the Tower. 666.61
Edwige *Beaufort* Duke of *Somerset*, a vigilant Counsellor to King *Henry* the 6. and true to his Country. 665.54
Regent of *Englis* and *France*. 661.39
Commanded prisoner to his owne house. 665.57
Accuseth *Richard* Duke of *Torke* of treason. *ibid.*
Fleeth from *Barnet* field into *Wales*. 683.65
Slaine at the battell of *Saint Albans*. 667.64
Edwige *Ironside* Monarch of England, his Coine. 381
He profetheth King *Canute* single fight. 382.2
He putteth Danes to flight. 384.3
Edwige and *Canute* at single fight. 383.16
Murdered by *Edrick*. 383.17
His raigue and buriall. 383.18
His personage and valour. *ib.*
Edwige Earle of *Kent* wounded to death at the siege of *Briant* in *Little Britaigne*. 620.46
Edwige sonne of King *Harold* from out of *Ireland* inuaded England. 417.13
Edwige Prince, King *Ethelred* sonne, punisheth Reuolters. 380.37
Edwige de *la Pole*, Earle or Duke of *Suffolke*, excommunicate by a Bull from Pope *Alexander* the 6. 749.69
Delivered vp to the Tower of *London*. 749.70
See more in *T. de la Pole*
Edwige third sonne of King *Henry* the fourth, Duke of *Somerset*, his birth, death and place of buriall. 751.74
Edwige a fourth sonne of King *Ethelred* the vntready. 380.45
Edwige sonne to King *Edward* the elder. 362.25
Edwige another sonne, his Armes and Coine. 367
Edwige King of *Kent*. 294.10.
Slaine. *ibidem*

Edrick, the Dane murdered. 361.9
Edrick *Syluaticus* taketh Arms with the Welshmen, against King *William Conqueror*. 416.9
Edrick the Kings sonne, reuolteth to the Danes. 379.36
Edrick *Edrick*, surnamed *Streton* for his avarice. 377.17
His traiterous stratagem. 387.6
His wicked counsell. *ibidem*
Surnamed also *Streton*. 416.9
Behaved as a traitor, and his head set on the highest gate in *London*. 383.18
An vntimely Counsellor to his Soueraigne. 377.20
His treachery. *ibidem*
Hee goeth to the enemy. 382.13
Edrick Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 399.6
Edwige the elder, Monarch of the English. 360
His Armes and Coine. *ibidem*
His Humility. 361.7
Taketh a Votar. feto wife. *ibidem*
His death and Issue. 361.10
King *Edward* the Confessor his death, buriall and raigue. 401.25, 402.25
His personage. *ibidem*
Called *Saint Edward*. 399.6
Monarch of England. 398
His Seale, Coine, and Armes. 398
Vaine prediptions of his raigue. 398.2
His lawes the fountain of our common lawes in England. 399.7
His lawes reuined. 435.4
His troubles by forraigne, & domestick enemies. 399.11
His raigue troubled with calamities of the land. 400.20
He refraineth from the bed of his vertuous wife. 400.21
Vnkind and cruell to his wife and mother. 401.22.24
Edwige Out-Law dieth. 399.10
Sonne of *Edmund Ironside* liueth priuate in exile. 384.22
Edwige the fourth sonne of *K. Ethelred* the vntready. 381.52
King *Edward* the Martyr Monarch of England. 373
His Armes and Coine. *ibidem*
Murdered by his stepmother *Elfrida*. 374.8
His buriall. *ibidem*
King *Edward* the first his birth. 526.65
Edwige Prince, after *K. Edward* the first, marieth *Eleanor*, *Alphonse* the King of *Spain* his sister. 532.84
His estate which the King gaue him presently. *ibidem*
Hee holdeth with the Barons against his father. 536.98
Prince *Edward* reuenged of the Londoners for abuse to the Queene his mother. 537.101
Prince *Edward*, after King *Edward* the first, taken prisoner by *Simon Montfort*, and imprisoned in *Dover*. 538.102
Remoued to *Hereford* Castle. 538.102
Escapeth out of prison, and raiseth a power against *Simon Montfort*. 538.102
He

THE TABLE.

Philip daughter to *John* Ea. of *Honault*. 561.17
Crowned King by the name of *Edward* the third. 564.78
K. *Edward* the second entrench *Scotland* with a pusillat Army. 557.19
The dissolute behaviour in his Campe. *ibid.*
He and his power defeated by *Rob. Bruce*. 557.22.23
Hee vntreadyth bitterly the death of *Thomas* Earle of *Lancaster*. 560.46
Fleeth into *Wales* vnto the Abbey of *Neath*. 562.61
Recalled by Proclamation. 562.63
King *Edward* the second deposed, and committed to a merclesse Knights. 566.5
Murdered by his two Keepers. 566.6
His murderers outlawed, and brought to confusion. 566.8
His murdered Corps laide to view. *ibid.*
His repentance and reformation of life after his deposing. *ibidem*
King *Edward* the second prisoner at *Kenselworth* Castle. 563.69
Sollicited to resigne vp the Crowne vnto his sonne *Edward*. 563.73
He resigneth it. *ibid.*
His Issue. 564.78
Edwige the third, his Armes Broad-Seale and Coine. 565
Crowned by *Walter* Archb. of *Canterbury*. 566.3
Prouideth for the publike peace of the Realme. 566.2
For warres with *Scotland*. 566.3
He besiegeth *Berwick*. 568.27
He reputeth the Acts and releses to the Scots at *Northampton* in his Minority to be void. 569.27
Warreth vpon *Scotland* on what ground. *ibidem*
Edwige the Blacke Prince borne at *Woodstock*. 569.19
Why by named *Blacke Prince*. 567.20
Created Prince of *Wales*. 574
His commendation. 75
The first Duke of *Cornwall* created. 673.95
In great danger at the battell of *Cresset*. 578.94
Sailed into *France* to take possession of the Dukedome of *Aquitaine*. 581.112
His high achievements in *France*. 581.114
His commendable behauiour vpon the victorie at the battell of *Poitiers*. 582.117
Returneth into England in triumph. *ibid.*
Hee doth homage to his Father for the Dukedome of *Aquitaine*. 584.125
He passeth with an Army into *Spain*, in the quarrell of *Peire* King of *Castile* defized of his kingdom. 585.134
Poisoned in his journey of *Spain*. 585.134
He demandeth a fowage at a Parliament in *Gascogne*. 586
His death and commendation. 585.150.

Entered with a Monument in *Canterbury*. *ibidem*
His Issue. 589.156
Edwige the third doth homage to *Philip de Valois* for the Dutchy of *Gascogne*. 567.20
His ouerture for the holy Land. 569.133
Entreth with an Army into *Scotland* to aide *K. Edward* *Bailiol*. 569.24.35
Createth sundry great States. 570.36
Hee supporteth the *Bailiol* possession of *Scotland* against the *Bruce*. *ibid.*
His claime to the crowne of *France* iustified. 570.40
How he fortified himselfe, for the conquest of *France*. 570
His manner of doing homage for the Duchy of *Aquitaine*. 571.47
Sailed to *Anwerp* for *France*. 572.48
Constituted Vicegerent vnto *Lewis* the Emperour. *ibid.*
Why hee refused to kisse the Popes foot. 572.49
His broad Seale. 572.50
Hee publisheth his title to *France*. *ibidem*
His victory at *Sea*, against the *French*. 573.57
His pusillat Army. *ibid.*
His challenge sent to *Philip de Valois*. *ibid.*
He is at a default for want of Treasure. 574.63
Hee punisheth officers about his treasure. *ibid.*
His answer to *Lewis* of *Barnet* the Emperour his reuocatory lines. *ibid.*
Sailed againe into *France* for the conquest thereof. 576.83
King *Edward* the third his resolute valour at the fourd *Blanche Taque*. 577.85
His answer, when the *Blacke Prince* was in danger. 578.95
His victory at the battell of *Crefey*. 579.97
His Charity to the poore of *Calais* by him besieged. 570.102
His deuout thankgiuing to God for victory. 582.118
Hee inuadeth *France* againe. 583.121
K. *Edward* 3. lieth with a pusillat Army before *Paris*. 593.122
His Host much hurt by tempest. 583.122
His cruelty in *France*. *ibid.*
He yeeldeth to a peace. *ibid.*
His death. 589.154
His Epitaph. *ibid.*
His works of deuotion. *ibid.*
His issue. 589.88.
His raigue and age. 589.154
Edwige Earle of *March* and Duke of *Torke* sheweth his right to the Crowne. 674.1
King *Edward* the fourth, his Armes, Seale, and Coine. 674
Proclaimed King. 675.2
He denieth repayment of money borrowed of the *Money Merchants*. 675.4
Crowned King in *Westminster*. 676.11
Sitteth personally in the Kings Bench court. *ibid.*
His proleits for a marriage. *R r r r r*
676.18.19
Enamoured vpon Dame *Elizabeth Grey*. 677.21
Disfauored by his mother, Duches of *Torke*, but in vaine, from that marriage with *Elizabeth Grey*. 677.23
He marieth Dame *Elizabeth Grey*. 678.24
Taken prisoner by *Richard* *Neuill* Earle of *Warwicke*. 679.16
Comitted prisoner to *George* *Neuill* Archbishop of *Torke*. *ibid.*
Hee escapeth from his keepers. *ibid.*
Leaueth England and sceth faile toward *Burgundy*. 681.56
King *Edward* the fourth, in Parliament declared Traitor to his country, and an Vsurper: and his goods to be confiscate. 681.53
He landeth with a power at *Rauesbur* in *Yorkshire*. 682.57
Sweareth to be true to King *Henry* the sixth. *ibidem*
Encampeth nere to *Cowen* against *Richard* *Neuill* Earle of *Warwicke*, and challengeth him to battell. 682.59
Encountreth *George* Duke of *Clarence* his brother, and are both reconciled. 682.60
Marcheth towards *Barnet*, to *Glennore* Heath with King *Henry* the sixth in his traine. 683.62
His victory and triumph for *Barnet* field. 683.66
Offereth his Banner in *Saint Pauls* Church. 683.66
His reply to *Charles* Duke of *Burgundy* who married his sister. 687.95
He sendeth into *Bretaigne* for *Jasper* Earle of *Pembroke*, & *Henry* Earle of *Richmont*. 688.99
His expedition into *France* against *Lewis* the French King. 689.91
Sendeth defiance to *Lewis* King of *France*. *ibidem*
He loueth his Subiects, and is beloued againe. 688.101
Sendeth for the Lord *Maioir*, and Aldermen of *London* to his huntings. *ibidem*
Wantonly giuen. *ibidem*
His sicknesse and speeches at his death. 690.113.114
His Concubines. 688.102
His death, raigue and place of buriall. 690.115
King *Edward* the fourth his personage, featre and other parts. 691.116
His issue by *Elizabeth* his wife. 691.118.88.
His concubines. 161.129
His naturall issue. 150
His care to set peace between his owne kindred and the Queene. 699.9
His children made bastards by *Richard* his brother, Lord Protector, and Doctor *Shaw* his Chaplaine, vpon what colour. 705.53
Himself with his brother *George* Duke of *Clarence* made bastards by their brother *Richard*, Lord Protector. 705.54

THE TABLE.

His self held Bastardy 712.3
King Edward the fourth accused to have been contracted to Dame Butler before his marriage with Elizabeth Grey 712.3
Edward Bruce crowneth himself King of Scotland, and is slain in battell 558.33
King Edward the fifth, his arms and seale 693
Attended by his mothers friends repaireth towards London upon his fathers death 695.10
Met by the Citizens of London and accompanied into the Citie 697.24
Smothered to death with his brother in the Tower 709.65
His short raigne, without Crown, Scepter or Ball, 709 65. 714. 715. 19
What hee said when he heard that his vncl was crowned King 715.18
His body and his brothers where first buried. 715.19
King Edward the fifth his body with his brothers, taken up and buried againe noman knoweth where. 715.19
Edward the last childe of King Henry the eight, when borne 786.147
Created Prince of Wales, 147 He is King of England vnder the name of King Edward the sixth 803
His Armes, broad Scale, and Coine. *ibid.*
The beginning of his raigne and Coronation. 804.3
Compared to King Josiah in godly zeale 804.5
His marriage with Queene Mary of Scotland desired of the English. 804.7
Falleth sicke of a cough and consumption of the lungs 812.73
His prair at the point of death. 812.76
His death. *ibid.*
His vertues 812.77.813
His learning and memory 813.77
His care and mercy *ibid.* 77
His zeale to the Gospell *ibid.* 79
His letter to the Lady Mary his sister. 813.80
His workes of mercy. *ibid.* 81
His liberality to the poore of London 813.85
His age, raigne and place of buriall 814.8
Prince Edward first sonne of King Henry the sixth, borne, 666.60
Prince Edward, King Henry the sixt his sonne apprehended after Tewkesbury feld. 684.73
Prince of Wales. 672.95
His stout answer to K. Edward the fourth. *ibid.*
Shamefully slain by Richard Duke of Glocester. 684.73
A Prince of great hope. 672 95
Hee had bene contracted to Lady Anne, daughter to Richard Nevill Earle of Warwick 673.95.680.44
His Corps meanely buried at Tenkesbury 673.99
Edward Earle of Warwick, son

to George Duke of Clarence beheaded. 689.107
Edward Earle of Warwick in the Tower, as a new Titler to the Crowne 745.59
Edward Duke of Buckingham ploteth with Richard Duke of Glocester to remove from King Edward the fifth, the Queene-mothers friendes. 695.12
Edward Plantagenet Earle of March, after King Edward the fourth his victory at Mortimers Crosse. 672.92
Hee with Richard Nevill the stout Earle of Warwick hasten to London 674.1
Edward, sonne to King Richard the third, made heire apparent by Parliament. 712.4
Created Earle of Salisbury & Prince of Wales 726.62
Edward Duke of York slain at the battell of Agincourt. 633.61
Entered in the Colledge at Forbryng-hay 634.30
Edward Seymer Earle of Hereford, and Duke of Somerset ordained Lord Protector, during the Minority of King Edward the 6. 804.4
His expedition into Scotland 804.8
Hee and his brother Thomas Seymer Lord Admirall at ods. 809.52
See more in Seymer
Edward Lord Stafford Duke of Buckingham beheaded for treason. 771.83
Seduced by a Monke, 771.83
Edwin King Edward the elder his sonne casteth himself into the sea for sorrow. 362.17
Edwin the valiant Prince of Deira King of Northumberland 303.7
Of his preferuacion a strange story *ibid.*
His death and raigne. *ibid.*
Edwin King of Churles, son of King Ethelred banished and murdered. 390.2
Edwin the great Monarch of Englishmen. 333
His Armes. *ibid.*
Hee renounceth his Edicts. 334.5
His magnificient Port. 334.8
Slaine in Hethfeld battell 335.10
His raigne, buriall, wiues and Issue. 335
Edwin and Morcar Rebels resist the Normans. 417.11
They affect the Crowne of England 407.44
Edwin Earle of Yorkeshire slaine by his owne Souldiers. 419.274
Edwy Monarch of England his Armes and his Coine 368
Sonne to King Edmund. *ibid.*
An enemy to Monkish orders therefore by them noted for vicious life 368.2
His raigne, death and buriall. 369.3
Edwy a fifth sonne of Ethelred the vnready 380.46
Murdered *ibid.*
Egbert King of Kent. 294.8
Murdereth his Nephewes. *ib.*
His raigne, death and Issue. *ibid.*
Egbert sonne of Wistred King of Kent, his raigne and death. 294.12

Egbert King of Northumberland. 305.17
Became a Monke. *ibid.*
His Issue. *ibid.*
From Egbert the first Monarch vnto King Edward the Confessor what time. 278.2
Egbert King of the West-Saxons, his Armes and Coine. 348
The first absolute Monarch of England. 305.24
His Armes and Coine. 348
His exploits. 348
His descent, personage, raig, sepulture, Epitaph, and Issue 349
Egbert Archbishops of Yorke erecteth a Library. 305.17
Egbert sonne of Ethelbert the vnready 380.43
Egeline Bishope of Durham hungerstruck 419.29
Egfride King of Northumberland. 304.11
Inuadeth the Irish. *ibid.*
Slaine by the Picts, or Red-shankes. *ibid.*
Egfride King of Mercia, and Monarch of the English. 307.12
His Armes 346
His short raigne and buriall. *ibid.*
Egfride King Offa his only son, Monarch of England. 345
His short raigne and buriall. 346.2
Egitha the vertuous wife of K. Edward the Confessor. 401
Her praise *ibid.*
Egeline a Politicke and stout Abbess of Saint Austen in Canterbury. 416.6
Sir John Egremont rebelleth. 735.26
Flieth to the Dutchesse of Burgundie. 735.26
Egrieke king of the East Angles slaine in battell. 310.6
Eguina daughter of King Edward the elder wife to Charles the simple King of France. 362.19
Her Issue *ibid.*
Eguina wife to King Edward the elder. 361
Ela daughter of William Conquerour contracted to Harold, after King of England. 426.76
Elappa King of Bernicia. 302.
Eldol Duke of Glocester his valour 290.12
Eleazar a Jew of an huge height. 236.1
Eleanor or Eleanor, or Elenor King Edward the first his wife, while hee was Prince, deliuered of her daughter Ioan at Acon. 542.5
Shee landeth at Dover. 532 85
Her rare affection to her husband *ibid.*
Dieth at Lincoln 545.18
Her Corps how conducted to Westminster. *ibid.*
Her death and Tombe. 551
Eleanor the second daughter of King Iohn, her marriage, Issue, death and buriall. 507.70
Eleanor daughter to King Edward the first, and Elenor his wife, her marriages, and

issue 552.62.68
Her death and buriall. 532.68
Eleanor, daughter to K. Edward the first, and Margaret his wife, her buriall 553.73
Eleanor or Elenor duiced from Lodowick King of France. 453.42
Elenor King Henry the second his wife, conspiring against the King 465.65
With her two younger sonnes taketh part with Henry the young King against the husband and father. *ibid.*
In safe custody 466.77
Her descent. 470.101
She is the cause of warres and troubles betwixt France & England *ibid.*
Kept in long Captiuitie by her husband, and released by King Richard her sonne. 472.2
Elenor called the Damoiselle of Bretaine, daughter to Geoffrey King Henry the second his sonne 470.105
Elenor second daughter of K. Henry the second married to Alfonso the good King of Castile and Spaine. 470.109
Her Issue. 471.109
Queen Eleanor or Elenor King Iohns mother, a wife Princesse 490.19
Her death *ibid.*
Eleanor, Alphons the King of Spaine his sister. 532.85
Eleanor Cobham, Dutchesse of Glocester arraigned of sorcerie and treason. 661.40
Put to publike penance, and in perpetual prison 662.41
Elenor daughter to K. Edward the second, wedded to Reinold second Earle of Gelder, and after Duke of Gelder. 564.81
Eleanor wife of King Henry 3, her death and buriall. 539
Election of the Emperour in Probis histime 251.1
Elephants first brought into England 194.9
Their late found bones. *ibid.*
Elenor Bishope of Rome his original Epistle to King Lucius. 222.8
This Epistle auerred against Papists obiections *ibid.* 9
Elfgina alias Elfrida first wife to King Ethelred the vnready 380.40
Elfgine King Edmunds wife, a vertuous Lady, and reputed a Saint. 366.6
Elfgine the wife of King Edward separated from him. 369.4
Elfgine daughter of King Ethelred the vnready, married to Vred the Bold 381.50
Elfgina or Elfgina daughter of King Edward the elder. 362 24
Elfrida King Elfred or Alfred his daughter, Dutchesse or Gouvernesse of Mercia. 359
Another Zenobia. 361.8
Elfrida winneth Brecknock and Darby 361.8
Her death and buriall. *ibid.*
Elfrida wife of King Edward the elder 361.10.11
Elfrida daughter of King Edward the elder, Abbess of Ramsey in the Countie of Southampton 362.18
Elfrida

Elfrida Abbess of Stranhalch 338.9
Elfgina. See Elfgina.
Elie Abbey founded. 304.11
Elie Ille besieged 338.104
Elie Monkes sue for mercy to William Conquerour and betray the Ille 419.29
Hardly intreated by William Conquerour *ibid.* 30
Sir Thomas Eliot a learned Knight 159
Elizabeth the seventh naturall daughter of King Henry the first, her descent by the Mothers side. 444.79
Elizabeth Barton, the holy maid of Kent. 770.83

THE TABLE.

A counterfeit oracle. *ibid.*
Detected by Cramer, Cromwell and Latimer *ibid.*
Elizabeth Queene of Spaine, wife to Ferdinando troubled by a counterfeit Inheretrix 743.49
Lady Elizabeth Grey, widow to Sir John Grey, her behaviour to King Edward the 4. 677.21
Her descent, and her kindred highly aduanced 678.25
Crowned Queene at Westminster. *ibid.*
Queene Dowager to King Edward the fourth, escapeth out of the Tower, and taketh Sanctuary at Westminster with her Sonne the Duke of Yorke 681.51
Delivered of Prince Edward in Sanctuary 681.51
Condemned to forfeit all her lands and goods 721.15
Shee and her mother landed of witchcraft. 711.3
Confined to a Monastery 731 16
Her parentage 691.117
Her meane life in Bermundsey Monastery, her death and place of buriall *ibid.*
Elizabeth Lucy concubine to King Edward the fourth. 691 149
Dame Elizabeth Lucy, supposed to be wife to King Edward the fourth 706.54
Elizabeth eldest daughter to King Edward the fourth, her commendable parts 729.8
Her chaste meditation about Marriage 729.8
Wife to K. Henry the seventh, Crowned Queene. 714.23
Her death and buriall 747.71
Elizabeth daughter to King Edward the fourth, vpon a contract with the Dauphin of France, called Madame the Dauphin. 689.108
Lady ELIZABETH, after Queene and Monarch of England, borne 771.85
The wonder of her Sexe. 170
The second daughter of King Henry the eight. 786.145
Succedeth Queene after her sister Queene Mary *ibid.*
Lady Elizabeth sent to the Tower 821.47 822.52
Conuained as a prisoner to the Court 822.50
Her manifold feares 823
In danger to be murdered at Woodstocke 823.60
Brought in presence of Qu. Mary her sister 826.98
Discharged of imprisonment 826.99
Lady Elizabeth proclaimed Queene and Monarch of England 831.1
Her Armes, broad Scale, and Coine. *ibid.*
The beginning of her raigne 831.2
Her zealous deuotion 832.3
Her coronation *ibid.* 4
Moued in Parliament to marriage, by way of Petition *ibid.* 6
Her reply deliuered vnto it. *ibid.*
Claimeth restitution of Callic *ibid.* 8

Against the Scottish Lords against the French 834.18
Laboreth for peace in France betweene Wife and Conde 835.26
Shee demandeth Callic of Charles the 9. the French King according to covenants 834.47
Shee soliciteth the Scots in behalfe of Mary their Queene, fled, and landed in England 845.61
The Maiestie of Queene Elizabeths presence, often dashed Parries attempt to kill her 846.96
Her vndaunted confidence 847.102
Her singular clemency to offenders 847.103
Her gracious loue to her people in generall 848.103
Qu. Elizabeth, foreland 852.141
Shee mouth Philip a King of Spaine for the Low Countries 854.159
She vndertaketh the protection of the Low Countries. 855.165
The motives and reasons of her Protection. 855.168
Her answer to printed libels against her 855.168
Her magnanimity and courage at Bulfinch Camp. 862.220
Her soleme thanksgiving for defeating the Spaniards, inuincible Armada 862.221
Her praiser for prospering her Fleet sent forth against Spaine 868.263
Her answer in Latine to the Polonian Embassadors message 871.284
Her vssual oath in anger 871 285
In passion for the death of Robert Deuereux Earle of Essex 880.345
Her praises in briefe *ibid.* 446, &c.
Her sway in forraigne parts *ibid.* 347
Her Princely qualities *ibid.* 348
Her feature and lineaments of body *ibid.* 348
Her Military prouidence. *ibid.*
Her Nauy, and maintenance of Nauigation *ibid.*
Her peaceable vertues *ibid.* 349
Named Lady Temperance, or Temper by her brother King Edward the 6. *ibid.*
Her moderation *ibid.*
Her Court 880.349
Her Councell *ibid.*
Her awe ouer her Courtiers. *ibid.*
Her meekenesse 881.349
Her loue among her Subiects. *ibid.*
Her learning *ibid.* 350
Her languages *ibid.*
Her fauour to the learned *ibid.*
Her studiousest *ibid.*
Paralleled with Queen Zenobia *ibid.*
Her godlinesse and piety. *ibid.*
Her priuate and politike vertues *ibid.*
Her maintenance of true Religion. *ibid.*
How filled by forraigne Churches *ibid.*
Her sicknesse and death. *ibid.* 352
When first fo named Reduced

Her funerals *ibid.* 353
Her Monument *ibid.*
Her Epitaphes. 881. &c.
Ella Monarch of Englishmen. 325
His descent, issue and raigne *ibid.*
His Armes *ibid.*
Ella the first King of the South-Saxons 295.1
His Armes *ibid.*
His raigne and death *ibid.*
Ella the first King of Deira or Northumberland 302.1
His Armes *ibid.*
His raigne and issue *ibid.*
Elle-croft why so called 305.24
Elnothum Archbishop of Canterbury 396.2
Elphgum Archbishop of Canterbury stoned to death by the Danes 378.26
Elfwine slaine in battell 338
Elfwine wife to King Elfred 395.28
Elfwolf King of the East-Angles 310
Elmannus Ananias, of Glaffenbury a learned Diuine 206.18
Edward alias Ethelward, a diligent searcher of Antiquities 163.16
When he liued *ibid.*
Edward the sonne of King Edward the elder 362.16
Embassage out of France, how answered by Chicheley Archbishop of Canterbury 628.
From King Iohn to Philip King of France 492.25
To James the third King of Scotland, for setting of Peace 733.23
Out of Denmark vnto Queene Elizabeth 871.286
Out of Scotland demanding the Lady Margaret King Henry the seventh his daughter for James the fourth 74. 64
Emerita Martir 206.18
Queene Emma tried for adultery 287.6.401.23
A very prudent Lady 391.4
Wife to Ethelred the vnready, and King Canutus 393.20
Emma called also Elfgine 393 20
Also the floure of Normandy 380.41
Encomium Emmae a Booke in praise of Queene Emma. 391.4
Banished the Realme 395.8
Emperors of Rome many die violent deaths 256.14
Diuers at one time chosen 227.3
Emperors of Rome, how elected after Nero 201.1
Empire of Rome declineth. 227.2
In Port Sale 273.9
Richard Empson an Instrument for King Henry the 7. his auarice 750.70
His descent and quality 754.3
Empson and Dudley, their wicked courtes & practises to impoverish the people 750.70
Sent to the Tower and attained of Treason 754.2
Beheaded 754.3
Enoon rebelleth against Reesap Tward 429.15
England whence it tooke name 285.10
When first fo named Reduced

THE TABLE.

Reduced to the name of Britaine 161.11
In wofull plight during the raigne of Henry the 6. 657.21
The mother Monastery of Europe 207.22
Full ofinne in King Edward the Confessors daies 400.21
Twice Schoole-Mistresse to France 207.22
Changeth not name vpon Conquests 161.11
England the South of Britaine 349.10
Continueth the name 783 yeeres 161.11
Forced to abiure Pope Alexander and Thomas Becket 460.35
A prey to the Danes 376.14
In a combustion 504.56
Betweene King Henry the 3. and the Barons 437.98
At the point to be innued by the French 601.64
Divided betweene Canute and Edmond Ironside 383.16
A nation in ranke before Spaine 630.35
To be shared, betwene Edmond Mortimer, Henry Perce, and Owen Glendower 617.32
Englishmen obtaine a victorie at Sea of the Normans 546
Converted to Christianitie and had baptized ten thousand in one day 330.8
Converted 8. Nations to Christ 157.13
Their Lands giuen to Normans 416.10
English Monarchs of Wales 430.23
Englishmen expelled out of Scotland 811.62
Enthralled to the Danes 17.15
All English footing lost in France in a short space 830
Englishmen Christian and honorable deportment at the winning of Cadiz 870
Englishmen of old, expert warriors 360.5
Their modest and deuout behauiour after their victory at Crecy 579.98
English-Pale in France how limited 536.97
Scriptures red by Authority in English 343.4
Englishmen proceed from Cimbric Chersonesus 161.4
They fashion themselves like to strangers 416.10
English volunteers their valor in forreine parts 584.129
Sir Francis Englishman an English fugitiue and Traitor 846.91
Engloen a part of Denmark 160.9
Entreuue betweene Philip King of France and K. John 487.6
Endeth in discord 161.11
Entrails of beasts and men perred into by Britaines 168.8
Ester, a Goddesse of the Saxons 288.7
First Moneth. ii. April. ibidem
Erchenwine or Erkenwine king of the East-Saxons his shield of Armes 205.8
First King of East-Saxons as feodary to the Kings of Kent

300.1
His descent ibidem
Ercombert K. of Kent a religious Prince. 299.7
His issue, raigne and death. ibidem
Ericus Prince, and after King of Sweden, seeketh twice for marriage with Queene Elizabeth. 835.35
Erkmgald Abbot of Chertsey and Bishop of London 310.7
Earle of Powerty 779.96
Erminsheld king Wolfofers wife 340.5
Became a Nun in Ely 307.6
An Ermites prophete of king John 499.45
Ernefui Arche Duke of Aulstir, Gouverneur in the Low-Countries 367.258
Erpenwald King of the East-Angles 309.4
His Armes ibidem
The first of this Prouince that publicly professed Christi-anity ibidem
Murdered therefore. ibidem
Efcuaghe, what is it 526.68
Eik the sonne of Hengist raig-neth second king of Kent. 291.16
Eik and Ocla Saxons slaine by Pendragon in battell 316
Eik his raigne and death. 293.2
Eikstel, a King of the Danes 356.4
Erking who they are 293.2
Eskvin King of the West-Sax-ons 298.8
Eltex Rebels 604.51
Encamped on Miledend by London ibidem
Henry de Essex, leaueh King Henry the second his stan-derd 456.8
Vanquishit in combate. ibidem
Shornea Moncke, and dieth. ibidem
Eftus an Abbot. 163.15
Eftates and Monarchies within what time they haue their periods 278.2
Efridge or Ostrich feather, li-berly of Prince Edward king Henry the sixth his sonne 682.58
Ethelard king of the West-Sax-ons, his Coine and descent 299.12
Terrified with two blasing starres ibidem
Ethelbald Monarch of English-men 343
His Armes ibidem
His loose life, remorse, and reigne 343
Murdered at Secondon 343.5
His buriall ibidem
Ethelbald the sonne of Ethel-wolfe rebelleth, and raig-neth with his father 351.7
His wiues 351.9.10
His Issue ibidem
Ethelbald King of the Mercians and Monarch of Eng-land. 307.10
Vitiuous ibidem
Repentance ibidem
Slaine in battell ibidem
His raigne and buriall ibidem
Ethelbert king of the East-Angles murdered by Offa the Mercian 311.14
Buried at Marden and tran-slated to Hereford ibidem
Ethelbert Monarch of the Eng-lishmen 329.353.7
His Armes and Coine ibidem
Maintaineth Aulstir the monke and his company 330.7
Ethelberts Tower in Canterbu-ry standing ibidem
A great furtherer of Christi-anity 332.4
Affianto king. Sebers in the building of St. Pauls Church in London and S. Peters in Westminster ibidem
His raigne death and buriall 353.4
His issue ibidem
Ethelbert king of Kent enlar-geth his kingdome. 293.5
The first Christian Saxon king ibidem
His wiues and issue ibidem
His raigne, death, buriall and Epitaph ibidem
His vices 332
Ethelbert Preu king of Kent by vsurpation 295.15
Taken Prisoner and is depo-sed ibidem
Ethelbert murdered by Egbert and reputed a Martyr. 294.9
Ethelred the vncready, K. Ed-gars sonne, his Armes and Coine 375.11
Ethelred sonne of Mallo, K. of Northumberland. 305.2
Fled his Country. ibidem
Restored to his Crowne. ibidem
Putteth away his wife Efteda without cause. 309.23
Slaine by his Subiects. ibidem
Ethelred King of the East Ang-les his long raigne. 311.13
Ethelred sonne of Penda, King of the Mercians. 307.7
His Armes. 341
Became a Monke in Bradney Monastery. ibidem
His wife, death and Issue, ib
Ethelred sonne of King Ethel-wolfe Monarch of England. 354.1
Slaine by the Danes. 355.12
His Armes. 354
His battels against the Danes. 355.11
His Tombe, Epitaph, Armes and Issue ibidem
Ethelric King of Northum-berland. 302.6
Slaine. ibidem
His raigne and Issue. ibidem
Ethelstan sonne of King Ethel-wolfe the vncready. 380.42
Ethelstan, that married one of King Ethelreds daughters. 380.48
Ethelstan alias Adelftan, Mo-narch of England, crowned with great solemnity, his Armes and Coine. 363.1
Maketh Wales tributary. 364.11
Confineth the Britaines. 12
His dominion large, and fame great with forraigne Princes. 364.12
Ethelstan, alias Adelftan con-ferreth to the death of his brother Edwin. ibidem
His repentance ibidem
His Cup-bearer worthily by him put to death. 364.3
Confratrenth Anlafe and God-frey Sitbicks sonne to sub-mit, and restoreth them. ibidem
His Apothege. ibidem
Hardly escaped killing. 48.8
Ioyneh Northumberland to his owne Monarchy. ibidem
Hee receiueh presents from sundry princes. 364.12
Ethelstan King Edward the elder his sonne Knighted by his

his father 361.13
His Armes and Coine. 363
King Ethelstan his benificence to the Church and to Cities. 365.15
His personage and vertues. 15
His raigne, death and buriall. ibidem
Ethelstane sonne of King Eg-berth repelleth the Danes. 349.19
Ethelwald King Oswalds sonne 337.9
Ethelwald Clito slaine. 353.6
Ethelwald rebelleth against K. Edward the elder. 360.3
Created the Danes King. 360
Ethelward King Elfrids sonne a great Philosopher. 359.28
Slaine. ibidem
Ethelwald dealeth double in wooing Elfrida Ordgars daughter, for King Edgar. 371.14
His speech to her, his owne wife. ibidem
Slaine by King Edgar. ibidem
Ethelwulfe, alias Edithwech, or Abtwildd king of the South Saxons. 296.3
First Christian King of that name. ibidem
Slaine. 296.3
His raigne. ibidem
Ethelwulfe or Edithwech Mo-narch of England. 350
His Armes and Coine. ibidem
Ethelwulfe a Deacon first elec-ted, & consecrated Bishop of Winchester. 350.1
King of the West-Saxons. ibidem
His Armes and Coine. ibidem
He goeth to Rome. 351.6
He weddeth Iudith the faire, daughter of Charles the Bald King of France. 351.7
His raigne and death. ibidem
Ethelwulfe K. Burthred his wife in her latter daies a Nunne. 351.15.308.20
Eufestian battell. 538.102
Eufest or Eufestie, daughter of King Henry the first. 443.55
Eugenius a Grammarian, one that murdered Valentinian the younger 273.10
Vsurpeth the Empire. 274.2
His Coine. ibidem
Beheaded 274.5
L. Euse, Lord Warden of the East Marches, slaine by the Scots. 783.129
Eurgane, sister of Ioseph of A-rimathia wedded to a Britain. 203.4
Eufest King Stephens second sonne, Duke of Normandie. 447.9
Sodainly frantick dieth 453.46
His wife and buriall. 454.52
Eufestie Earle of Mortaigne, and Boloigne maketh a frey in Canterbury. 399.12
Eufestie the Ruffianly Aposta-tie defeated at sea, and be-headed. 510.8
Exceffor a great part razed by the Danes 377.17
Exceffor besieged by William Conquerour yeldeth. 417
Besieged by Cornish Rebels. 805.20
Loyall to the king, and there-fore highly esteemed. ibidem

THE TABLE.

Exceffor holdeth out against Perkin Warbeck 743.50
Exchequer of Queene Mary in danger to be robbed. 828.103
Excommunication, how farre forth allowable. 887.11
Executions for Edmond de la Pole, the Earle of Suffolke cause. 748.61
Excommunication among the ancient Britons. 168
F
Fabianus Bishoppe of Rome conuertheth Iul. Philip Em-perour 240.2
Suffereh Martyrdom, ibidem
Factions betweene the Dukes of Burgundy and Orleans, how they arose 620.48
Factions in Scotland raised by the French King 782.121
Fagunus alias Fagunus, or Fa-gunus a great Clerke. 206.18
Falso conspireth the death of Pertinax 226.5
Fallais-towne in Normandy be- sieged by King Henry the fifth 637.50
Vpon what conditions to bee surrendered ibidem
Delivered vp 638.50
Fallais Castle vpon what con-ditions rendered vp to king Henry the 5. 638.51
Famine 296.3
Famine in England 538.27.29
Famine in King Henry the third his time. 721.59
Famine at Castle Galiard. 491.22
Fastidius a learned British Bi-shop 206.19.277.19
Lord Fauconbridge his itera-tiue game at the battell of Tow-ton 675.8
Earle of Kent a great supporter of king Edward the fourth his Crowne 684.75
Bastard Fauconbridge proclai-meth Henry the sixth, king in the West. 681.49
Bastard Fauconbridge; Thomas Neuill, Admirall to the Earle of Warwick, Richard Neuill Captaine of the Lan-castrians, roueth at sea, 684.75
Headayleth London, and is withstood 685.76
He resisteth London, and is for-ced to his ships 687.77
Knighted by Edward the 4. and made Vice-Admirall. 686.85
Fausfa wife to Constantine the great, a good Lady 259.7
Put to death 260.8
Fausfa the sonne of Vorriger by his owne daughter. 313
His vertuous and deuout life. ibidem
Felons aboute 3. yeeres of age, and Felonie stealing aboute twelve pence 364.4
Ferdinand Earle of Flanders, a-gainst king Philip intrusion for the Crowne of England 500.50.
Executed. 742.47
Sir Andrew Flammock the Kings Standard-bearer at Muckle- through field his valour. 805.15
Flaminus Claudius Emperour. 247.2
His descent ibidem
His vertues ibidem

His letter to the Senate ibidem
His victory ouer the Galles. ibidem
He dieth a naturall death. ibidem
His personage and qualities. ibidem
His honour after death. ibidem
Flamours vnder interdict by Pope Beneditt the 12. 374.64
Flanders offered to king Rich-ard the second 598.46
Flemings planted in Wales. 437.25
They doe King Henry the first good seruice ibidem
Flemings mercenary Souldiers driuen out of the Realme, 456.3
Attempt by treacherie to sur-prise Henry Fitz-Empresse. 454.48
Flemings in league with King Edward the third against France. 571.42
Flemish Nauy vanquished at sea by the English. 587.145
Flodden field 755.13
Florentius of Worcester an Hi-storyographer, when hee li-ued 163.16
Florians vsurpeth the Em-pire of Rome 251.1
His death ibidem
His Coine. ibidem
Floures de-lis, or Lilies of Fraunce how borne in King Edward the third his time, 572.51
Fogge the child. 751.16
Frier Forss burnt 780.11
Miles Forss one of the murd-ers of Edward the fifth, and the Duke of Yorke his bro-ther 715.18
He dieth miserably 716.100
Fort-dil-Ore in Ireland. 853.147
William de Fortibus Earle of Aumarle maineth the Castle of Biham, and entrench re-bellously into Roxors 511.11
He with his complices pardo-ned ibidem
Foulke Earle of Anion, King of Ierusalem 449.49
Fowage what imposition it was 586.136
Foway in Devonshire burnt by the French 667.67
Richard Fox Doctor of Diuini-ty in great fauour with King Henry the 7 721.40
Advanced by him ibidem
Founder of Corpus Christi Colledge in Oxford. ibidem
A great preferer of Antiqui-ties. 721.40
L. Priuy Seale & of the Priuy Councell. 729.10
Richard Fox Bishoppe of Dur-ham agent for a marriage betweene Iames the fourth King of Scotland, and Lady Margarete eldest daughter of King Henry the seventh. 747.64
France in a combustion vpon the death of the Duke of Guize and the Cardinal. 867.253
France annexed to the kingdom of England 157.73
France, whence, and when it tooke that name. 279.5
France with the Crown there-of, how deuolued vpon king Edward the third. 467.15.86.
France alloweth the right of that Kingdome, deriued from heires

THE TABLE.

heires for all. 627.19
 France in a miserable state. 656.21
 France deeply indebted to England. 833.8
 France reculeth from the English. 678.29
 Francis Duke of Britaine dieth. 735.25
 Francis 1. the French king taken prisoner before Paris. 631.53
 Imprisoned in Madrid. 763.60
 Francis 2. King of France sendeth forces into Scotland against the Protestants. 834.17
 Yeeldeth vp his Dominions to the Pope. 835.22
 His death. *ibid.*
 Saint Francis for his 5 wounds canonized a Saint at Rome. 512.13
 Franciscan Friars their 4 orders pernicious to the Clergy of England. 583.129
 How mighty they were elsewhere. 583.121
 Frankens vanquished by Constantine the Great. 260.5
 Frea the wife of Woden. 385.12
 Freemen in the state of Rome, what they were. 200.23
 Fredericke Emperour depofed from his Empire by the Pope. 516.29
 Fremond his death and buriall. 346.19
 French Army first quartered with the English. 572.50
 The French prepare to invade England. 599.48
 The French assaile the Ile of Rhé, and the Coasts of Suffolk. 783.129
 The French commanded out of England. 628.29
 Frethericke Abbot of Saint Albans rout and politticke Prelate. 416.4
 His descent. *ibid.*
 His good speeches to William Conquerour ill taken. 418.25
 Frethericke King of Bernicia. 302.5
 Friday whence it tooke name. 288.7
 Friars distast and odious throughout all England in King Richard the second his dayes. 610.17
 Friars of the 5. Orders, their great Reuenues in England. 778.101
 A Frier Carmelite for accusing John of Gaunt Duke of Lancaster, committed and murdered. 597.40
 A Frier Minor drawne and hanged for a franke speech, in the behaile of K. Richard the second. 616.26
 Friars Minor, or Franciscans in number 8, hanged and headed for fauouring the cause of King Richard the second. 616.26
 Frisco an Idoll of the Saxons, how portrayed. 288.8
 Frise the supposed Author of the Psalms. 284.1
 Saint Friswilde Church in Oxford, a Sanctuary, burnt with Danes in it, by the English. 377.16
 Repaired by K. Ethelred. *ibid.*
 Sir Martin Frobisher, or Furber his Nauigations into

the North-East Seas. 852.141
 Int. Frontinus subdueth the Silures in Britaine. 211.9
 Fulco a French Priest how hee reproacheth King Richard the first. 482.71
 Ralph de Fulgiere hauing taken part against Henry the second, compoundeth for his ranfome. 467.79
 Furnishe Abbey founded. 454.49
 Dreadfull Fire in Southwarke and vpon London-bridge. 500.49
 The Fire-Crosse in Scotland what it was. 804.9

G Alba proclaimed Emperour by Vindex. 200.25
 His coine. 201.1
 He gat the Empire before hee looked for it. 201.1
 His pollicy to make Nero more odious. *ibid.*
 His oration to his Souldiers. 201.2
 Hee purposeth to resigne vp the Imperiall Diademe. 201.3
 He is murdered. 201.5
 His person described. 201.6
 His vices, age and raigne. *ibid.*
 Galerius Maximinus to Cesar Dioclesian. 254.4
 Galerius Emperour with Constantine Chlorus. 257.1
 His coine. 257.2
 Galsac, generall of the Brittaines against Agricola. 214.7
 His oration to the Brittaines. 214.8
 His coine. 216
 A valiant Prince of the Caledonians. 177.4
 His supposed coine. *ibid.*
 A Gallaffe of Naples taken. 861.21
 Gallienus chosen Emperour in Rome. 245.1
 An vnkind sonne. *ibid.*
 His vanities. *ibid.*
 His owne, his wifes, and sons coine. *ibid.*
 He staith the persecution of Christians. 245.3
 His troublefome times foreshewed by Saint John in the Apocalyps. 246.4
 He is murdered. 246.5
 A Gallio of Bisy take. 861.21
 Gallio sent to aide the Brittaines against Scots & Picts. 279.6
 Galls or Gauls why so called. 158.5
 Named before time Cimbris as descended from the Gomerians. 161.9
 Long vnknown to Historiographers. 161.4
 Galloglasht in Ireland, why so called. 285.8
 Trebonianus Gallus by treason becometh Emperour. 242.1
 His birth. 242.2
 His carelesse and cruel gouernment. 242.3
 His coine. 242.4
 He banisheth Christians. 243.4
 Gallus and his sonne. 243.5
 His life and raigne. *ibid.*
 Gallus, Cesar to Const. 263.7
 Licentious and cruel. *ibid.*
 Executed. *ibid.*
 Stephen Gardiner setteth forraigne Princes against King Henry the eight. 779.105

Bishop of Winchester & Lord Chancellor examineth Lady Elizabeth in the Tower. 823.57
 Henry Garnet superiour of the Iesuites in England. 884
 Order of the Garter founded. 576.79
 The Motiues and occasion thereof. *ibid.*
 Ceremonies belonging to this Order. 576.81
 The first 26 founders of this Order who they were: Map of Barkshire
 Garter principal King at Armes first instituted. 648.83
 Garter King at Armes sent from King Henry the 8. with defiance into France. 782.126
 Gascogne lost by the English. 662.45
 Gascogne sheweth hope to bee recovered. 666.60
 Gascognes become good subjects to K. Henry the third. 532.83
 Sir John Gates executed. 817.17
 Gausfred. See Blackflow.
 Robert de Gauze defendeth the Castle of Newark against K. Henry the third his Army. 511.10
 Geoffrey ap Arthur. 163.12
 Geoffrey of Monmouth when he liued. 163.13
 Geoffrey, a younger sonne of K. Henry the second rifest against his father. 406.65
 He is Duke of Britaine. 468.86
 Called a childe of perdition. *ibid.*
 His miserable ende. 469.93
 Geoffrey the fourth son of King Henry the 2. by his wife, is Duke of Britaine. 470
 His death, buriall, and issue. 470.105
 Geoffrey a base son of King Henry the second by Rosamund his Concubine. 471.112
 His rising, aduancement, buriall and issue. 471.112
 Geoffrey Archbishop of Yorke disloiall vnto his brother King John. 486.9
 Geoffrey Archdeacon of Norwich leaueth King John and obeith the Pope. 407.41
 His punishment. *ibid.*
 Geoffrey Fitz-Roy, base sonne of King John. 507.73
 Genisse the daughter of Claudius Cesar. 194.12
 The Gentlemen murdered by Rebels in the North. 809.50
 George-Owen-Harry, his booke of Pedegrees. 164.19
 Saint Georges Chappel in Windsor Castle. 576.81
 George Duke of Clarence inclineth to his brother, King Edward the 4. 681.46
 Attaine of high Treason and committed to the Tower. 689.104
 He endeuoureth to reconcile Richard Newill Earle of Warwick to his brother K. Edward the fourth. 683.60
 Emprisoned by his brother K. Edward the fourth. 689.106
 George the good Duke of Clarence, a tutor vnto Mary daughter to the Duke of Burgundy. 689.105
 Conuict and attaint, of high Treason, and so himselfe and

his issue disabled for inheriting the Crowne. 712.4
 Drowned in a But of Malmesbury. 689.107
 His issue. *ibid.*
 Germans, Pagans, take their names from beatts. 289.5
 Saint Germans in Cornwall, a Bishop See annexed to that of Excester. 368.6
 Saint German, assisteth the Brittaines against Pelagians Scots and Picts. 281.1
 Germans and Lepus, two Bishops assist the Brittaines against Pelagians and Saxons. 537.99
 Geruase, a naturall sonne of K. Stephen, Abbot of Westminster. 454.57
 He lieth ther within the Cloister. *ibid.*
 Gessoriacum, is Balaie or Bullein in Picardy. 254.6
 Septimius Geta ruleth part of Britaine. 229.9
 Emperour with his brother Bassianus Caracalla. 221.1
 Slaine by his brother Caracalla euen in his mothers armes. 232.3
 Giants progeny in Britaine is ridiculous. 158.4
 Gilbert the 5. base sonne of K. Henrie the first. 447.70
 Gilbert, brother to Richard Earle Marshall, hath his brothers lands and possessions. 520.48
 Gilbert Earle of Gloucester slaine in fight. 557.25
 Gildis the British Historiographer. 163.15
 When he liued and died. *ibid.*
 He declareth the Brittaines wofull calamities. 281.2
 Gildo or Gildas Gouvernour of Africke. 274.6
 Rebellethe and is beheaded. 275.2
 Saint Giles brotherhood without Creple gate in London erected. 648.83
 Gilla the wife of Rollo, her descent. 413.19
 Gillemarc King of Ireland. 313.4
 Girald Fitz-Girald Earle of Kil-dare at variance with Piers Butler Earle of Ossory. 762.55
 Lord Deputy of Ireland. *ibid.*
 Accused by the Earle of Ossory of many misdemeanors. *ibid.*
 His answer to Cardinal Wolsey his accusations, in the behaile of Piers Butler Earle of Ossory. 762.57.58
 Committed to prison by Cardinal Wolsey. 763.59
 Sent to the Tower. 763.59
 In danger of being beheaded. *ibid.*
 His noble Courage. 763.59
 Recceiued into Dublin with procession. *ibid.*
 Girib brother to King Harold, disswadeth him from the field. 466.32
 At Gisors a famous victory achieved by King Richard the first. 481.65
 Githa mother of Harold the 2. 403.8
 Glasse in British is blew. 159.7
 Glasfenny Abbey built. 298.11
 Sumptuously endowed with rich ornaments. *ibid.*
 Glasfenny

THE TABLE.

Glastenbury first receiuethe the Gospell. 202.2
 Burnt. 207.21
 Re-built. *ibid.*
 Glastenbury Abbey poorly built at first, by what Princes raised to great glory. 207.21
 With what Titles termed. *ibid.*
 Glasfenn is Wood. 159.7
 Gloucester built by Claudius Caesar. 194.12
 A tide, fatal to the Dukes thereof. 710.1
 Countesse of Gloucester taken prisoner in Tambridge Castle. 537.99
 Set at large by King Henry the third. *ibid.*
 Glorie from the people, a bubble. 201.3
 Glosa, 1. Dunbritton Friar. 212.6
 Godea refisteth the Danes, and is slaine. 1276.6
 Godea daughter to King Ethelred the vncle. 381.51
 Doctor Godard at Pauls Crosse declareth King Henry the 6. true heire to the English Crowne. 681.49
 Godfrey de Boleyn refuseth to weare his Crowne of gold in Ierusalem. 456.9
 He recouereth Ierusalem. 469.94
 Godfrey Duke of Loraine with other Captains in the Holy voiage. 431.20
 Godfrey the Norman, seized of pait of Newfria. 411.4
 Godfrey, Strickers sonne chased into Scotland. 364.5
 Assailed by Constantine King of Scotland, and Howel, alias Ludwal King of Wales. *ibid.*
 Sir Godfrey de Crancomb knight apprehendeth Hubert de Burgh, and barbarously entreateth him. 517.34
 Godfrey Nunnery by Oxford founded. 506.63
 Gog and Magog. 256.13
 Gold threefoote thousand ounces given by Tancred King of Sicilie to Richard the first, K. of England. 274.19
 Gomer gave name to the Gomerians and Cimbris. 161.4
 Goodman Earle of Kent, putteth the Vandales to flight. 391.9
 Affected the Crown of England. 397.6
 His diuells policy. 397.7
 His gifts to the King. *ibid.*
 He and his sonnes molest K. Edward the Confessor in his raigne. 399.12
 Hee seeketh to bee popular. *ibid.*
 He bandeth against the King. 400.13.14
 He and his fiue sonnes banished. 400.15
 Proclaimed Outlawes. *ibid.*
 They become Pirates. 400.16
 He returneth into the Kinges fauour. 400.19
 Dieth sodainly at Winchester. *ibid.*
 Goodwin King Harold's sonne, from out of Ireland inuadeth England. 417.14
 Goodwins sands why so called. 432.39
 Gordianus elected Emperour, and his sonne Cesar. 236.4
 Gordianus the father strangleth himselfe. 237.5
 Gordianus the yonger slaine. 237.5

His Coine. 237.4
 Gordianus the third sonne to old Gordianus his daughter Cesar to Papiennus and Balbinus. 238.1
 Elected Emperour. *ibid.*
 His speech to the Souldiers. 239.5
 Deposed. 240.6
 Becometh a Captaine vnder Philip his Praefect. *ibid.*
 Is slaine. *ibid.*
 Gordianus the third, Emperour, his monument. 240.6
 His vertues. 240.7
 Gordius Duke of Cornwall. 315.3
 Gothri inuade Roman prouinces. 241.4
 They inuade the Empire. 247.3
 Gothred claiming the Crowne of Scotland, vanquished and hanged by K. John. 498.45
 Gommund in Gaham. 314.7
 Matthew Gough a worthy Warriour, slaine in conflict with lacke Cade. 664.53
 Hugh Gournay his valour in defence of the Castle Galiard. 491.22
 His ingratitude and infidelity to otherwife. *ibid.*
 Grecians inhabited all the coasts wel neer of the world. 160.7
 Granada City desitibed & rendered to Ferdinando King of Spaine. 746.62
 Granada Kingdom recovered from the Moores. 746.62
 Granteor for an ancient City decayed. 310.5
 Gratianus Generall in Britaine. 263.4
 His strength. *ibid.*
 Surnamed Funarius. *ibid.*
 Flaminus Gratianus Emperour with his father Valentinian, 272.1
 His Coine. *ibid.*
 Colleague with his brother Valentinian in the Empire. *ibid.*
 Defeated by Clemens Maximus, and treacherously murdered. 276.5
 Gratian a Britaine made Emperour and murdered. *ibid.*
 Sir Henry Green Councilor to King Richard the second, beheaded at Bristol. 608.108
 Gregory afterwards Pope, taketh a liking to the Angles at Rome. 329.5
 Pope Gregory, otherwise named Hildebrand, his impiety. 422.49
 Pope Gregory the 11. laboureth to vntie King Edward the 3. and the French King against the common enemy of Christendome. 587.141
 Pope Gregory the 13. inciteth Philip the second King of Spaine against England. 853.146
 Sir Thomas Gresham founder of the Royall Exchange in London. 852.140
 John Grey Bishoppe of Norwich, enthronized Archbishop of Canterbury. 494.31
 Deputed Gouvernour of Ireland by King John. 497.43
 Walter Grey Archbishoppe of Yorke. 504.57
 Lord Grey of Ruthen, quit his place at the Battell of Northampton, and fledde to the Yorkits. 670.79

Sir Ralph Grey Knight, in what manner degraded, and then beheaded. 676.15
 Sir Thomas Grey Marquesse Dorset, seeketh to escape from Henry Earle of Richmond in France. 722.45
 Lord Leonard Grey beheaded for treason. 780.109
 Lord Grey raseth Chastillon Garde a Bastillon neer to Bulloigne, a prohibition to the contrary, vnder King Henry the 8. his hand notwithstanding. 783.132
 Pardoned therefore with many thanks. 783.132
 Lord Grey of Wilton Lieutenant of the North, winneth and fortifieth many holds in Scotland. 811.61
 Henry Lord Grey Duke of Suffolk pardoned. 818.22
 His second offence, for which he after died. 818.21
 Apprehended and sent to the Tower. 818.22
 Beheaded. 818.23.26
 Thomas Lord Grey suffereth death. 818.26
 Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, General of the English forces sent into Scotland to expell the French. 834.18
 Deputy of Ireland. 853.148
 Vanquished and killed both Spanish and Irish in the Fort Del-Ore. 853.148
 Thomas Lord Grey of Wilton, arraigned and condemned of treason. 886.14
 Reprieved. 886.17
 Lady Lane Grey her commendable parts. 817.19
 Her letter sent to her father, *ibid.*
 Condemned. 818.20
 Her speech vpon the Scaffold at her death. 818.24
 Grey-Friers Church in London lately suppressed, made a parish Church. 783.132
 Endowed and maintained with fiue hundred Markes yearly of lands. 783.132
 Griffith alias Griffith King of South-Wales incesteth Engeland. 399.11
 Griffith or Griffith ap Ithelwyl, Prince of Northwales, spoileth Hereford, &c. 403.3
 Beheaded. 403.5
 Griffith or Griffith elder brother to David Prince of Wales, breaketh prison, and sticketh by the necke. 426.67
 The Groine surprised by the English. 864.223
 Robert Groshead the Maile of Rome, his letter to the Pope. 532.83
 His death and prophetic. *ibid.*
 Grotes and halfe Grotes of silver coined by King Edward the third. 581.110
 Guarana a Priest, ordained Primate of Ireland, by Pope Urban the second. 854.152
 Slaine in the field. *ibid.*
 Guard of the Kings person first instituted. 729.9
 Guardians appointed for the gouernement of London. 605.89
 Guafo de Biern rebelleth, and vpon his appeale condemned in Law, set at liberty by K. Edward the first. 543.8
 Guido King of Ierusalem taken

prisoner. 468.90
 Guido de Lusignan late King of Ierusalem, possessed of Cyprus for reaignation of Ierusalem. 477.40
 Guido husband to Constance, and mother to Arthur king John's brother, in league with King John and the English. 494.33
 Lord Guilford Dudley weddeth Jane Grey eldest daughter to Henry Lord Grey Duke of Suffolk. 812.74
 Condemned. 818.20
 Beheaded. *ibid.*
 Gultam a Frier in Scotland preacheth feruently against the Pope. 782.121
 Guiliam King of Ireland tributary to Arthur Duke of Britaine. 468.9
 Guimundus his prety reproof of King Henry the first. 438.31
 Preferred therefore. *ibid.*
 Queene Guinevere body found interred with her husband King Arthur. 317.38
 Gunnes when first vsed in England. 619.44
 Gundard daughter to King William Conquerour, her issue and buriall. 426.73
 Lady Gunhilda with her husband both Christians slaine. 377.16
 Gunhilda daughter of King Canute, wife to the Emperour Henry the third, of surpassing beauty, suspected of incontinency, & cleared by combat. 393.24
 Gun-powder treason plotted, to what intent. 889.32
 Guorag Earle of Kent disposed by Henigist. 290.8
 Gynno or Gurmund how entirely hee loued his sonne Canute. 392.7
 Gwirthram, alias Gurmund a King of the Danes, 356.4
 Baptized. 357.16
 Named at the Font, Althelstan by Elfred. *ibid.*
 Made Gouvernour of the East Angles. 358.19
 His death and buriall. *ibid.*
 Gutta, See Lure.
 Gwiltun King of the Danes converted to the faith of Christ here in Britaine. 205.17
 Guy de Beauchampe Earle of Warwick surpriseth Piers Gaucisson. 556.14
 Died not without suspicion of poyson. 557.17
 Guy the bastard of Flanders ouerthrowne, and slaine by the English. 571.42
 Guido or Guy Fawkes sent into Spaine to negotiate the inuasion of Great Britaine. 889.35
 Duke of Guise aimeeth at the Crowne of France. 1866.245
 The Guizians practices, 16.
 The Duke of Guize being forewarned of his owne death, neglected it. 866.249
 Duke of Guize and the Cardinal slain by the French King Henry the third, his commandement. 867.
 Prayed after his death publicly by the Papists. 253.
H Adrian de Castello learned and eloquent, aduanced

THE TABLE.

uauced by Henry the 7.
Made a Cardinall, seeketh to
be Pope 735.27
Hadrian his wall 219.5
Fortified 220.2
His politicke government 218.3
He came in person into Brittain 218.5
Hee faoureth Christians 219.8
His birth and descent 218.1
Hee forbiddeth persecution
of Christians. *ibidem*
His wonderfull memory .
218.2
His death 219.9
His skill and knowledge, .
218.2
His personage, raigne and
age *ibidem*
His Coines 218.219.5
Hadrian the sixth Pope. 735
27
Haire worne long by men, an-
swerable to that of women .
442.59
Sir James Hales, alias Haller,
refused to subscribe vnto K.
Edwards disheriting of the
Ladies Mary and Elizabeth
his sisters. 812.75
Sir Robert Hales Prior of St.
Johns, &c. beheaded by Re-
bels 595.19
Hall a Seminary Priest, anima-
teth *Someruile* to kill Queen
Elizabeth 845.82
Halden a king of the *Danes*
356.5
Hallidowne Hill battell, and
victory on the English side
616.28
Hamilton slaine by *Newton*
in combat 811.61
Hammer besieged by the garri-
son of *Calais* 732.44
Hansflore purged of theues by
King Henry the third. 529
74
Hannibal whether he warred in
Britaine 168.9
Hawflew besieged and assaulted
by King Henry the fifth.
630.39
Delivered vp to him. 630.40
Peopled with the English. 630
43
Hawflew besieged by the French
635.35
Hawflew recovered from the
French by the Duke of *Som-
erset* 660.35
Harald or Harald the first King
of Norway sacrificeth his Chil-
dren 288.8
Harald sonne of Radulph, an-
cestor to the Barons of *Sut-
ley* 811.51
Hardi-Canute sonne of Canute
Monarch of England. 393
33
Hardi-Canute King of England
his Coine 704.46
Abuseth the dead Corps of
Harald Harfotson his halfe
brother 396.3
His respectiue care of his mo-
ther Emma, and brother
prince Edward 396.4
Hardi-Canute an Epicure. 396.
5
His death and raigne. 377.10.
11
Sir Iohn de Harleston Capitaine
of Cheinburg a valiant War-
riour 599.9
Harold Harfotson base sonne of
Canutus why so called. 393

His Coine *ibidem* 361.6
Monarch of England. *ibidem*
His raigne and death. 395.10
Harold Harfotson King of Nor-
way entrench league with K.
Edward the Confessor, .
399.9
Harold Harfotson King of Den-
marke claimeth the Crowne
of England 405.19
Why fo called 405.20
He together with *Tostig* invade
England *ibidem*
Both slaine 405.23
Harold the second, Earle *Good-
wins* sonne, Monarch of Eng-
land. 403.1
His Coine 402
His vertues 403.1
Hetaketh part with his father
against the King 403.2
His marshall exploits before
he was King 403.3.4.5
Taken prisoner in France, &
presented to William the
Duke of Normandy. 403.6
Affianceth *Adeliza* Duke *Wil-
liams* daughter *ibid.*
Referueth the Crown of Eng-
land for Duke William vpon
a condition *ibidem*
His lineall descent 403.8
He crowneth himselfe King.
104.11
His Answer to Duke William
Ambassage. 404.15
K. Harold the second slaine
in battell. 407.39
His dead corps discovered by
Edith *Spauhalfe* 408.50
King Harold the second his bu-
rial and Epitaph. 408.50
Entered in *Waltheam* in *Essex*.
415.1
His commendation 408.51
His Issue 408.54
Harpes and Harlots the Sub-
iect of *Neroes* exercises. 197
Hastings a towne burnt by the
French 593.3
Hasting a Norman Arch-pyrat
obtained the Earldome of
Chartiers at the French kings
hands 411.4
Hasting of Norway entrench
England 358
Periured, and ioyne with
the *Danes* *ibid.*
William Lord Hastings, Lord
Chamberlain, held in iea-
lousie by Queene Elizabeth wife
to King Edward the fourth.
694.9
Arrested in the Councel cham-
ber within the Towre. 703
Hastilie beheaded within the
Tower *ibid.*
Familiar with *Shores* wife in
King Edward the 4. his daies,
and after 703.46
His description 704.46
Sir Edward Hastings his me-
ritage to *Wiat* 819.35
Hawsker Ancestor to the
Dukes of *Saxonie*, 324.3
Robert Hawsker a valiant Esquier
murdered in Sanctuary by
the meanes of Iohn Duke of
Lancaster 593.7
Entered in Westminster Abbey
Church *ibidem*
Iohn Hawsker Hawkwood, alias
Hawfereb a famous warri-
our in *Italie* 584.129
Sir Iohn Hawkwood dieth in
Florence. 605.90
His Statue *ibidem*

Heladine a Danish King slain.
361.6
Hebrides Ilands annexed to the
Crown of Northumberland
by king Edwin 334.2
Hegley Moore skirmish 676
14
Helena mother of Constantine
the great, a British Lady
205.13. 258.8
Her coine 258
The lawfull wife of *Constanti-
nus Chlorus* the Emperour
258.8
Her birth and vertues *ibid.*
Shee built a Church in the
place where Christ suffered
ibidem
Why called *Stabularia*. *ibid.*
Helena Queene of *Adiabena*, a
conuert and vertuous Lady
258.9
Her sepulchre. *ibidem*
Helias de Brantfield alloweth
not the election of Langton.
Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*
496.37
Helias Confull of *Cenomania*,
his couragious answer to
King William Rufus. 431.
32
Put to death by King Henry
the first 438.30
Heliogabalus or Elagabalus
what it signifieth 233.4.
234.1
Heliogabalus the Emperour his
Coine and superscription.
234.1
His excessiue wickednesse.
ibidem 2
His exceeding sumptuousnes
234.3.4.5
His troubled conscience. *ibid.*
His age and raigne 235.7
Hengist and Horfe brethren,
when and with what power
they entred Britaine 289.1
What their names signifie.
289.5
Hengist possessed of Kent. 289
3
Hee feasteth King *Vortiger*,
ibidem. 4
His Country and parentage.
290.7
First King of Kent 293.1
Hengist the first Monarch of
the English Nation. 324
Hengist his Armes. 324
Hengist slaine 291.16
His death otherwise related.
293.1
His raigne. *ibidem*. 324
Henning a leader of the *Danes*
378.23
Henry sonne to Robert *Curtis*
hanged in New-Forest. 421.46
Henry sonne to William *Con-
querour* his education. 425.
71
Surnamed *Beauclerke* 426.71
Oppugned by both his breth-
ren, William Rufus, and Rob.
Curtis 429.13
Henry the first, King of England
why called *Beauclerke*. 434.
12.
His Armes, Broad-Scall, and
Coine, *ibid.*
His coronation 435.3
Hereformeth the Court first.
435.4
He marrieth *Maud*, and ioin-
to the English blood. 435.5
He allureth the Normans to
side with him 436.17
He taketh *Cane* in Normandy
436.17

His smooth Oration to his
Nobles for to winne them.
437.30
Breaketh promise to his Peers
438.27
Goeth to secure Normandy.
439.17
Wounded in battell, & braue-
ly acquitteth himselfe. 439.
28
Marching against the Welsh,
strucken with an arrow, and
his Company fore assailed, &
hurt 440.43
Hee invadeth France 441.51
Vfeth means to disturbe *Plans*
diers against his Nephew *Wil-
liam* 441.51
His death in Normandy. 442.
47
King Henry the first his corps
wrapped in a Bulles hide to
auoide extraordinary stinck.
442.67
Entered at *Reading* *ibid.*
His prachemence and vices.
442.58
His personage *ibidem*. 59
His institution and learning.
ibidem
His vertues *ibidem*
His workes of deuotion.
ibidem
His Issue legitimate 442.62
His Naturall or illegitimate
Issue 443.66.88.
He had three Natural daugh-
ters (beside the rest) not na-
med. 444
Henry the son of *Geoffrey Plau-
tagenet*, and *Maud* the Em-
press 441.53.
Henry Fitz-Empreffe, arieth
and commeth to his mother
into England 452.39
He goeth into Normandy, &
Returneth into England with
an Army 453.41
Goeth againe into Norman-
die *ibidem*
Marieth Eleanor Dutcheffe of
Guien and *Aquitaine*. 453.
42.
Duke of Normandy, *Aniun*,
Aquitaine and *Guien*. 453
42
Returneth into England. 453
43
Adopted by King Stephen, as
his Sonne and Successor. 453
47.
Henry the second, king of Eng-
land, his Armes, Broad Seale
and Coine 455
His entrance and Coronation
455.2
His graue and wife Councell
of State 456.3
King Henry the second assu-
reth the succession to the
Crown vpon his two sons.
456.4
Doeth homage to King Lewis
of France for his Dukedoms
in France *ibidem*. 5
He entrench amity with *Mal-
colme* King of *Scots* 456.7
His Standard against the Welsh
abandoned by Henry &
Essex 456.8
Crowned in three feuerall pla-
ces. 456.9
Hee and his Queene Eleanor
refuse to weare their regall
Crownes 456.9
His Mortification and Pietie.
456.9
His affaires in Normandy after
he was King. 456.10
At variance with Lewis the
French

French King, but reconcil-
led *ibidem*
Henry eldest sonne to K. Henry
the second, marieth *Marg-
aret*, Lewis the French
Kings daughter *ibidem*
King Henry the second his
wildome, constancy and
zeale 457.13
Willing to haue Iustice indif-
ferently executed. 457.13
He aimeth at a free Emperie
or absolute Monarchie. 458.17
Sendeth an Embassage to
Rome against *Thomas Rec-
ket*. 459.25
He goeth about to forsake the
Pope, and ioyne with the
Antipape. 460
His Edict to match the Popes
Interdict 460.35
The losse of his best shippe
with his friends and follow-
ers. 460.37
He forroweth for the murder
of *Thom. Becket*. 461.44
King Henry the 2. his proiects
for the Conquest of Ireland.
462.46
His motiues and inducements
for the Conquest of Ireland.
462.48
Hee is ieaous of *Richard*
Strong-bow and other Cap-
taines seated in Ireland. 464.
59
His Edict for recalling home
the English *ibidem*
Pacified with *Strongbow* and
other Conquerours in Ire-
land vpon termes *ibid.*
He arieth with his forces
at *Waterford* 464.60
Hee keepeth a royall Chris-
tmas in *Dublin* 464.40
His purgation and absolution
for the death of *Thomas*
Becket 464.63
His penances *ibid.* 466.75
His rebellious enemies in
England ouercome in his
absence 465.70
His partakes against K. Henry
the younger his son. 465.70
He embarketh from Normandy
for England 466.74
His saying and prayer when
he taketh the sea *ibidem*
His felicity 466.78
Hee is compared with *Salom-
on*. *ibidem*
How many Ambassadors in
his palace at once. 466.78
He mourneth for his sonne.
468
He meeteth William King of
Scots at *Torke* 467.83
Hereiseth the Kingdome of
Ierusalem 468.88
His resolution for the holy
warre 469.96
How hee left it of. 469.97
The place of his Nativity.
469.99
Hee curseth his sonnes. *ibid.*
King Henry the second accep-
teth vnequal conditions of
Philip King of France. 469.98
His death *ibidem*
His raigne and age 469.100
His Issue. 470.102. &c.
Henry eldest sonne to K. Henry
the second crowned King
of England in his Fathers
time. 460.36. 479.103
His vnnatural behauiour and
speech to his father 460.37
He conspireth against his fa-
ther 465.65
His Seale. 467.79

His maintenance increased
ibidem 467.85
His death. 468.86 470.103
His repentance at his death
for his disobedience &c. 468.87
Henry the third, eldest sonne
of King Iohn: his seale, stile,
and coine. 508
His childhood, how succour-
red. 508.1
His first coronation. 509.3
His second coronation 511.11
His inducements and motiues
for war with France. 514.22
He raiseth money of his Sub-
iects and loseth their hearts
514.23
He tranporteth into Britaign
with a full Army. 516.27
His humility and charity. *ibid.*
Hee returneth without effect
ibid.
His wants how repaired. 516
31
He stireth personally in iudge-
ment vpon *Peter de Rualles*
and others &c. 521.49
He marrieth Eleanor daugh-
ter to *Raimund* Earle of
Prouince 522.53
The lately solemnity of this
marriage. *ibid.*
Hee is much addicted to the
Pope 523.57
Reproued therefore by *Richard*
Earle of *Cornwall* *ibid.*
In danger of being murdered
524.59
He attempteth the recovery of
Poitou 525.63
Much fauouring those of
Poitou and *Prouince* 529.77
Burdenous to his Subjects, &
to the *Iewes* especially. 526.
Driuen for want to sell his
Jewels 529.75
His base parcimony. 529.77
Hee stireth in the Couent of
Winchester and preacheth
vnto them 529.76
His hope to recouer Normandy,
frustrate 531.80
In small credit with his owne
Subjects, for waisting the
Treasure of the Realme. *ibid.*
Thought to haue no valor, &
therefore lesse regarded *ibid.*
Hee solemnely sweareth to
maintaine all liberties, and
to rule by law 531.82
His clemency to Traitors
strangers, and rigour to the
English 531.83
His great debts 532.84
Honourably entertained in
France *ibid.*
His charity to the poore. 532
84
His magnificent port and sea-
ting in France *ibid.*
Hee with the Pope grinde the
people 532.86
Hee stireth personally in the
Exchequer against Sherifes
and Bailiffes of Townes in-
corporate 533.87
His excellent memory 534.90
His laush expenses 534.92
Another *Protest* 535.92
Hee feareth *Simon Montfort*
Earle of *Leicester* more then
thunder and lightning. 535
94
Hee falleth into France to de-
mand Normandy 536.97
Hee quieteth his claime to
Normandy, *Aniun*, and other
parts, to the French King.
Hee abridgeth his stile and

changeth his broad Seale
536.97
Hee disclaimeth his former
oath at *Oxford*. 536.98
Hetaketh the Tower of *Lond-
on* and standeth vpon his
guard. 536.98
He seisteth the ancient rocke
of the Crowne *ibid.*
Taken prisoner by *Simon*
Montfort, Earle of *Leicester*
and led about with him 537
101. 538.102
Like to haue beene slaine at
the battell of *Evesham*. 538.103
His death. 539.105
His long reigne *ibidem*
His buriall *ibidem*
His wife & issue 539.106. &c.
Henry of *Bolingbroke*, Earle of
Derby, seeks adventures in
foreign parts 605.87
Created first Duke of *Lancas-
ter* 581.111
Earle of *Derby* and of *Lancas-
ter* his fortunate seruice in
Gascoigne & *Guien* 580.107
His honourable and liberrall
vsage of a Souldiour vnder
him. *ibid.*
Henry of *Bolingbroke*, created
Duke of *Hertford* 607.112
Banished first, for ten yeeres
afterward for 6. 608.103
Hee entrench againe into Eng-
land 608.108
He challengeth the Crown &
Realme of England. 609.114
Elected King of England in
the Parliament house 609
109
Crowned King, by the name
of King Henry the fourth
611
His Armes, broad Seale, and
Coine. *ibid.*
His Ambassages into forraigne
parts, for iustifying his ad-
ions in taking the Crown of
England 612.8
His death, and of the Prince
his sonn complotted. 613.14
He entrench *Northwales* with
an Army against *Owen Glen-
dowre* 615.22
In danger to be slaine, and is
fore wounded in his head
615.24
He taketh to wife *Iane of Na-
warre*, widow of *Iohn Mont-
ford* Duke of *Bretaigne* 616
30
His victory at *Shrewsbury*. 618
37
His wife and Christian answer
to the Duke of *Burgundies*
request 620.48
Hee forsaketh the Duke of
Burgundy and aideth the
Duke of *Orleance* 621.49
Hee falleth sicke and dieth
621.50
King *Henrie* the 4. his charge
vnto Prince Henry his sonne
at his death. 621.51
His wiues and issue. 621.
53. &c.
Henry of *Mummouth* eldest son
to Henry the fourth, Prince
of *Wales*, after King of Eng-
land 621.6
King Henry the fifth compared
to the Emperour *Titus Vesp-
asianus* 623.1
His Armes, broad Seale and
Coine. 623
His birth and mother. 623.2
Whiles he was Prince, wound-
ed at the battell of *Shrews-
bury* 624.4

Prince Henry his youthfull
franches 624.5.6
Removed from being presi-
dent of the Kings Councell
624.7
His behauiour at the Kings
Beuch to the Lord Chiefe
Iustice 624.6
His demaishour to the King
his father 625.10
King Henry the fifth his Cor-
onation *ibid* 11
His choise of good Council-
lers 625.11
His deuotion and zeale to
Religion *ibidem*
His iustice *ibidem*
His passionat and tender af-
fection to the dead corps of
King *Richard* the second
625.11
How hee claimeth his title
for France. 627.20.21.
He demaneth the Dutches
of Normandy, Aquitaine, &c.
628.25
What meanes were presented
vnto him for the warres of
France 628.26
Hee embarketh for France.
ibid.
629.33
His care that Churches should
not be spoiled 631.4
His noble victory at *Agin-
court* field 633.58. &c.
He returneth into England.
ibid.
634.29
Received into London. *ibid.*
His three aduantages for the
Conquest of France 636.
His second expedition into
France for Conquest 636
Hee sollicite Pope *Marthin*
to confirme him K of France
641.5
He goeth in person to *Troy*
in *Campaigne*, to affiance
the Lady *Katharin* of France
641.52
Stiled and proclaimed Re-
gent of France, during the
life of *Charles* the sixth, and
declared successor in the
Kingdome 643
He marrieth the Lady *Katha-
rine* of France 643.53
His oration to the States of
France 643.54
Taxed for cruelty. 644.56
His single fight with *Barbason*
644.57
His prophetic of Prince *Hen-
rie* his sonne, after King of
England 646.74
He with his Queene *Katharine*,
sit Crowned in their royall
Robes in *Paris*. 647.77
King Henry the fifth his last
speech on his death-bedde
vnto his Nobles 687.21
His death 648.82
His workes of deuotion. 648.
83
His vertues and commendati-
on *ibidem*
His dead Corps in what man-
ner brought into England.
648.84
When entred *ibid.* 85
His Epitaph. 649.85
His wife and Issue. 649.86.
87
Henry of *Windsor* crowned by
the name of King Henry the
6. with two Crownes. 648.
87
His Armes, Broad-Seale and
Coine 650
Borne at *Windsor*. 646.74
Hee contracteth marriage with
Margaret

THE TABLE.

Margaret daughter to Renato titular King of Sicily, 661.29
 Hee breaketh promise made to the Earle of Ardenne daughter 661.39
 His raigne interrupted, and himselfe with his Queen retireth into the North. 672.93
 Being disguised, hee returneth into England; is apprehended, and committed prisoner to the Tower of London 676.16
 His wife and Issue. 672.94
 Proclaimed King of England, and of France 681.4
 Hee receiveth Knight-hood. 683
 Crowned in Paris King of France 685.20
 Henry the 6, with his Queene fleeth to Kenilworth 684.51
 Wounded and taken in battell by Richard Duke of York, and the Yorkists 687.64
 His pious affection to compose factions in his Realme, 687
 Taken prisoner at Northampton 670.80
 His and the Lancastrians title how maintained against that of York 691.87
 He with his sonne Prince Edward disherished by Parliament 696.11
 By the States hee is taken out of the Tower, and goeth solemnly crowned to Pauls Church, 699.52
 Taken prisoner againe by K. Edward the fourth, and sent to the Tower. 683.61
 Murdered in the Tower by Crooke-backe Richard Duke of Glocester 685.78
 His lawes abrogated in Parliament 686.90
 His body carried bare-faced through the streets of London, twice bled fresh againe 685.79
 Entered in the Abbey of Chertsey *ibidem*
 Translated to Windsor. *ibidem*
 His Saint-like vertues, and feature of body. 685.80
 Henry the sixth like to have beene canonized a Saint. 685.80
 His red hat supposed to heale the head-ach 685.80
 His remembrance honoured by King Henry the seventh. 751.70
 Henry Earle of Richmond flyeth into Bretagne 687.84
 Sought after by King Edward the fourth 688.99
 He taketh Sanctuary at Saint Malo, *ibidem*
 Heire to the house of Lancaster. 718.27
 Attainted by Parliament. 720.37
 He hardly escapeth apprehension 721.39
 Arriveth at Milford haven, 722.46
 His order of battell 724.55
 His oration to his Souldiers 724.66
 Proclaimed and crowned in the field King Henry the 7. 725.49
 King Henry the seventh his Armes, Broad-Scale & Coin

His parentage. 659.32
 By the female line descended from the Beauforts, vncapable of succession to the crown by law 727.1
 The description of his minde and qualities. 730.3
 The portrait of his body. 738.4
 His avarice *ibidem*
 His entrance into London. 739.5
 His Coronation 739.5
 He marrieth Elizabeth eldest daughter of King Edward the fourth 739.6
 The marriage solemnized. 739.11
 He prepareth against Lambert Symnel and his Complices. 739.19
 What Nobles and Captaines repaired unto him at Northampton 739.19
 His speech unto his Nobles before the battell of Stoke, 735.31
 He entrencheth into London triumphantly. 734.23
 Hee aideth the Duke of Braganza with men and money against Charles King of France 734.25
 Drawne perforce to Warre. 736.39
 Winneth Londoners by popularity *ibidem*
 Enters his brother in the Marchant-Tailors Company *ibidem*
 His voyage with an Army into France 736.39
 Hee returns into England. 737.31
 His devotion. 748.66
 His delight in building. *ibidem*
 The two last scenes of his life. *ibidem*
 His courses taken with his wives kindred, branches of the family of York, and the Plantagenets 748.66
 Given overmuch to gather money 748.66, 70
 Hee falleth sicke of a pining disease 750.70
 His compunction of heart & remorse for his avarice, and polling the people. 750.7
 His death 751.70
 His faire buildings and foundations *ibidem*
 His age and raigne *ibidem*
 His good parts *ibidem*
 Saluted defender of Christes Church by three Popes. 751.70
 His will taketh order for restitution of monies, vniuially leuied by his officers. 751.70
 His wife 751.71
 His Issue *ibidem*, 72.8c.
 His buriall 751.71
 Henry sonne to King Henry the seventh, afterward King Henry the eighth. Created Prince of Wales, Earle of Chester, and of Flint 747.65
 He spouseth Lady Katherine wife to his brother Arthur. 747.65
 Henry the eighth king of England, his Armes, broad Scale and Coine 753
 His birth, education, and Coronation with his wife Katherine of Spaine *ibidem*, 1
 What Councell hee chose,

His iustice and Charity. 754.3
 His goodly shape of body & strength 754.4
 He by an Herald demandeth France and the Crown thereof, of Lewis the twelfth. 754.6
 Elected Caput federis Italici. 754.5
 He entrencheth league with many Princes, and Pope Julius the second 754.6
 He entrencheth France *ibidem*
 His meeting with Francis the French King. 758.34
 His Ambassadors vnto foreign States, relating wrongs done by the French vnto the English *ibidem*, 36
 His booke against Martin Luther 759.39
 He falleth from the Emperor Charles the fifth 761.53
 Likewise from Francis the French King 761.64
 Vpon what causes *ibidem*
 His marriage with Katherine of Spaine called in question 764.66
 He disclaimeth contract with Katherine of Spaine, whiles he was Prince *ibidem*, 67
 He refuseth Queen Katharine's bed 765
 His marriage with her condemned vnder the Seales of diuers Vniuersities 765.766
 His diuorce from Katherine of Spaine wrought by Cardinal Wolsey 766
 His speech to the Nobles and Iudges, as touching his wife Katharine of Spaine *ibidem*
 His marriage with her debated of here in England. 767.68, 69, 70
 King Henry the 8, and Queene Katharine summoned to appear personally in the Court at the Blacke Friars 767
 His marriage with Lady Katharine of Spaine dissolved by Act of Parliament 770.80
 Hee weddeth Lady Anne Bullen 770.82
 His complaint of the Pope to the French King. *ibidem*
 He marrieth Jane Seymour the morrow after Queen Anne's beheading 772.91
 His answer to the demands of the Yorkists Rebels 776
 His free pardon of the Northshire Rebels by proclamation 777
 Hee marrieth Anne of Cleve. 779.105
 He diuorceth her 781.106
 He marrieth the Lady Katharine Howard 779.108
 He espoused Katharine Parr 780.113
 His conference with his Queene Katharine Parr about religion 781.113
 He assumeth the name of King of Ireland. 781.14
 His expedition into Scotland 781.115
 Hee sicketh 783.133
 His Will *ibidem*, 134
 His three children ordained to succede in the holding of the Crowne 783.134
 He dieth penitent 784
 Buried at Windsor *ibidem*
 His Tombe unfinished, how sumptuous it should have

been 784.3
 His description for personage and qualities 783.135
 His wives 785.136, 8c.
 His legitimate Issue 785.142
 His naturall Issue. 786.148
 King Henry the eighth, and K. Salomon in some points compared 803.2
 The first King that quailed, & vncrowned the Pope. 205.
 Henry of Huntingdon when he wrote 163.12
 Henry a seventh naturall sonne of King Henry the first. 443.
 Slaine in battell *ibidem*
 His Issue *ibidem*
 Henry Bishop of Winchester, agent for his brother Stephen Earle of Mortaigne, to attain the Crowne of England 445.2
 He entrapeth the Nobles, 448.22
 Hee curieth the opposite of Maund the Empresse, 451.30
 Hee recalleth his curie. 451.
 Hee acquiesceth with Maund the Empresse *ibidem*, 35
 Henry Bishop of Winchester first Henry vnto Maund the Empresse 452.35
 Hee entrapeth the Empresse, 452.36
 Henry of Newburgh first Earle of Warwick since the Conquest 434.2
 Henry Prince of Scotland abandoned the field against the English 448.14
 Created Earle of Huntingdon. 448.16
 In danger at the siege of the Castle of Ludlow, and recovered by King Stephen. *ibidem*
 Henry the fourth Emperour, supposed to haue beene an Eremit in his latter dayes. 441.48
 And to change his name into Godscall *ibidem*
 Buried at Spire *ibidem*
 Henry the Emperour, and his Emperesse Constantia receiue the Imperiall Crowne from the Popes feet 475.24
 Punished for the wrongs done to King Richard the first, K. of England 479.53
 Hee dieth at Meffana, excommunicated for King Ricchards cause. 474.53
 His body lyeth about ground vnburied *ibidem*
 Henry Archbishop of Dublin alloweth not King Johns submission to the Pope. 500.48
 L. Henry sonne to Richard King of Romans, imprisoned in Dover by Simon Montfort 538.102
 Henry second sonne to K. Edward the first, his death and buriall 551.561.59
 Henry Hoffmire his fortunes against the Scots 616.28
 His dangerous rebellion. 617
 The causes pretended of his rebellion, published 617
 Hee is slaine at the battell of Shrewsbury 618.37
 His dead corps first buried, afterwards, drawne beheaded and quartered. 618.38
 Henrie bastard brother to Peter King

King of Castile, chosen and Crowned King of Spaine 585.131
 He murdereth his brother Peter with his owne hands 585.134
 Henry Le Spenser, the stout Bishop of Norwich, his good service against John Littlefaw a Rebel, King of the Commons 596.27
 He leadeth forces into Flanders for Pope Urban, against Clement the Antipape 597.36
 Henrie Lord Darley or Darnley eldest son to Mathew Earle of Lennox by Margaret daughter of Archibald Duglas and Margaret eldest daughter to Henrie the 7. 751.75
 His graue and Epitaph. *ibidem*
 Henrie L. Darley or Darnley their second sonne, his personage, and marriage with Mary Queene of Scots, 752
 Henry Fitz-moy naturall sonne of King Henry the eighth 786.148
 His Mother, time and place of Nativity *ibidem*
 His dignities his death, and buriall *ibidem*
 Henry 12, the French King quarrelled with by Queene Marie 839.109
 Defiance sent vnto him *ibidem*, 110
 Wounded to death intilting 834.16
 Henry the third King of France his eloquent and pithie Oration for vnion in France 866.244
 Hee giueth notice to Queene Elizabeth of the Spanishe Inuincible Armada 859.196
 Henry King of Scots shamefully murdered 841.60
 Henry of Bourbon Prince of Navarre, marrieth the Lady Margaret de valois, Charles the 9. King of France his sister. 836.35
 Being King of Navarre, disabled by the League and Guisards for the Crowne of France 866.242
 Henry King of Navarre, proclaimed King of France by the Army against Charles Cardinal of Bourbon. 867.255
 Sueth to Elizabeth Queene of England for aide *ibidem*
 Forsaketh his religion, and is crowned King of France, by the name of Henry the 4. 876.257
 Hierarchy of the Saxons 177
 Hircanius Lieutenant general in Britaine 228.3
 Hircanius Patriarch of Ierusalem 468.88
 Solideth King Henry the second to accept the Kingdom of Ierusalem *ibidem*
 He departeth home discontented. 468.90
 Jasper Herbert Earle of Pembroke created Duke of Bedford 729.5
 Lord Herbert Earle of Pembroke, marcheth against Sir John Conyers, and the Rebels in the North 679.32
 He with his brother Sir Richard Herbert valiantly fighting,

taken by the Rebels and beheaded 679.34
 Lord William Herbert Earle of Pembroke Lord General in the field against Wales. 820
 Andreu de Herckley Captaine of Carliel taketh Thomas Earle of Lancaster prisoner 559.39
 Created Earle of Carliel *ibidem*, 40
 Degraded, hanged, drawne, and quartered for Treason 560.48
 Hercules supposed to haue bin in Britaine 162.10
 Hereford Cathedrall Church built in memoriall of Ethelbert murdered 321.14
 Hereford wife to Ethelbert King of the East Saxons 335.14
 Hereward, his hallowed sword 419.28
 Hereward a Cattle in the life of Ely *ibidem*
 Heric King of the Northumbrians 367.3
 Herthum J. the Mother Earth worshipped 284.6
 Herthum a Goddesse of the heathen Saxons 287.7
 Heruieu de Monte Marisco, Mediator to King Henry the second in the behalf of Earle Strongbow &c. 464.59
 Hethorpe or Heathenfield battell 322
 Hexam field 676.15
 Hide Monastery which had beene before at Winchester 362.14
 Hierome or Ierome of Prage, Martyr burne 613.30
 Hilda, the famous, learned, & vertuous Abbess of Streaneshale 310.8 335.14
 Hildigerdus, Tutor to young Theodorus 277.11
 Histories of the first time, meere coniecturall. 161.3
 Holde or Holstide what it is and how it came vp. 397.11
 Holie made of Kent 770.83
 Executed with 7. of her disciples for treason. *ibidem*
 Hollanders new Coine vpon occasion of the Inuincible Nauy defeated. 863.224
 Henry Holland Duke of Excester and Earle of Huntingdon his high descent, alliance, & miserable state. 686.86
 Vnkindly vsed by his Lady Anne, sister to King Edward the 4. 686.87
 His body found dead on the shore of Kent *ibidem*
 Lord John Holland killeth the L. Stafford and taketh Sanctuary 599.50
 Earle of Huntingdon, taken and brought to Plym or Plym in Effex and beheaded 644.17
 John Holland being also Duke of Excester, drawne out of Sanctuary and couied to Pomfret Cattle by the Yorkists 667.65
 Suspected for the murder of Humphrey Duke of Glocester 614.17 663.49
 John Holland Duke of Excester left for dead at Barne field, recouereth, and taketh Sanctuary at Westminster. 683.66
 Thomas Holland Earle of Kent beheaded at Creecher by the

Townesmen 614.17
 Homers lines written in a Dragons guts 261.13
 Hounour Emperor in the Welsh his raigne and death 274.6
 Horeth J. Auguste in Scotland 215.14
 Robert Horne, a worthy Alderman of London perswaded resistance of lacke Cade. 664
 Horfa and Catigern, slaine in single fight 290.9
 Horfemen well appointed 40000. shewed at Blackheath field before King Richard the second. 596.48
 Horford the place of Horfa his Monument 290.9
 Knights Hospitalliers of Rhodus or S. John of Ierusalem, advanced by the fall of the Templers. 556.12
 Horfure, See Percy
 Howards Dukes of Norfolk, whence descended. 533.71
 Lord Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey inuaded Scotland. 743
 Lord Thomas Howard Earle of Surrey, and high Admirall of England winneth Morlaix in France 760.42
 Hee inuadeth and spoileth France 760.44
 Made Lieutenant of the North, in the holy Land 482.71
 Hugh Lupus Earle of Chester taketh part with Henry the young King, against King Henry the second, the father 465.65
 Taken prisoner 466
 Hugh Baron of Dunganon, 833.151
 Fleeth from his wives Father Twirlagh, into England 833
 Employed by Queene Elizabeth *ibidem*
 His service against the Earle of Desfontaine a Rebel. *ibidem*
 Made Earle of Tir-Oen. *ibidem*
 Complainer of Sir William Fitz-William the Lord Deputy, and others 854.153
 His diffimulations *ibidem*
 Hugh Baron of Dunganon & Earle of Tir-Oen, getteth the fort of Blackwater 289
 He and his adherents proclaimed Traitors 872.390
 His Victorie ouer the English in Ireland, neere to Arinagh 873.300
 Sueth for Parley and is rejected 873.304
 Receiveth a Plume of Phoenix Feathers as a present from the Pope 874.308
 He goeth on Pilgrimage to the Crosse at Tipperary. 874
 He with the Irish Rebels and auxiliary Spaniards put to flight 875.319
 Hee sueth to the Lord Lieutenant or Deputy for pardon 876.325
 Brought into England by Charles Blunt Lord Montjoy 885.8
 A valiant Warriour, but a persidious, subtle, and smooth-tongued Traitor. *ibidem*
 Robert Holdern Captaine of a Commotion about York 678.30
 Beheaded. *ibidem*
 Humfy

Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury meeteth King Richard the first most loy fully. 478.
 Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury his Sophistical oration against the Coronation of King John 484.5
 His forecast to bridle K. John. 485.5
 Made Lord high Chancellor *ibidem*
 Hubert Walter Archbishop of Canterbury his hollow heart to King John 487.12.488
 He outbraues King John. 487.12
 Hubert Archbishop of Yorks his death 493.31
 Hubert de S. Clare sauth King Henry the second his life by his owne death 456.4
 Hubblestone, who so called. 337
 Hugh or Hugo Bishoppe of Conseriolor default of appearance adiu'dged punishable 479.55
 Hugh Bishop of Lincoln royally buried. 487.11
 Hugh Le Brun, Earle of March conspireth against King John 388.15
 Hugo de Neuille slew a Lion in the holy Land 482.71
 Hugh Lupus Earle of Chester taketh part with Henry the young King, against King Henry the second, the father 465.65
 Taken prisoner 466
 Hugh Baron of Dunganon, 833.151
 Fleeth from his wives Father Twirlagh, into England 833
 Employed by Queene Elizabeth *ibidem*
 His service against the Earle of Desfontaine a Rebel. *ibidem*
 Made Earle of Tir-Oen. *ibidem*
 Complainer of Sir William Fitz-William the Lord Deputy, and others 854.153
 His diffimulations *ibidem*
 Hugh Baron of Dunganon & Earle of Tir-Oen, getteth the fort of Blackwater 289
 He and his adherents proclaimed Traitors 872.390
 His Victorie ouer the English in Ireland, neere to Arinagh 873.300
 Sueth for Parley and is rejected 873.304
 Receiveth a Plume of Phoenix Feathers as a present from the Pope 874.308
 He goeth on Pilgrimage to the Crosse at Tipperary. 874
 He with the Irish Rebels and auxiliary Spaniards put to flight 875.319
 Hee sueth to the Lord Lieutenant or Deputy for pardon 876.325
 Brought into England by Charles Blunt Lord Montjoy 885.8
 A valiant Warriour, but a persidious, subtle, and smooth-tongued Traitor. *ibidem*
 Robert Holdern Captaine of a Commotion about York 678.30
 Beheaded. *ibidem*
 Humfy

THE TABLE.

THE TABLE.

Hunfrey the Duke of Gloucester 622.58
his title
His commendable vertues & patronage of learning. *ibid.*
His wifes
Murdered at *Bury* *ibid.*
Buried at Saint *Albans* *ibid.*
His reasons against the Duke of *Orleans* his enlargement 660.38
Arrested of high Treason. 662.41
Found dead *ibid.*
His praises *ibid.*
Protector of England marriage *Jaqueline*, during *John* Duke of *Brabant* her husbands life 652.9
He challengeth combat of *Philip* Duke of *Burgundy* taking part against him with *John* Duke of *Brabant*. 653.9
He marrieth *Eleanor* daughter to *Reginald* Lord *Cobham* 653.9
He accuseth *Henry* Beaufort Bishop of *Winchester*. 653.9
Declared to have been a true Subject 667.64
Hunfrey *Lhuyda* learned scholar of Antiquities. 158.4
Hungar. See *Hunba*
Lord *Hungerford* beheaded for his offence in abusing Nature 779.108
Hunstanton Toure 311.14
Huntingdon Earle dome beheaded upon *Alexander* King of *Scots* 533.86
Held by *Henry* Prince of *Scotland* 446.7
Hurling times 597.34
John *Huffe* Martyr burned, 630.35
Peter *Hyalus* Embassador from *Spain* procurer a truce between *England* and *Scotland* 743.49

I
Acke *Straw*, his rebellion, his execution and confession 595.20
Lucke *Cade*. See *Cade*
Lack *Sharpe* of *Wigmore* land an Arch-rebell headed and quartered. 656.20
James the first King of *Scots* prisoner in *England*, and enlarged, marrieth *Jane* daughter to *John* Beaufort Earle of *Somerfet* 652.8
Murdered by the *Scots* 659
He intended Hostility to *England* *ibid.*
Crowned with a Crowne of red hot yron. 660.34
James the 2. King of *Scots* beheaded *Roxborough* against the *Turks* 670.83
Slaine there with the fluer of a great peece of Ordinance *ibid.*
James the third K. of *Scots* banished *Alexander* King of *Alban* his second brother. 689.110
James the third King of *Scotland* causeth *John* Earle of *Morre* his brother to bleed to death *ibid.*
Slaine in battell by his owne Subjects 735.27
James the fourth King of *Scots* contracteth marriage with *Margaret* eldest daughter to King *Henry* the seventh 747.64

He entertaineth *Perkin* *Warbeck* 741.43
He together with *Perkin* *Warbeck* invade *Northumberland* 741.43
Slaine at *Floden* Field 755.16
His valour in fight 755.16
His body supposed to have bene Embalmed and entered in *Shine* or *Shene*. 756.17
He is yet imagined to have escaped out of the field and fled to *Jerusalem* *ibid.*
James the fifth King of *Scots* dieth of a Melancholike passion 782.119
James *Clement* a *Iacobin* Friar killesh the French King *Henry* the 3. 866.254
Himselfe flabbed to death. *ibid.*
James the sixth King of *Scots*, after Monarch of great *Britaine*, the first King that by his penne depeinted Antichrist. 205.13
His lineall descent, from King *Henry* the seventh King of *England*, & *James* the fourth King of *Scotland* 748.65
A M E S the first Monarch of Great *Britaine* beginneth his raigne 883
Proclaimed King of *England*, *France*, and *Ireland*. &c. 884.2
His iust title to the Crowne of *England* 884.3
Hee commeth to *London* *ibid.*
His mercy to Prisoners. *ibid.*
Paralleled with *Constantine* the great and *Ottavian* *Augustus* *ibid.*
His entrance to the Crowne of *England* congratulated by forraigne Embassadors *ibid.*
His Coronation and Queene *Annes* his wife. 885.10
His gracious Letter for stay of execution of Traitors condemned 886.16
His speech to the Prelates and Church-gouernours before Conference about matter of Liturgy, and Gouernement of Church. 887.19
His demands vnto the Prelate, as touching Confirmation of Children Baptized, &c. *ibid.*
His speech vnto Diuines assembled for the said conference *ibid.*
His triumphant passage thorow *London* to *Westminster* with Queene *Anne*, Prince *Henry*, &c. 888.28
Enfiled solemnly King of Great *Britaine*, *France*, and *Ireland* 889.30
Scandalized and slandered by Papists 690.37
James Lord *Andley* his valour and bounty at the battell of *Poitiers*. 882.116
James alias *Jaques* & *Arteuile*, a potent man in *Flanders*. 570.41
Confedered with *Edward* the third against *France*, *ibid.*
Jane or *Jane* base daughter to King *John*, married to *Lewin* Prince of *Wales* 507.73
Her louing kindnesse to her Father *ibid.*

Jane de *Valois* intreareth for a truce between King *Edward* the third, and *Philip* de *Valois* the French King. 573.62
Jane alias *Jane* wife to *David* the second King of *Scots* dieth in *England* 584.127
Jane the third wife of *K. Henry* the 8. 785.138
Her parentage, when married her death and buriall. *ibid.*
Her wombe dript for King *Edward* the sixth his birth. 803.1
Queene *Jane* dieth. 779.105
Jane *Grey* made Succesor to the Crowne of *England* by King *Edward* the sixth in his will 812.75
Proclaimed Queene of *England* 816.16
Her parentage 812.75
Beheaded with the *L. Guilford* 818.23
Her speech at her death. *ibid.*
Janus Temple in *Rome* opened. 24
The same shut 239
Laphes Progenie peopled *Europe*. 161.2
Jaques *Van* *Arsenille* *Slaine* in a mutinie 577.78
See more in *James* *D' Arsenille* in *Arsenille*.
Jaques *Francis* a perfidious traitor 849.112
Jaquet Dutchesse of *Bedford*, mother to *Elizabeth*, *Edward* the fourth his wife flandered for Witchcraft. 711.3
Jasper Earle of *Pembroke* flyeth into *Breitaine*. 687.14
Jecius *Porius* thought to bee *Calais* 185.1
Icanians withstand *Ostoria* 104
Ouerthrowne 295.12
Oppressed by Roman officers rebell 198.11
Ida first King of *Bernicia*. 301
His raigne *ibid.*
Ida daughter of the Lady *Mary* King *Stephens* daughter, married 459.55
Idols, See *Images*,
Idols worshipped by Britains, 167.168
Idols 1. Counterfeit Princes erected to dethrone the right an old stratagem. 736.13
Jeffrey *Chaucer*, See in *Chaucer*.
Jeffrey *Plantagenet* Sonne of *Fonke*, Earle of *Anion*. 441
He marrieth *Maude* the Emperesse *ibid.*
He dieth 453.42
Jeffrey brother to King *Henry* the second put to a yeerely pension 456.6
His death
Jerusalem lost 469.94
Jerusalem wonne by *Titus*. 212.3
Raced to the ground. 219.7
New built, and named *Alia*. *ibid.*
Not recouerable by warre. 757.30
Wonne by *Godfrey* of *Lorain* and his confederates. 437.30
Jeffin Lord of *Glamorgan*, fieth against *Rhes* ap *Thedor* Prince of South-Wales. 429.15

Slaine *ibid.*
Icutes by proclamation banished 889
Jesu *Christ* our Sauior in whose raigne borne 189.6
Iewes reuolt vpon a prophesie 219.4
They warre vpon the Gentiles 217.3
Slaughtered by *Traian*. 217.3
Rebell in *Hadrian*s time. 218.4
Iewes Clippers of the Kinges Coin 529.75
Not permitted to looke toward *Jerusalem* 219.7
Iewes banished the Realme. 545.17
Iewes slaine at King *Richard* the first his Coronation. 473.6
Jenaff alias *Jago*, Prince of *Northwales* payeth tribute in *Wolues*. 370.5
Ignatius suffereth martyrdom. 217.2
Igren Duke *Gorlois* Wife. 315
Ilands separated from the main by the great deluge. 155.4
They bee ornaments and of vnto the Maine. *ibid.*
Ilands belonging to Britaine had their feuerall Kinges, 157.13
Ilands or Isles of the Gentiles, are those of *Europe*. 161.2
Images in Churches to bee adored 342.3
Images or Idols suppressed by Parliament 778.100
Abolished 805.18
Images superstitious cast out of Churches and burnt. 834.16
Imerrick fourth King of *Kent*. 391.4
His Issue and raigne *ibid.*
Immanuuel slaine by *Cassibilan* 173.186
Immuration a kind of Death. 512.13
Indies not heard of by the Romans before king *Ino* his time 217.2
Ine king of the West Saxons, His victories *ibid.*
His Lawes translated into English. *ibid.*
His zeale to Religion. *ibid.*
His voluntary poverty. 299.11
Ingilram de *Cowey* died a threefold death 527.69
Ingur the Dane, *Lothbrokes* sonne fendeth defiance to king *Edmond* 388.9
Hee with his brother *Hunba* put king *Edmond* to death. *ibid.*
Ingulphus when he liued and died 163.16
Inis-weu a name of *Britaine*. 1584
Inis *Witrin*, 1. *Glastenbury*. 202.
Pope *Innocent* the fourth, maketh suite to see *England*. 157.11
Pope *Innocentius* being Vmpier, playeth false 495.36
His present and letter to King *John* 495.36
His three strange lawes. 499.38
He interdicteth *England* for many yeeres. 496.40
He interdicteth between King *John* & *Philip* king of *France* 491.34
Pope

Pope *Innocentius* his curse denounced vpon King *John*. 498.44
He abolueth King *John*s people from Allegiance. *ibid.*
Insula *Florum*, 1. *Britaine*. 160.8
Infula *Caruli*, a name of *Britaine* *ibid.*
Insurrection at *Abingdon* in *Oxfordshire* 556.20
Insurrection of the Nobles, against King *Stephen*. 447.12
The pretended reasons thereof *ibid.*
Interdict of the Pope what it is 560.35
Interdict of *England* for many yeeres. 496.40
Interdict of *England* in *K. John* his time released. 503.4
Interregnum in the Empire for eight yeeres 450.1
Interregnum not allowed in gouernement of *England*. 473.3
Interuiew of *John* king of *England*, and *William* K. of *Scots*. 486.10
Interuiew between *John* King of *England*, and *K. Philip* of *France*. *ibid.*
Inuasion of *England* plotted by the Catholikes. 489.34
Inuicible Navy of *Spain* prepared against *England*. 857.18
The furniture and prouision thereof 858.189
Flieth before the English. 862.116
Ioachime an Abbot aouchech the Pope to bee Antichrist. 475.24
Ioan daughter of King *Edward* the first 552.63
Her marriages; Issue, death & buriall *ibid.*
Ioan widow of Lord *Thomas Holland*, remaried to *Edward* the Blacke Prince. 589.156
Shee dieth for sorrow and griefe, being denied a pardon for her son *John* *Holland* 599.50
She was named the faire maid of *Kent*, and was married to Sir *Thomas* *Holland* Earle of *Kent*, and mother to *Thomas* and *John* *Holland* Duke of *Surry*, and Earle of *Huntingdon* 553.72
Mother by *Edward* of *Woodstocke* the Blacke Prince, to King *Richard* the second. 553.72
Ioan daughter to King *Edward* the second, wedded to *Dauid* Prince, and after King of *Scotland*, by the name of *Dauid* the second. 564.80
Her death and buriall. *ibid.*
Called by the *Scots* in skorne *Ioan* or *Jane* Make-peace. 567
Ioan eldest daughter to King *John*, married to *Alexander* the second, King of *Scots* 507.67
Ioan daughter to King *John* married to *Lewin* Prince of North-Wales 498
Queen *Ioan* committed vnto

prison for sorcery. 637.49
Ioan of *Lorraine* a marshal maintained 654.14
Her letter to *Villiam* de la *Pole* Earle of *Suffolke*. 654.15
Shee is called *Ioan* la *Pucelle* de *Dieu* 654.16
Betrayed and taken prisoner 655.18
Burnt for a Witch at *Rouen*. 655.18
Ioan third daughter of *K. Henry* the second by Queene *Eleanor* his wife. 471.110
Her husband and Issue.
Ioan daughter of King *Henry* the second, married to *William* King of *Sicilie*. 474.19
Ioan Butcher an Hereticke. 813.78
Saint *John* the *Euangelist* banished by the Emperour *Domitian* 215.17
His Reuelation in the *Isle* *Patmos* 215.17
Compared with *Daniel*s visions. 215.17
Returneth from exile out of *Patmos* 217.4
John a vlturpe of the Roman Empire, slaine. 275.5
His Coine *ibid.*
John of *Oxford* a great Clerke 458.32
Hee writeth a Booke against *Thomas* *Becket* 459.27
He was Bishoppe of *Norwich*. 467.32
John *Saint-Terre*, after *K. John*, King *Henry* the second his sonne 468.91
Why so named 470.107
Entitled King of *Ireland*. 468.91
John the last sonne of *K. Henry* the second, knighted, and sent into *Ireland*. 469.92
His title in the Seale of *Ireland* *ibid.*
First styled Lord of *Ireland*. 470.107
What *Barleymes* and Seignories hee held in King *Richard* the first his brothers time 473.9
His attempts during his brother King *Richards* captivity 478.44
For want of appearance, adjudged to forfeite all his Estate in *England*. 479.55
Hee is reconciled to King *Richard* the first his brother. 480.59
Hee becommeth most faithful vnto him *ibid.*
His challenge sent to the French Court, in defence of his loyalty to King *Richard* the first his brother. 481.67
John king of *England* his Arms, Broad Seale, and Coine. 483
His tragical raigne, and the principall actions therein. 483.11
His meanes and title to the Kingdom 484.2
His Agents in *England*. *ibid.*
King *John* of *England* crowned Duke of *Normandie*. 505.59
Hee pursues King *Philip* of *France* from place to place. 485.7
He diuorced *Hawisa* his wife and espoused *Isabel* Heritricke of *Almar*, Earle of

Angolisme 486.8
Crowned againe at *Queens* *Isabel*s Coronation 486.9
He offereth a golden Chalice in *Lincoln* Cathedral church on Saint *John*s Altar. 486.10
Hee arriueth in *Normandie*. 488.14
Summoned by *Philip* the French king to appeare personally at *Paris*. 489.16
His victorie at *Mirabeau*. *ibid.*
His clemency to his Nephew *Arthur* 489.18
Cleared of his death. 490.20
Cited by king *Philip* vpon treason for *Arthurs* death. *ibid.*
Condemned and adiudged an enemy to the French State, &c. *ibid.*
Hee loofeth many Seignories beyond sea, through his own negligence, & his captains treachery 490.22
Enchanted with the loue of his wife *Isabel* 491.23
How much hee was distressed. *ib.*
His letter to Pope *Innocentius* 496.38
Forfeaken of his Nobles, and debarred or inhibited his voyage into *Normandie* by *Hubert* Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*. 497.29
What wrongs were offered to him 496.38
Hee entrench *France* with a great Armie 494.33
King *John* winneth *Mont Alban*, and recouereth *Angiers* 495.34
Hee commandeth diuine seruice to bee celebrated in *S. Alban*, notwithstanding the Popes interdiction 496.40
Excommunicated and accursed by name from *Rome*. 497.41
Hee seileth the State in *Ireland* *ibid.*
His Broad Seale for *Ireland* before hee was king. 498.43
Hee subdueth *Wales*. *ibid.*
He offereth wel to the Clergy but his offers are reiecte. *ibid.*
Enformed of a great conspiracy, and treason of his Nobles *ibid.*
In danger to bee vn-crowned, 499.45
His preparation against *Philip* king of *France*. *ibid.*
Hee yeeldeth vp his Crowne &c. to the Pope, and sweareth vnto him homage and fealty. 500.48
Hee is absolved by *Stephen* *Langton* 501.51
Entrapped by a guilefull oath 501.52
By a new Charter subiecte to the Pope 503.54
Hee becomes a petty king among his Barons. 503.56
Hee loofeth his treasure [and carriages on the sands by *Lincolne* *shire* 505.59
His deadly sicknesse. 505.61
His death and repentance. 506.61
His buriall
The occasion of his sicknesse and death 506.62
King *John* poisoned at *Swen*

Red Abbey 506.62
Crowned againe at *Queens* *Isabel*s Coronation 506.63
His orders for gouernement, and Weale-publike 506.63
Compared to *Marina*. 507.61
His wifes, 507.64
His Issue 507.65
His children extraordinarily advanced 521.51
John the French King taken prisoner, after a yeere set at liberty 583.12
John of *Gaunt* Duke of *Lancaster* vnder his father *K. Edward* the third 588.150
A protector of *John* *Wickliffe*. *ibid.*
His Armouries reuerfed by 12 Londoners *ibid.*
He procurer the Mayor and Aldermen of *London* to be thrust from their places. 589.152
His wifes and issue, 589.150
His death and Tomb. 590
Hee claimeth the Crowne of *Castile* and *Leon* 594.17
Accused by a Carmelite Friar of high treason. 597.39
Withdreweth himselfe vpon his guard, and is reconciled to King *Richard* the second, by meanes of Princes *Ioan* the Kings mother 599.47
He marrieth *Constance* eldest daughter of *Peter* K. of *Castile* 585.132
He with Dame *Alice* *Peere*, & others removed from King *Edward* the third his person 588.149
Suspected of King *Richard* 2. 599.51
His noble Army for the conquest of *Spain* 600.59
Hee arriueth at the Port *Corone* or *Groine* 601.61
His proceedings and successe about the kingdoms of *Castile* and *Leon*. 604.83
Hee inuadeth *France*. 586.139
Hee calleth vpon God in his distress, and is heard. 605.84
Hee returneth into *England*, & doeth good offices. 605.86
Made Duke of *Aquitaine*. 605.87
Enfiled himselfe King of *Castile* and of *Leon*, in right of *Constance*. 587.145
He marrieth *Katharine* *Swinford* his old loue. 606.94
His children begotten of her before marriage made legitimate 607.94
Hee departeth this life. 608.106
His goods seized by the king *ibid.*
John sonne of King *Edward* the first his death and tomb. 551.58
Lord *John* of *Eltham* second sonne to King *Edward* the first, proclaimed *Custos* of *London* 562.60
Hee is Earle of *Cornwall*. 564.79
His death *ibid.*
John the French King taken prisoner by *Edward* the Blacke Prince 582.115
Hee dieth in *England*. 584.127
Entombed at Saint *Denis*. *ibid.*
John

THE TABLE.

John de Montfort accepted Duke of *Bretagne* *Armorique* 584.128
John Earle of Pembroke taken prisoner by *Ambrose Baccus* *Nigra*, and the Spanish *Armado* 587.145
John Duke of Bedford overthrew the French Navy, and Genoaes at sea. 635
 Protector of *England* in King *Henry* the fifth his absence 636.41
 Lieutenant General, and Regent of *France*, under his brother King *Henry* the 5. 646.69
 He espoused *Anne* sister of *Philip Duke of Burgundie* 651.6
 Hee marieth Lady *Jaquet* daughter to *Peter of Luttenburg*, Earle of *Saint Paul*. 656.20
 Hee dieth in *Paris*. 659.25
 His commendation, stile and tombe 658.25
 King *Lewis* princely testimony of him 658.26
John Duke of Burgoigne suspected to affect the Crowne of *France* 640.48
 Slaine as hee kneeled before *Charles* the *Dauphin*. 641.49
 His death reuenged 644.56
 His body honourably interred in *Dijon* 644.56
 Sir *John Mortimer* arraigned for treasonable speeches. 652.8
 Drawne hanged and headed for treason 652.8
John Duke of Bretagin *Armorique*, forsaketh the English, and turneth to *Charles* the French King, 573.10
John a Chamber, raiseth a tumult in the North, against the Duke of *Northumberland* 735.26
 Taken prisoner and executed. *ibidem*
John de Vere Earle of *Oxford*, flyeth from *Barnet* field into *Wales* 683.65
 Don *John* of *Austria* bafe brother to *Philip* the second K. of *Spain*, Gouvernour of the Low-Countries 854.158
 His death 855.160
 Saint *Johns* Hospital in *Oxford* founded 519.142
Jones come from *Iauan* 162.6
Ioseph of *Arimathea* brought the Christian faith first into *Britaine* 202.2
 Buried in *Glastenbury* *ibidem*
Michael Ioseph the Blacksmith his rebellion & death. 741.44.742.147
Iouianus nominated Emperor. 267.1
 His pietie and Christian Religion 268.2
 Maketh peace with the Persians *ibidem*
 His death *ibidem*
 His personage, raigne, vertues, and vices. *ibidem*.6
 His Coine 267
Iouianus a Roman Ensign-bearer his treason 268.3
Iouinus vsurpeth the Empire. 277.11.
 His Coine *ibidem* 12
Ireland had 5. Kings in it at

one time 157.13
 By whom it first receiued English lawes and officers. 506.63
Irelands sinnes forerunners of a change. 462.48.
Ireland by whom annexed to the Crowne of *England*. 506.63.
 By what right & title it came to King *Edward* the second. 468.91
Ireland in ciuill disention. 462.46
 Irish voluntaries aide against *Scotland* 547.29
 Irish *Antropophagi*. 1. feeders vpon mans flesh 167.7.
 The Irish enter *Senenue*. 399.11
 Irish petty Kings doe homage to King *Henry* the second. 464.60
 Irish Rebels in King *Henry* the third his dayes 516.28
Irenus martyred 230.15
Isabella alias *Hawisa*, or *Anis*, second wife to King *John* disuored 507.65
 Remarried to *Jeffrey Mandeuill* Earle of *Essex*, also to *Hubert de Burgo* Earle of *Kent* *ibidem*
Isabel third wife to King *John*, her parentage, second marriage and issue 507.66
Isabel daughter to King *John* married to *Fredericke* the second Emperour 507.71
 Her Issue and death *ibidem*
Isabel Queene Dowager of *England*, married to the Earle of *March* in *France* 511.12
 Praclifeth for her sonne King *Henry* the third against the French. 515.26
 Falsly charged to haue fought by poyson to make away K. *Lewis* of *France* *ibidem*
Isabel a bafe daughter of King *Richard* the first 482
Isabel King *Henry* the third his sister, married to *Fredericke* the Emperour 521.50
 The marriage consummate by calculation of starres. 521.51
Isabel Queene Dowager, King *Henry* the third his mother, another *Isabel* 526.66
Isabel Countesse of *Arundell*, a widow, her bold reproofe of King *Henry* the third. 531.81
 Queene *Isabel* a mediatrix for peace between her husband king *Edward* the second, and the Lords 549.39
 Denied one nights lodging at *Leedes* Caffe *ibidem*
 Seteth her heart against the Lords, and seeketh reuenge. *ibidem*
 Her discontentment with the *Spensers* 561.50
 Negotieth the King her husbands affaires in *France*. *ibidem*.52
 Shee and Prince *Edward* of *Winford* proclaimed enemies to the State 561.51
 Shee with the Prince and *Roger Mortimer* goe into *Hennault* 561.56
 With forraigne forces and others shee entrench *England*. 562.57
 Her forces encrease against the King her husband. 562.61

Her parentage, widowhood, yeeres, death and buriall. 564.77
 Shee forbearth to company with King *Edward* the second her husband. 566.5
Isabel Queene mother supposed to bee with child by *Mortimer* 568.21
 Her great dower abated to a small rate *ibidem*
Isabel Queene Dowager, mother to King *Edward* the third dieth. 582.120
 Queene *Isabel* of *France* robbed of her Jewels and plate by the *Dauphin*. 639.60
 Committed to prison. 639.61
 Queene *Isabel* of *France* escape out of prison by the means of the Duke of *Burgoyne*. 640.41
 Made Regent of *France*. *ibidem*
 Her parentage and dispositiō. 640.42
 She inciteth the King to deriue the *Dauphin* and adopt *Henry* the fifth King of *England* 641.50
Isabel Countesse of *Warwick*, dieth of poyson. 689.107
Isabel Queene of *Spain*, her descent 746.62
 Her vertue and deuotion. 747.62
 Queene *Isabel* daughter to *Charles* the 6. K. of *France*, affianced to *Richard* the second King of *England*, and remaineth a virgin during his raigne 610.120
 Sent after a princely manner home into *France* a virgin as shee came 615.23
 Married to *Charles Duke of Orleans*. 615.23
Isacius, See *Cyril*
Isis a Goddess of the Saxons. 288.7
 From *Israels* departure out of *Egypt* vnto *Salomon* temple, what time 278.2
Italy compared to an oaken leafe 155
Italy tooke name from *Italus* 157.2
Iuan. i. *Solwey Frith*. 229.8
Iubilee of King *Edward* the 3. 584.126
Indith wife to *Father* and *son*, rauished by *Baldwin*, Fortester of *Arden* in *France*. 352.1
India the Emperesse how shee reproued a British woman, and how shee was answered 167.6
India the incestuous wife and mother in law of *Carcalla* 232.7
Iulian a third natural daughter of *Henry* the first, King of *England* 442.75
Didius Iulianus buildeth the Empire of the Souldiers 277.2
 His employments and rising *ibidem*
 His Coine. *ibidem*.3
Iulianus Caesar 265.6.7
 Elected Emperour and consort with *Constantinus* *ibidem*
 His parentage 264.1
 His proportion and feature of body. *ibidem*
 His education *ibidem*.2
 Hee became a Deacon, and

professed holy life 265.3
 His temperance and chastity *ibidem*
 Vaine-glorious, vnconstant, and full of words *ibidem*
 His iustice 265.4
 His clemency and chastity *ibidem*
 His popularity *ibidem*
 A great secret persecutor of Christians 264.4
 His worldly pollicy *ibidem*
 Ouer seuered and vnthankfull *ibidem*
 Hee goeth about to redifie *Ierusalem* *ibidem*
 His open persecution of the Christians 265.5
 His scoffing at Christians 265.5
 His prudence and learning. *ibidem*
 Italian the Emperour his superstitious Religion 260.5
 His Coine 264
 His fortitude 264.6
 His exploits and victories. *ibidem*
 His apparitions and prefaces of Soueraignie *ibidem*
 Deuced by a Pythonist. 267.7
 Hee procieth the conquest of *Persia* *ibidem*
 His excessive sacrifices. *ibidem*
 His huge Army into *Persia* *ibidem*
 Stricken with a Dart. *ibidem*
 His death and buriall *ibidem*
 His age and raigne. 267.8
 His vertues and vices *ibidem*
Julie the month, whence it tooke name 190.7
Iulius a Martyr in *Britaine* 206.19
Iulius Caesar, the first Roman emperor of *Britaine* 183.2
 His coine 185
 Vpon what occasion hee attempted it. *ibidem*
 Hee comploteth to attaine the Empire *ibidem*
 The first Roman that assailed *Germany* *ibidem*
 Hee gouerneth *Gallia* tenne yeeres *ibidem*
 Vpon what causes and pretences hee invaded *Britaine* 183.2
 Hee cometh in person against *Britaine* 184.4
 His first landing in *Britaine* *ibidem*
 Hee putteth the Britanes to flight. *ibidem*
 His fleet dispersed *ibidem*
 His Fleet in harbour distressed *ibidem*
 Soudainly assailed by the Britanes *ibidem*
 Honoured with the grant of a supplication or procession for 20. daies 185.16
 His second landing in *Britaine* 186.2
 His Nauy empaiied by tempest 186.4
 He draweth his ships on land *ibidem*
 Hee imposeth a tribute vpon *Cassibula* 187.11
 Hee would bee filled and ranged among the gods. 187.13
 Hee seeketh to be King 187.11
 Hee getteth nothing in *Britaine* but the fight of the Countrey *ibidem*
 His death *ibidem*
 The first that had his owne image in Coine. 169
Iulius

Iulius Caesar, forewarned of his death by Prodiges 187.13
 By *Spurina* the Diuiner 187.14
 By a brazen table in *Capua* *ibidem*
 By Dreams. *ibidem*
 By Beasts entrals and Birds *ibidem*
 His personage 187.14
 Hee worke alwaies the Lawrell garland to couer his baldnesse 188.14
 His qualities *ibidem*
 Ease to bee reconciled vnto his enemies *ibidem*
 His moderate carriage. *ibidem*
 His military vertues *ibidem*
 His fortunate succession in warres. *ibidem*
 His offices of state *ibidem*
 His triumphs *ibidem*
 His triumphs a place 186.6
Insularis *Interitus* first instituted in *England*. 467.83
 For corruption punished. 545.115
Iustina mother to *Valentinian* the younger, Emperour 272.2
 Of incomparable feature and beauty. *ibidem*
Iuta, or *Iutes*, a Tribe of the Saxons 284.6
Iuta, called also *Gutes*. i. *Goths* or *Vines*. 285.9
 K
 VV
William de Kahames, alias *Kains* taketh King *Stephen* prisoner. 450.28
 Lady *Katharine* picture sent to *Henry* the fifth lying before *Ross* 638.54
 Queene *Katharine*, wife to King *Henry* the fifth, crowned at *Westminster* 645.64
 Queene *Katharine* late wife of King *Henry* the fifth, and now Queene Dowager passeth royally through *London* with K. *Henry* the sixth her sonne an Infant in her lappe. 651.3
 Remarried to *Owen* *Theodor* of *Wales* 649.86. 659.22
 Her Issue by him *ibidem*
 Her death *ibidem*
 Her Coffine neuer buried. *ibidem*
 Lady *Katharine* or *Katherine* Gordon the vnfortunate wife of *Perkin Warbeck* 743.49
 Her beauty and amiable presence 744.51
 Honourably vsed by K. *Henry* the seventh 744.51
Katharine or *Katherine* of *Spain* daughter of *Ferdinando* and *Isabella*, alias *Elizabeth*, King and Queene of *Spain*, first wife to K. *Henry* the eighth. 745.60. 785.136
 Her speech about the death of the young Earle of *Warwick* in King *Henry* the seventh his daies *ibidem*
 Shee arriueth at *Plimmouth* 746.62
 Her marriage, Coronation, diuorce, decease and buriall 784.136
 Her commendation deliuered by her husband King *Henry* the eighth 766
 Her speech to the King her husband in open Court 767.69
 She departeth the Court. *ibidem*

Hard at worke with her maidens 768.72
 Called *Princesse Dowager*. 770.80
Katharine or *Katherine Howard* wedded to King *Henry* the eighth 779.108
 Beheaded for Adultery 780.169
 After condemnation she protesteth to her Confessor, her vnguiltinesse of the Crime for which shee died 780.110
 Her parentage, marriage, beheading and buriall. 785.140
Katharine or *Katherine Parre* the 6. of wife K. *Henry* the eighth 780.113. 785.141
 Her Parentage *ibidem*
 Thrice married *ibidem*
 Her death *ibidem*
 In danger to be apprehended & committed to the Tower for supposed heresie. 781.115
 Her life laid for 780.113
 Fallen sick, visited by King *Henry* the eighth her husband 781.114
Katharine or *Katherine* Duchess of *Suffolke*, with her husband *Richard Barne* flyeth the Land 827.8.89
 Her descent *ibidem*.88
 No fauourer of Popish Religion *ibidem*
 Her dangerous escapes, arrisall and trauel beyond Seas 827.90
 Her abode and her husbands in *Poland* 827.95
Katrington, alias *Carton* Elquier, defendant, in Conbat vanquished, dieth frantike 598.44
 Lord Keepers Letter to *Robert Deuereux* Earle of *Essex*. 877.330
Kenelm King of *Mercia*, murdered by the means of *Queen* *idris* his sister 307.14
 How his corps was found. 308.14
 His body afterwards translated 347.6
Kenelworth Castle besieged and yielded. 538.104
Kened killeth *Ofred* his Sonne- raigne, and is King of *Northumberland* 304.17
Kenred *Wulfstanes* sonne King of the *Mercians*, and *Almonarch* of *England*, became a Moncke of *Rome* 307.8
 His raigne and death. *ibidem*
Kenred Monarch of the Englishmen, his Armes. *ibidem*
 Resigneth vp his regal crown for a Monkes Coule 342.2
Kenrick King of the West-Saxons. 297.3
 His battels. *ibidem*
 His raigne and issue. *ibidem*
Kenrick sonne of *Cuthred* slaine 299.13
Kenrick sonne of *Cherdicke*, Monarch of the Englishmen 327
 His Armes *ibidem*
 His raigne and Issue. *ibidem*
Kent diuided into Parishes. 294.7
Kent kingdom 293
 The Circuit of it. *ibidem*
 The beginning, continuance, and end thereof. 295.17
Kent invaded during the Anar-

chie of 6. yeeres. 294.16
Kent diuided into factions about Queene *Maries* marriage with K. *Philip* the 2. of *Spain* 819.29
Kentish Britaines most Ciuil 167.4
 Foure *Kentish* kings resist *Caesar* 186.9
Kentish mens policy against King *William Conquerour*. 416.7
Kentishmen true to K. *Stephen*, in his captiuitie 450.29
Kentish Rebels under the conduct of *Wat Tyler*, and *Jacks Straw* embattel on Blackheath. 965.19
 Their outrages about *London* *ibidem*
Kentish Rebels led by *Jacks Cade* 664.50
Kentish commotions in time of Anarchie, doe much about *London* 681.21
Kennald King of the West-Saxons 297.8
 Driven out of his Kingdom, *ibidem*
 VVont to Christianity, 298.8
 Restored to his kingdom. *ibidem*
 His raigne and death. *ibidem*
Kenwin king of the VVest-Saxons 298.8
 A scourge of the Britaines. *ibidem*
 His raigne. *ibidem*
Kenulph of *Mercia* taketh *Ethelbert* *Prin* prisoner. 295.15
Kenulph king of West-Saxons his descent and victories. 299.
 Slaine *ibidem*
 His raigne *ibidem*
Kenulph king of *Mercia*, 307.13
 His descent, raigne and buriall *ibidem* 347.3
Kenulph Monarch of the Englishmen 347.1
 His Armes and his Coine. *ibidem*
 His vertues *ibidem*
 Hee taketh prisoner *Prenne* king of *Kent* 347.2
 Hee letteth him free 347.3
Kenulph king of the East-Angles his raigne. 311.14
Robert Ker his commotion and Rebellion in *Norffolke*. 807.31
 Hee and his Rebels put to flight 808.44
 Apprehended 809.47
 Hee with his brother *William* Ker hanged, one vpon *Wimundham* high Steeple the other vpon *Norwich* Castle, in *Chaines* 809.47
Henry Earle of *Kildare* dieth of griefe, for the death of his two Fosterbrethren, slaine 873.296.
Kilkeny in *Ireland*, a City late erected. 520.47
Kimbeline. See *Cunobeline*
Kineburg wife to King *Alfrith* an Abbess 301.13
Kineburg wife to King *Offwald* a vertuous Lady 337.8
Kinefith, King *Offa* his wife a Nun 301.12
Kings Colledge in *Cambridge* founded. 685.82
Kingdomes period not much about 600. yeeres. 178
Kings become Monkes 305.17

Three Kings at once visit King *Edward* the third 884.127
 The Kings-cuill cured by King *Edward* the Confessor and his successors 401.25
Kingits King of the West-Saxons 297.7
 The first Christian King of the West-Saxons *ibidem*
 His raigne and issue. *ibidem*
Kingston vpon *Thames*, the ordinary place for Coronation of Saxon Kings 368.88.
Kinsale held by the Spaniards, 875.315
 Knights 400. at one time made by King *Edward* the third 583.122
 Twelu poore Knights at *Windford* instituted. 783.138
 Sir *Robert Knolles* of *France* *ibidem*. 587.140
 Accused by Sir *John Melfer-morh* 587.140
 A fitee Parallell to *Bertram* de *Gleghin* *ibidem* 146
 A braue Captaine 620.45
 Hee built *Rochester* Stonebridge 620.45
John Knox a hote Minister, & ouerheady reformer in *Scotland* 834.15
Kyrtou in *Denonshire* a Bishops See, annexed to *Excester*. 368.6
 L
 Q
 Veene *Labinus* Raine by the Britanes 186.6
T. Labienus vnder Gouvernour of *Gaulle* 185.1
 Labyrinth at *Woodstocke* built by *Henry* the second for *Ro-simond* 471.11.
 Lacedemonians slaine from *Ly-curgus* to *Alexander* the Great, of what continuance 278.2
Robert de Lacey Constable of *Chester*, his fidelity, and valorous seruice at *Catle Rock* 491.12
 Taken prisoner. *ibidem*
Robert Lacey vsurped in *Chil-non* 494.33
Walther and *Hugh Lacey* the son of *Hugh*, flie out of *Ireland*, into *France*, and are reconciled againe to King *John*. 497.42
Lelanius Lieutenant General in *Britaine*, murdered. 452.8
Al. Latus, one that conspired *Commodus* his death 226.2
Latus a traitor to *Septimus* *Seuerus* put to the sword 228.3
 Laity of *England* seeke to dis-fesse the Clergy of their temporalities 600.55
Langfranke Archbishops of *Canterbury* 418.21
 Gouernor of *England* whiles *William Conquerour* was in *Normandy* 420.35
Stephen *Langton* commended by Pope *Innocentius* to bee Archbishops of *Canterbury* 490.37
 Elected and consecrated at *Fuerbim* *ibidem*
 He with others sollicite the Pope for depofition of King *John* 499.46
 Hee arriueth in *England* with other exiled persons. 501.51
 A very English Pope 501.52
Walter

THE TABLE.

Walter de Langton Bishoppe of
Chester, arrested and impris-
oned 533.3
His fault *ibidem*
Stephen Langton Archbishoppe
of Canterbury appeales a-
gainst King John's subjection
to the Pope 503.54
Suspended from Episcopal au-
thority 504.57
Simon Langton elect Archbi-
shoppe of York made by the
Pope incapable of Episcopal
dignity 504.57
Hugh Latimer Bishop of Wor-
cester burnt in Oxford 824.66
Lantra, Bowes vnder Stanmer
in Richmondshire 228.4
Saint Lawrence broiled on a
Gredyrion 242.3
Regence Archbishop of Can-
terbury 294.6
English lawes and 189.1
Liam Conqueror 418.20
Lawes for the English written
in the Norman tongue 416.20
Lawyers sent for to make trea-
sons 602.71
Rob. Laund knighted and en-
dowed with lands by King
Richard the second 596.25
Lea river diuided and made
nauigable by King Elfred 358.23
Learned and lewde, wicked 619.42
Learning by heart 168.8
Thomas Lee a Capitaine execu-
ted for words 880.344
Doctor Lee Bishoppe of Che-
ster, Conventree and Lichfield 770.82
The Lightning Legion of the
Christians 221.4
Legionary Souldiers called
Militis grauis armaturae 127.12
Their Armour *ibidem*
Leiden Cattle in Holland begun
by Hengist 296.11
Leider Cattle wonne by King
Edward the second 559.36
The Capitaine and all within
put to shameful death 559.36
Leids Cattle in Scotland won
448.16
Earle of Lennox Regent of
Scotland traitorously mur-
dered 85.1
Leo King of Armenia bound
fully sent away by King
Richard the second 600.58
Pope Leo the tenth his Bull
sent vnto King Henry the
eighth 759.41
Leofricke Earle of Chester 399.5
Freeth Conventree of Imposi-
tions 400.15
Leofrion wife to Ethelred the
13. King of East-Angles 311.13
Leolin alias Llewelin Prince of
Wales doth homage to King
Edward the elder 361.7
Leolin or Llewelin Prince of
Wales his speech of King
Henry the third his Almese-
deeds 599.42
Hee doth voluntary homage
to the king of England 523.56
His outrage and excommuni-
cation 516.23
Leolin or Llewelin an Gruffith,
leader of the Welsh discom-
fited Prince Edward and the

English 538.88
Conferred with the Barons,
waileth Prince Edwards eigi-
nories in the Marches 537.58
Reconciled for a summe of
money 539.104
Refuseth to come vnto King
Edward the first his Corona-
tion and to the Parliament 543.10
Unfortunately slaine 544.14
Leolin or Llewelin Prince of
Wales maketh his peace with
King Edward the first vpon
what conditions 544.11
His head fet vpon London-
bridge 544.14
Leolin or Llewelin Bren and his
two sonnes taken prisoners 558.28
Leonard Dacres of Hawley gi-
ueth battell to Henry Lord
Fleeth 842.70
Fleeth a Scotland *ibidem*
English suppled vnto King
Ethelstan, wife to Rein-
burne Earle of Warwick 305.16
Leopold or Limpold, Archduke
of Ofrich, his cause of ma-
lice to King Richard the first 477.42
The reason of his detaining
King Richard *ibidem* 47.43
Punished grieuouly for his
wrongs done to King Ri-
chard the first 478.51
Dieth vpon an hurt excom-
municate 479.52
Lepidus ruleth Africa 188.2
Lecher tanned, serueth for Ar-
mour 730.12
Sir Richard Lysion his good
seruice at Sea about Kin-
sale 875.316
John Lewis reformer of the
British history 164.19
Lewis king of France taken pri-
soner by the Normans 413.2
Bound to hard conditions,
ibidem
He encreth Normandy with an
Army 439.38
Lewis Dauphin of France, pre-
pareth for the Crowne of
England 505.59
He encreth London, and be-
loweth offices of State *ibidem* 509.3
Hee besiegeth Douer Cattle,
ibidem
His followers and abettors
pronounced euery Sunday
and holiday accurit and ex-
communicate 509.4
Lewis Dauphin of France gain-
eth Herford Cattle 509.4
Hee stuffeth many Castles in
England with French Garri-
sons *ibidem*
Lewisians that were English,
returne to their true obedi-
ence 509.5
Lewis goeth into France, and
looleth many English mens
affections *ibidem*
His Army of French raskals,
ibidem
Hee and his followers accur-
fed a second time by VVal-
to 510.6
Lewisians defeated 510.7
Lewis the faire why he called,
ibidem
Lewis absolved, and driuen
out of England 510.8
He had no money at his de-

parture giuen for competi-
on *ibidem*
Lewis King of France deni-
eth restitution of Normandy,
&c. 513.17
Heinuadeth Poillon and Xain-
toing against King Henry the
third 513.17
Taking the Crosse, and war-
ring vpon the Albigenses at
Aninion, was crossed by sun-
day plagues 514.21
Poisoned *ibidem*
Lewis the French King offereth
saile vnto King Henry the
third, but is not accepted 525.67
A most Christian, iust and val-
iant Prince 525.63
Magnanimous & bounteous,
526.65
Of a tender conscience, 530.80
King Lewis of France dieth
at the siege of Tunis 541.2
Lewis King of France calet
with Garter King at Armes,
about peace with King Ed-
ward the fourth 637.92
Don Lewis Gouernour of the
Low Countries, desireth to
haue the Netherlands ban-
nished out of England 854.154
Lewis the 12. King of France,
marrieth the Lady Mary K.
Henry the eight his sister 756.21
His death *ibidem*
Lewis of Bauaria Emperor, re-
uoketh the Vicarship of the
Empire, granted to Edward
the third King of England 574.66
Lewis of Luxenburgh King of
Bohemia, his Apostegmo of the
English, at the battell of Cref-
cy 578.92
His high resolution & death 578.94
Lewis a Physitian, employed a-
bout the marriage of Henry
Earle of Richmond, and the
Lady Elizabeth 719.29
Lewis battell 537.101
Lboyger or Lboegria what part
of Britaine 323.13
Vnder the Archbishoppe of
London 206.18
Liberties granted by K. Henry
the first 435.4
Library in Constantinople 261.13
Lichfield why so called 206.19
Lichfield armes *ibidem* 255.12
Another Golgotha *ibidem*
Lichfield Cathedral Church
founded 338.7
Licinius Priscus Lieutenant of
Britaine 219.6
Licinius Cesar to Constantine
259.3
His vsurpation of soueraign-
ty 260.6
Their Coines *ibidem*
He persecuteth the Christians.
ibidem
Hee and his sonne L. cianus
put to death 260.7
John Lidgate Monke of Bury
deuileth speeches gratula-
tory at King Henry the sixth
his wiues entrance into Lon-
don 661.37
Leith in Scotland won & spo-
iled by the English 782.125
Light forbidden by William
Conquerour called Confew
restored by his sonne King
Henry 435.1

Lightning doing much harme,
ibidem
Lilla a faithfull seruant to
Edwin King of Northumber-
land 334.4
Limoger in Limosin wonne by
force, burnt and put to the
sword 206.18
Linne for faithfull seruice en-
franchised largely and gra-
ced by King John 505.59
John Lincolne executed for ill
May-dayes worke 757.28
Lincolnshire Commons rise
772.95
Their aggressuances *ibidem*
Lincolne besieged by King Ste-
phen 449.23
Lincolne neuer entred by King,
before King Stephen 452.40
Lionel Duke of Clarence borne 372.53
Why so entituled, 372.53
His marriages & issue *ibidem*
Sir William de Lisle Knight pat-
roned 333.86
Litteratorum Iuramentum what
oath 513.19
John Littistur a Diet in Nor-
wich, ruled himselfe King of
the Commons 595.20
Hanged drawne and headed
as an Arch-Rebell 596.37
Livingus Elstan Archbishop of
Canterbury 390.2
Lyningsus Bishoppe of Winche-
ster 399.5
Lochna a woman skillfull in
poisoning 196.22
Lodowick alias Lewis King of
France, casteth the Popes
Bull into the fire 453.47
Heinuadeth Normady, because
his daughter Margaret was
not crowned with her hus-
band 460.38
Besiegeth Veruiole in person, &
raisth his siege for feare of
King Henry the second 465.67
Lodowick Perez Duke of Me-
dina Sidonia, Generall of the
Army in the inuincible Ar-
mado of Spaine 858.192
In disgrace at home for his ill
successe 862.18
Lolards why so tearmed, 488.152
Lolards, i. Wictims encresce, &
by law to bee burned as he-
retikes 615.23
Lollins Priscus Lieutenant in
Britaine 220.2
Surnamed Britanicus 220.3
His Coine or portraiture,
ibidem
London a famous City in Nero
the Emperours daies 198.17
Recouered from the Danes,
and restored to Liberty 358.19
Much defaced by fire, 375.5
Besieged by Swaine, or Sueno
King of the Danes 375.5
The beauty thereof from
Ludgate westward *ibidem*
Besieged by Swaine King of
Denmarke 378.27
Submitteth to the Danes 379.31
Faithfull to K. Ethelred, 379
True to Edmūd Ironside 381.1
Besieged by K. Canute 381.2
Londoners sue to Maud the
Empresse, for easement of
hard lawes; & that King Ed-
wards lawes might bee re-
uiued, and in force, 451.33
Londoners conspire against
Maud

Maud the Empresse 451.33
London interdicted by the Pope
for disloyalty to king John 504.58
Londoners in disgrace with
King Richard the second,
605.89
They loofe their liberties and
proper government *ibidem*
They deny him loane of one
thousand pounds, *ibidem*
London falling with the fairer
winde, receiueeth King Ed-
ward the fourth againe 683.61
London Armories augmented
with the weapon in the Dex-
ter Canton, and whereupon 596.15
Londoners large contributions
to king Henry the seuenth,
for his warres in France 736.29
London besieged by William
Marshall Earle of Pembroke 510.8
Londoners Engrosse Corne in
time of dearth 534.92
London vpon her guard 535.93
Ioined with the Barons to
redresse the state of the king-
dome *ibidem*
They villanously abuse the
Queen, king Henry the third
his wife 537.98
London Charters, seized into
K. Henry the third his hands
538.103
Taken by the Earle of Glouces-
ter 539.104
London fortified against Wat
820.40
Lord Maior of London, and
Citizens fworne to Lady
Jane Grey 815.3
Doctor Longland Bishoppe of
Lincolne, first toucheth the
conscience of Henry the 8.
about marriage with Katha-
rine of Spaine 765.65, 767.70
John Longstreth Priour of St.
Johns, beheaded at Tewks-
bury 684.73
Loof-coate fieldes at Stanford 680.40
Rodericke Lopez a Physician,
hired to poison Queene
Elizabeth 849.14
Found guilty, and at Tiburne
with his comforts executed
849.117
Lord-Danes 377.15
Lothair vsurpeth the Kingdom
of Kent 294.9
Slaine *ibidem*
His raigne and sepulture, *ibidem*
Lothbrooke, alias Letherbrech
a noble Dane 357.14
Murdered by Berrikke King
Edmunds Faulconer 388.7
A Lone-day solemnely celebra-
ted betweene the Yorkists
and Lancastrians 668.69
Philip Lovell King Henry the
third his Treasurer reconci-
led vnto him 310.79
He with many other Officers
of the Exchequer remoued
by the Barons for abuses 535.95
Lord Lovell rebelleth against
King Henry the seuenth
730.12
Flyeth *ibidem*
Lower, a Cattle in Normandy
wonne 636.42
Francis Lord Viscount Lovell a
favorite of King Richard the
third, taketh Sanctuary

Slaine at Stoke-field 725.58
Lucius a Britaine first Christian
King in the world 205
Apostle to the Banarians 222.6
Lucius Lener Maur King of
Britaine, the same 222.6
His raigne and place of buri-
all 223.11
Dame Elizabeth Lucy infliga-
ted to clame marriage of K.
Edward the fourth 677.24
Luderan King of the Mercians
308.17
His raigne and death *ibidem*
Ludlow Castle wonne by King
Stephen 448.16
Ludlow the Rendez-vous of
the Yorkists 668.73
Spoiled to the bare walles for
harbouring the Yorkists 669.75
Luke Archbishop of Dublin, a
true friend to Hubert de
Burgh in his troubles 517.33
LL. Lumleis a noble family
whence descended 692.151
Lundinium, the old name of
London 263.6
Lupicinus, Deputy in Britaine
263.6
Martin Luther outlawed by
Charles the fifth Emperour 450.29
Lutherans against King Henry
the 8. his deuorfe 765
Lymming Nunnery built, 335.12

M
Mac Guier in Ireland rai-
seth rebellion in de-
fence of the Romish Reli-
gion 854.151
Slaine by Sir Warham Saint-
Leger 874.309
Macrinus, and his two sonnes
elected Emperours by the
Souldiers 245.1
Subdued and slaine *ibidem*
Macrinus with Marial, mur-
der Antonine Caracalla 525.65
Is elected Emperour 232.7
Put to death 233.5
His raigne *ibidem*
Mary Magdalen a countesse,
immured to death 512.13
Magike highly honoured a-
mong the Britanes 168.8
Magna Charta confirmed and
established 534.91
Procureth King Henry the 3.
mony from his Subjects 531.82
Magnetus murdereth Constant
the Emperour 262.2
Why called Taporus *ibidem*
Hee vsurpeth the Empire 262.3
His Coine 263.3
Hee killeth himselfe *ibidem*
Magnus an Anchorite, his Epi-
taph 458.56
Magnus King of Norway mean-
eth to inuade England 399.8
Mahomet his doctrine, his be-
ginning and rising 322
His heretikes *ibidem*
His death *ibidem*
A Maiden, an embassadour to
George Duke of Clarence 680.46
King of Malorica slaine at the

battell of Crefcy 579.100
Doctor Makarell a Monke, au-
thor of an insurrection in
Lincolnshire 772.95
Nameth himselfe Capitaine
Cobler *ibidem*
Malcolm Can More king of
Scots weddeth Margaret
sister to Edgar Etheling 417.11
Heinuadeth England 417.44
He with his sonne Prince Ed-
ward slaine 430.21.23
Malgerius Archbishop of Roan
degraded by William Con-
querour 444.62
Malgo Canous or Cona-
nus king of the Britans, his
person, and sinfull life 320
Malmesbury Abbey founded
298.8. 365.13
Malmesbury Castle besieged by
King Stephen 448.22
Mamma mother of Alexander
Senerus a good woman 235.2
Murdered with hir sonne *ibidem* 684.74
Geffrey de Mandemil, keepeth
the Tower of London vnder
Maud the Empresse 450.29
Surrendreth it to King Stephen 450.29
Mandubrace or Mandubrace, a
Prince of the Trinobantes 173.4
Crauth Iul. Cäsars assistance 186.5
Manethon the Historian 165.22
Manlius Valens Encountreth
the Britanes with ill successe
196.19
Sir John Mansell, a discreete
Counsellor 530.78
Mantell executed in Queene
Elizabeths daies, for assuming
the person of king Edward
the sixth 730.13
Mans in Maine yeeldeth to
the English vpon conditions 653.7
Earle of March in France be-
traeth king Henry the third 525.65
Appealed of treason, and
challenged to Combate 525.66
Vulp. Marcellus a man of great
vertues 224.3
Lieutenant in Britaine 224.4
Marcus Lieutenant in Britain
elected Emperour by the
Armies there 276.5
Murdered *ibidem*
Marcus Aurelius the Emperour
his parentage, and honoura-
ble titles 223.12
His death, age and praise 224.12
Vnhappy in his sonne *ibidem*
See more in Aurelius
Saint Margaret King Mil-
colmes wife, dieth of grieffe
for her husbands death 430.23
Margaret, the daughter of Le-
wis the yonger K. of France
wife to King Henry the yon-
ger of England, remaried to
Bela King of Hungary 470.103
Margaret, second wife to king
Edward the first, her death
and buriall 551.57
Margaret, daughter to king
Edward the first, her mari-
age and issue 352.64
Margaret daughter of Renato
alias Reiner king of Sicilie
&c. married to king Henry
the sixth 661.37
Her quality *ibidem*
Queen Margaret, wife to king
Henry the sixth, obtaineth
victory at the battell of
Walsfield 671.89
Her victory at Saint Albans,
where shee recovereth the
king out of the hands of the
Yorkists 672.93
Her parentage 672.92
Taken prisoner out of a Reli-
gious house, and ransomed
by her father duke Rainer
672.99. 685.82
Shee with Prince Edward her
sonne hindred by tempest
for coming into England 254
Shee landeth at Weimouth,
and withdraweth her selfe to
Cerne Abbey 683.67
Taken forth of Sanctuary &
kept straightly in Worcester 684.74
Lady Margaret sister to James
the third king of Scots, pro-
mised in mariage to Prince
Edward, sonne of king Hen-
rie the sixth 675.10
Margaret Countesse of Burgh
dian implacable enemy to
king Henry the seuenth 734.73
For what cause, 737.33
Margaret Countesse of Salis-
bury the onely Daughter of
George Duke of Clarence 779.103. 689.107
Beheaded 689.780.107.109
Margaret Countesse of Rich-
mond sole-Heire to John D.
of Somerset 718.26
Margaret Countesse of Oxford
not permitted to come
to her husband 686
Put to shift for her living
ibidem
Margaret eldest daughter of K.
Henry the seuenth contra-
cteth to James the fourth K.
of Scots 747.64
Accompanied roially into
Scotland 747.65
Maried to king James the 4.
in Edenborough 748.65
The happy effects and conse-
quence of this marriage 748.65
Her two marriages and issue 751.75
Margaret daughter of Arch-
bald Dowglas, espoused
vnto Matthew Earle of Len-
nox 751.75
Margaret daughter to Edward
the Onislaw, sole heire to the
Saxon Monarchie, married
to Malcolm Can More king
of Scotland; whence K. James
of Great Britaine is line-
ally descended 384.21
Margaret daughter of William
Conquerour by his wife
Maud 426.77
Married Priests placed by King
Edwy in Malmesbury and
Gloucestre 368.2
Marriages three in one day,
tending all to alter the suc-
cession of the Crowne 812.7
Marriage of King Henry the 8.
with Katharine of Spaine,
whether lawfull or no? de-
bated in Court by Lawyers 768

THE TABLE.

768.70.71
Mariage commended between
Prince Edward and Queene
Mary of Scotland. 782.121
Saint Mary Orie in Deoun-
shire founded. 401.25
Marie the mother of Christ, a
counterfeite, immured to
death. 512.13
Marie daughter of King Sie-
phen, Abbess of Ramsey-
nery in Hampshire. 454.55
Became a nunn, diuorced, re-
turneth to her Monastery, her
Issue. *ibidem*
Mary daughter to King Ed-
ward the first, made a Nun.
552.67
Maria de Padilla concubine to
Peter king of Castile, pra-
ciseth Magick. 584.131
Shee persecuteth Queene
Blanche to death, shee be-
commeth King Peters wife.
585.132
Her Issue. *ibidem* 532
Mary younger daughter of K.
Henry the seventh, assured
by Contract vnto Charles
King of Spain. 750.71
Mary third daughter of King
Henry the seventh, married
to Lewis the 12. K. of France
and to Charles Brandon D.
of Suffolk. 752.77.756.21
She falleth in loue with Charles
Duke of Suffolk. 757.28
Marie Queene of Scotland.
782.122
Crowned. 782.122
Deinanded by King Henry 8.
in marriage with Prince Ed-
ward. 782.123
Conueied into France to bee
married vnto the Dauphin
805.17
Maried vnto the Prince Daul-
phin. 814.12
Her claime to the English
Crown. *ibidem*
Taken prisoner by her owne
subiects, and forced to re-
signe her regall gouerne-
ment, and to flee. 841.60
By contrary wiues driuen to
land in England. 841.61
Her vnfortunate end at Pe-
theringhy Cattle. 857.78
Her body entred at Peter-
borough. 857.178
Marie Queene mother and Re-
gent of Scotland, dieth of
grief & Melancholie. 835.22
Queene Marie of England her
birth, marriage with King
Philip the 2. of Spaine, her
death. 786
Her Armes, Broad-Seale and
Coine. 815
Shee remoueth to Keninghall
in Norfolke. 815.3
Her letters to the Councell,
and their answer. 806.34
She remoueth to Fremingham
Cattle. 806.5
Her answer to Suffolk men,
requiring her promise to be
performed. 816.5
Proclaime Queene of Eng-
land in Buckinghamshire, and
elsewhere. 816.9
Proclaime Queene in Lon-
don. 817.10
Proclaime in Cambridge by
John Duke of Northumber-
land. 817.11
Deuoted to Popish Religion.
817.18
Shee meeteth with King Phil-
ip. 824.70

Her marriage concluded
with King Philip vpon what
couenants. 824.71
Married to King Philip. 823.
Crowned Queene. 817.18
Her Oration in Guild-hall in
London. 819.28
Restoreth Ecclesiasticall li-
uings assumed to the crown.
826.85
Her worthy Apophthegme
ibid.
Thought to be conceiued with
child. 827.96
Reported to bee deliuered of
child. 828.101
Her melancholy for the losse
of Calais and other peeces in
France. 830.117
Her saying for the losse of Ca-
lais. *ibidem*
Shee sickned of a burning fea-
uer, and dieth. *ibidem* 118
Her body entred without
monument or remembrance
ibidem
Her acts in fauour of the Ro-
mish Religion repealed.
832.5
Marinus proclaimeth himselfe
Emperour. 241.4
William de Marisco sendeth one
to murder King Henry the
third. 524.59
Hee and his complices put
to death. *ibidem*
Marinus the Roman killed by a
Cimbrian, i. a Galle. 161.
Marinus a British King. 217.3
Chosen Emperour. 25.
Markadey Capitaine of the Bra-
banters Ritters. 480.62
How he executed Bertrand de
Gourdon. 481.69
Sir Griffin Markham condem-
ned of high Treason, repri-
ued. 1886.17
Mariborough Statutes enacted
539.105
Marle, for manuring of ground.
167.7
Marmadine a Welsh King. 344.
Hee breaketh downe Offiers
Ditch, or Clawd Offis. 345.
Vanquished by Offis. 345.8
Marthals 5. Earles of Pembroke
die successfullie issuelesse. 518.
William Marshall Earle of Pem-
brocke his piety and widom.
511.10
His death, issue, monument &
Epitaph. *ibidem*
His loyalty and prudent care
for King and Country. 508.
His speech to the Lords for a
reunion. 509.2
Guardian of King Henry the
third his person, and Vice-
Regent of the Kingdom. 509.3
William Marshall Agent for
King John, created Earle of
Pembroke. 485.5
Marina the concubine of Com-
modus the Emperour. 214.2
Fauourable to the Christians
doctrins. 224.3
Martialis Epigrams sent into
Britaine. 204.7
Martinal murdereth Caracalla,
212.7
Martian a British professor,
206.19
Martiler a Gentleman Nauar-
rois, foyled in Combat, af-

terwards drawn and han-
ged. 598.44
Martinus Deputy in Britaine.
263.4
Stabbeth himselfe. *ibidem*
Saint Martin in Canterbury an
ancient Church built by
Christian Romans. 330.8
Saint Martinus Legrand in Lon-
don priuiledged. 425.65
Pope Martin the fifth how ele-
cted. 610.35
Martyrs how many suffered
death in Queen Maries reign.
826.86
Martyrs in England before
Martin Luthers time. 779.
102
Massacre of the French Prote-
stants in Paris. 836.36
Masfelzerius beheadeth his
brother Gilaw the Traitor.
275.2
Hee is beheaded himselfe,
ibidem
Mathew Earle of Boloigne a-
gainst King Henry the second
in the behaile of the young
King his sonne. 405.65
Mathew Barie honoured by
King Henry the third. 534.
90
Mathew Earle of Lenox clai-
meth to bee Lord Gouer-
nour of Scotland. 782.122
Falleth from Queen mother.
ibidem
Marieth Lady Margaret King
Henry the eighth his sisters
daughter. 782.124
Proclaime Traitor to the
State of Scotland. 782.125
Maud wife of William Conque-
rour her death and buriall.
425.67
Mande daughter to Mary King
Stephens daughter, wedded
to Henry Duke of Lorraine.
454.55
Maud daughter to King Henry
the second, married to Hen-
ry furnished the Lion, Duke
of Saxony, her Issue. 470.
108
Maud the wife of King Henry
the first, before a Votarie.
442.60.435
Her descent, vertues, death &
buriall. 442.60.443.63
Her death and commendatio.
439.37
Maud King Henry the first his
daughter, espoused to Hen-
ry the fourth, Emperour. 438.
28.
Married to him at Menne,
ibidem 33
Whence descended. 332.5.
Maud the Empreffe vpon the
Emperors death, ordained
Heire apparant (for want of
King Henry the first his heires
Males) of the Crown of Eng-
land. 441.48
Maud the Empreffe of good
repute and cteem. 441.48
Her Issue. 443.63
Being wedded to Geoffrey Pla-
genet shee departeth from
him. 441.53
Reconciled againe. *ibidem*
Shee bare him a sonne named
Henry. 441.53
She arrives in England against
King Stephen. 448.18.19
Her politike excuse to a
uolide danger. 448.20
Maud and her brother befeig-
ed in Wallingford Cattle,
ibidem 23

Maud the Empreffe absolute
Gouernesse of England. 450.
29
Her Broad Seale. 451.29
Shee had the regall Crowne
of England deliuered to her.
ibidem 30
Received with state into Lon-
don. *ibidem*
Carried in a Coffin as a dead
Corps. 453.36
Besieged in Oxford. *ibidem* 38
Her shift to escape out of Ox-
ford vnto Wallingford Cattle.
ibidem
Shee goeth into Normandy
to her husband. 452.40
Her Epitaph. 470.101
Maud a naturall daughter of
King Henry the first, Coun-
sellor of Perib. 443.73
Her Issue. *ibidem*
Drowned in the sea with her
brethren. *ibidem*
Maud a second base daughter
of King Henry the first, her
Issue. 443.74
Mande Abbess of Dugling-
burg. 555.12
Mande the wife of K. Stephen
such for her husbands liber-
ty. 431.33
Her descent, death and bur-
iall. 454.50
Mande daughter of K. Stephen,
her death and buriall. *ibidem*
54.
John Maulder, alias Mandlen,
a counterfeite King Richard 2.
614.14
Drawne, hanged and quarte-
red at London. 614.16
Maud wife of Thomas the first
inured first by King Ed-
ward the third, in his yeere
of Iubilee. 584.126
Mauuz taken and sacked by
King John. 484.3
Saint Maurice his banner. 364.
12
Maurice Fitz-Thomas slain at
the battell of Steke. 733.22
Richard de Saint Maurice a de-
formed elfe, challenge and
obtaineth the wife of Thomas
the great Earle of Lancaster.
585.30.
Maxentius an vsurper and Ro-
mulus his sonne their Coines.
259.3
He trusteth to Sorcerers. 260.5
His ouerthrow, and the me-
moriall thereof. *ibidem*
Maximianus confort in the
Empire with Dioclesian.
254.1
He resigneth it in a madnood.
256.18
Hee hangeth himselfe. 558.
19
Maximianus Emperour, and
Romulus his Cesar their
Coines. 259.33
Putte death by Constantine.
259.3
Maximilian Emperour serueth
vnder King Henry the eight,
wearing the Croffe of Saint
George, and the Rose King
Henries badge. 754.8
Maximianus Emperour. 236.1
His rising yppe of nothing.
236.2
His Giant-like stature. 236.1
Hee persecuteth Christians.
236.3
His sundry names and titles.
ibidem
His death attempted. 236.4
His

His intemperate Diet. 237.7.
Hee and his sonne slaine.
237.6
Their Coines. 236
Maximianus the Emperour his
age and reign. 237.7
Cuthbert Maine in Cornwall di-
uorced subiects from their
obedience to Queene Eli-
zabeth. 652.145
Meates prohibited. 166.7
Menee frately besieged by K.
Henry the sixth, and deliue-
red vpon hard conditions.
647.75
Medes come from Madai.
162.6.
Medeshamstead, now Peterbo-
rough. 307.5
Medunius de Belga, 1. of Pelles
learned Diuine. 206. 18
ibidem 19
Meeting of two Kings, Lewis
of France, and Edward the
fourth of England, in what
manner at Picquigni. 688.98,
Robert Mallett sided with king
Stephen. 499.25
His description. *ibidem*
At Melun a treaty of peace be-
tween Charles the French
King, and King Henry the 5.
639.58
Melun besieged and assaulted,
644.57
Rendered vpon composition.
ibidem
Bernardine Mendoza the Span-
nish Ambassador in England
praiseth to bring in a for-
eigne Army, and to alter Re-
ligion. 846.91.856.169
Sir John Menseworth a Trai-
tor put to death. 587.140
Mense let on fire. 469.99
Mercian Kingdome the circuit
thereof. 306.1
Markham Lord Chiefe Iusticiar
left his office rather then en-
sent to the Iudgement of
Bawder, beheaded for a word
misconstrued. 705.56
Merlin a Wizard. 164
His bookes inhibited. 164
Whether begotten of an In-
cubus or no. 315
His prophesies yerified in K.
John. 506.63
His prophesies of the Mould-
wape, Dragon and Wolfe.
617.33
Sir Gilliam Mericke executed.
880.344
Merton Field won by the Daues.
355.10
Merton Abbey in Surrey. 532.
Merton Statutes why so called,
ibidem
Messalina a monster of the fa-
mall sexe. 199.19
Messana in Sicilie the Rendez-
uow of King Richard the
first, and King Philip of
France. 474.16
Moulin Islands, See Hebrides.
Lich Abbey at Abington built
first, and repaired by whom.
368.6
Michael de la Pole made Earle
of Suffolk. 600.56
laine at the battell of Agins
court. 633.61
Where entred. 634.30
Micheleff Monastery founded
364.3
Mileham Colledge founded.
726.60
Mileton Abbey founded.
362.17

Mildred or Mildrith Abbess of
Minster. 332. 394.8
Miler a skillfull Gunner in Kent
Campe. 808.44.
Milemus Bishop of London. 301.
4.
A Milners man hanged for his
Maler, by Sir Anthony King-
ston. 807.29
Milo alias Miles high Contable
for King Stephen reuolte
from him. 447.12
Created Earle of Hereford,
maintaineth the Empreffe at
his owne charges. 451.34
Minster Abbey in Kent found-
ed. 294.8
Mintage allowed in diuers
townes. 365.14
Mirabene wonne by Arthur, &
recovered by King John his
vnle. 489.18
Misthens Tutor and Counsellor
to Gordianus the third, dieth.
239.4
Misopogen or Antiochenis, an
inuectiue of Iulianus Apo-
stata. 266.5
Misoxenie, or hatred to stran-
gers, a quality appropriate
to English, euen of old. 523.
57.
Modewine an holy Lady in Ire-
land. 349.20
Adam Molins Bisshoppe of Chi-
chester, Lord Priuy Seale,
murdered by the procure-
ment of Richard Duke of
Torke. 663.46
Nicholas de Molis gueth the
King of Navarra an ouer-
throw. 527.69
Mollo inuadeth Kent, and is
burnt to death. 294.10.
Mona is Anglesy. 197.7
Inuaded. *ibidem* 8
Conquered. 456.8
Brought vnder subiection by
Iulius Agricola. 211.11
Monarchies perious not much
about fye hundred yeeres.
507.70
Monarches successfullie ingreat
Britain in the Romans time.
183.8c.
Monasteries dislolved causeth
King Henry the eighth to
runne into obloquie. 779.
103
Hugh de Moncado a comman-
der in the Inuincible Arma-
do slaine. 862.211
Monks liue prophanely. 430.19
Monkes of Bangor liued by the
labour of their owne handes.
303.7
Massacred by Eshelfride the
wilde. *ibidem*
Monke Chester. 421.44
Monks of Canterbury in King
Johns time, feedmen of Eng-
lands troubles. 493.31.
Monkishlanders of King John.
505.63
Monopolies by Proclamation
prohibited. 884.6
Monseur Palois Duke of An-
ion commeth into England
about marriage with Queene
Elizabeth. 855.161
Chosen Protector of the Low
Countries. *ibid* 162
He dieth penitent. 431.29
Monstrean towne and Cattle
surrendered to King Henry
the fifth vpon composition.
644.60
Mont Alban assaulted by king
John, and wonne. 495.34
Marqueffe Montacute reuolte

from King Edward the 4. &
cleaueth to King Henry the 6.
681.49
Vic. Montacute whence de-
fended. 552.63
Montacute raised by King Ed-
ward the third to bee Earle
of Salisbury for what defect.
568.22
William Montacute Earle of Sa-
lisbury taken prisoner by the
French. 573.5
King of Man his death. 575.
76
Thomas Montacute Earle of
Salisbury his valiant serui-
ce in France. 651.5
Slaine in Orleans. 654.13
Sir Henry Montague Recorder
of London, his pithy and gra-
tulatory speech in the name
of the City vnto King James
King of Great Britaine &c.
888.28
Mont-forts Cattle betrayed to
the French. 491.32
Mont-forts Family in France,
whence descended. 507.70
Mont-forts in Tuscan whence
descended. *ibid*
Guy Mont-fort excommunicat.
543.7
Hee murdereth Henry of Al-
maine, sonne to Richard king
of Romans. *ibid*
Taken and slaine. *ibid*
Henry de Montfort slaine. 507.
70
John de Mont-fort claimeth the
Dutchy of Bretaine. 573.
66
Hee returns into his Dutchy
of Bretaine with the aides
of the English. 594.12.13
Roberts de Mont-fort vanqui-
sheth Henry d'Essex in Com-
bate. 456.8
Simon Montfort Earle of Leice-
ster his parentage and Issue.
507.70
Hee with Henry his son slaine
at Euesham. *ibid*
Simon de Montford weddeth E-
leanor widow of Will. Mar-
shall Earle of Kent. 523.58
Simon Montfort Earle of Leice-
ster another Simon to the
Geisnoies. 530.80
Hee with other Barons com-
bine against King Henry the
third. 534.92
They seeke to exclude and ex-
pel frangers. 535.92
They contemne the Popes ex-
communication. 538.102
Sir Simon Montford beheaded
for Perkin Warbeckes con-
spiracy. 739.37
Simon Montfort falleth at de-
bate with the Earle of Glo-
cester. 538.102
Slaine at Euesham. 538.103
Simon Montfort the yo nger
liueth in exile. 538.104
Hugh Montgomery cruelly
mangleth the Welsh and is
killed in the eie. 431.29
Montfort in Leicestershire be-
sieged. 509.6
Morcar: Earle of Chester relea-
sed out of prison. 427.1
Morcar and Edwin brethren of
Queene Editha affect the
Crown of England. 407.44
Earle Morcar imprisoned
wrongfully, released. 423.55
Mordred incontinent K. Ar-
thur, is slaine. 317
Thomas de la More Knight,
an author cited in this work

570.36
Sir Thomas More beheaded.
780.111
More Maiornum what it was.
226.26
Morgan a naturall sonne of K.
Henry the second. 471.113
He refuseth the Bishopricke
of Durham rather then hee
will renounce his father. 471.
113
Morins yeeld obedience to Ca-
sar. 181.3
Who they were. 184
In the margin.
Morley in Bretaine America
wonne by the English. 760.
43
Mortality & Murraine vniuer-
sally throughout the world.
381.109
Mortality in England. 558.27
Hugh Mortimer rebelliously
fortifieth against King Hen-
ry the second. 456.4
Roger Mortimer E. of March
lieutenant of Ireland, slaine
by Obrin. 608.105
Rogers, the Mortimers, appre-
hended and committed to
the Tower of London. 559.
38
Roger Mortimer the younger
escapeth out of the Tower
into France. 561.54
Roger Mortimer quene ouer-
familiar with Greene Isabel.
561.54
Edmond Mortimer Earle of
March true heire to the
Crown of England, after
King Richard the second.
616.29
His Birth-night noted for a
strange prodigie. *ibid*
Entitled to the Crowne of
England. 652.8
His name vsed by Jacke Cade.
664.50.53
Taken prisoner by Owen Glen-
dowr. 616.27
Mortimers crosse battel. 672.
92.94
Roger Mortimer with other
Lords make head against Si-
mon Montfort and the Re-
bels. 538.102
Roger Mortimer of Wigmore o-
ueruleth all and worketh
the deposition of King Ed-
ward the second. 564.76
Hee keepeth the Queene in a
dultrey. 566.5
Roger Mortimer with Geoffrey
his sonne and others, sur-
prised by King Edward the
third and sent to the Tower
of London. 568.21
How he was surprised at No-
tingham. *ibid* 12
Mortimers hole. *ibid*
Roger Mortimer condemned in
Parliament at Westminster
vpon what causes. *ibid* 23
Hanged ignominiously at Ti-
burne gallows called the
Elmes. 568.23
Statutes of Mortmaine first en-
acted. 543.10
John Morton Bishop of Eli em-
prisoned in the Tower, for
not consenting to disherite
King Edward the fourth his
Issue. 713.8
His place of birth and rising.
ibid
His release sued for by the v-
niuersity of Oxford. 713.8
Released out of the Tower, &
committed to the keeping of

THE TABLE.

of Henry Duke of Buck-
ham 714.10
His Story 716.23
A fast friend vnto the Lanca-
srians 716.23
Wood vnto King Edward the
fourth his side. *ibid.*
Hee first deuiled the vnion of
York and Lancaster. *ibid.*
John Morton Bishop of Ely
made Archbishop of Can-
terbury, Lord Chancellor
and Cardinall 716.23
His widome and deepe pollicy
ibid.
Conference betweene him &
Henry Duke of Buckingham
717.24.25.&c.
He perwadeth the Duke to
take vpon him the Crowne
ibid.
He escapeth from Brecknocke
disguised and faileth into
Flamanders. 718.28
Made of the Priuy counsell
720.10
Nicholas Morton a Popish priest
aduanceth the rebellion of
Northumberland and West-
morland Earles 541.62
Commenceh suit against Qu.
Elizabeth 845.86
Mount-Morancy Ea. in France,
whence defended. 443.78
Rob. Mowbray Earle of North-
umberland committed to pri-
son 430.22
He there dieth. 430.23
Roger Mowbray against King
Henry the second, in the be-
half of King Henry the yon-
ger 465.65
Mowbray Dukes of Norfolk
whence defended. 553.71
Thomas Mowbray Earle of Nor-
tingham created Duke of
Norfolke 607.102
Banished for euer 608.103
Mowbray Earle Marshall, con-
spirer against King Henry
the fourth, is betrayed by the
Earle of Westmorland and
lofeth his head. 619.43
Mount-Norris a fort in Ireland
in memoriall of Sir John Nor-
ris 874.312
Monsold the strength of place
where Ke and the Rebels
with him encamped. 807.32
Murragh or Amurath the
Great Sultan his letter to
Queen Elizabeth 651.145
Muckleburgh field wonne by
the English 86.5
Mutterl besieged by the En-
lish 783.126

N

Henry Nailor a Champion
for Simon Lovd and John
Kyme 851.135
Names of Ancient Inhabitants
and their Countries in Bry-
taine according to Ptolomee
171
Will. of Nassau, Prince of O-
range proclaimed Traitor by
an Edict from Spaine, mur-
dered. 85.162
Maurice de Nassau chosen go-
uernor of the Low Countries
847.179
Natan-Lead a British Prince
saine. 297.2.326
Nations had the first names of
their owne. 159.7
Nations peopled from Nations

neere bordering 163.6
Naturall sonne, a terme in old
time, bearing no staine of
Bastardy, as since it hath
done. 509.2
Naval fight at Cadix. 869.269
Navarre Kings whence defen-
ded 443.73
King of Navarre slaine at Roan
836.29
Queene of Navarre dieth. 836
A Nauy English set fourth by
Queen Elizabeth against
Spaine 868.263
Nestoridius slaine 296.3
Nenion Casibilans brother,
winneeth Casars sword in sin-
gle fight 187.12
Neot a great Clarke and one
of the first Readers of Diui-
nity in Oxford. 351.16
Saint Neods, or Saint Neods,
a towne, before time Anni-
phesbury 352.16
Neot-Stoke a Monastery in
Cornwall 352.16
Nere assumeth the Empire.
197.1
His parents *ibid.*
Irreligious *ibid.*
Bloody and libidinous. *ibid.*
He fireth Rome. *ibid.*
Odious to God and man. 200
Seeketh to flye into Egypt
200.25
Hideth himselfe and is appre-
hended 200.26
He killeth himselfe *ibid.*
His skill in Musike *ibid.*
His lineaments of body. *ibid.*
His loue of Horse-riding. *ibid.*
His lauish expence in apparell
and building. *ibid.*
His raighe and age. *ibid.*
The last of Casars progeny &
race 201.1
His wicked life laid open.
ibid.
Nerua the Emperour, a prudent
Prince 217.2
Nerua fauoured the Britanes &
Christian Religion 217.4
His death, age, and reigne.
ibid.
His Coine. 216
Ralph Neuill Chancellour to K.
Henry the third, elected
Archbishop of Canterbury
by the Monkes 516.29
John Neuill Lord Montacute, his
victory at the battell of Hex-
ham 676.15
Hauing bene Earle of North-
umberland, is created Mar-
quesse 678.26
Taken into Edward the fourth
his fauour 680.45
Slaine at Barnet field. 683.65
Richard Neuill Earle of Salis-
bury, in right of Alice his
wife 666.61
Made Lord Chancellor. 667
Deprived of it. *ibid.*
Hee seeketh to reuenge the
wronge done to his sonne
Richard Earle of Warwick
668.72
Wounded and taken prisoner
at Wakefield. 672.90
Beheaded by the Common
people, and his head set vpon
a Gate in Yorke, together
with Richards, duke of Yorke
672.90
Richard Neuill the Great, Earle
of Warwick in right of his
wife Anne heire to Henry

Beauchamp Duke of War-
wicks. 666.61
Captaine of Calais 667.65
Assailed by the Kings seruants
hardly escapeth to Calais
668.71
Richard Neuill Earle of War-
wicks robbeth Merchants
ships at Sea *ibid.*
Relieved by King Lewis of
France 680.43
Hee faileth into Ireland 669
He taketh into Conuenance 582
His stout answer and resoluti-
on to George Duke of Clare-
nce his messengers, for re-
conciliation with King Ed-
ward the fourth. 683.60
His housekeeping 677.19
He soliciteth a marriage be-
tweene the Lady Bona daugh-
ter to Lewis Duke of Sany,
and King Edward the fourth
679.19.20.&c.
Discontented with King Ed-
ward the fourth, he affecteth
the cause of King Henry the
sixth, vpon what occasion
678.26
He plotteth the deposition of
King Edward the fourth. 678
27
He complotteth and confpi-
rith with George Duke of
Clarence, against King Ed-
ward the fourth 678.28
Affinity contracted by a ma-
riage between George Duke
of Clarence and the Lady I-
sabel eldest daughter to Ri-
chard Neuill Earle of War-
wicks *ibid.*
Slaine at Barnet field. 683.65
George Neuill Bishop of Exce-
ster deprived, for being Lord
Chancellour 678.26
Sir Henry Neuill Knight cruelly
slaine after hee had yielded
himselfe prisoner 679.33
George Neuill Archbishop of
Yorke his goods and lands
seized vpon vnkindly by K.
Edward the 4. 686.88
Emprisoned at Hames in
Normandy *ibid.*
Charles Neuill Earle of West-
morland, in rebellion. 841
64
Flyeth into Scotland 842.68
Wandeth in forsaire parts
vnto his miserable ende. 842
71
New-Castle vpon Time founded
431.44
New-fyrrest made by William
Conquerour, fall to his two
sonnes and nephew. 431.46
New-hawen with other pieces
surrendered into Queen E-
lizabeths hands 835.28
Lost by the English. 836.30
Newton a victour in Combate
rewarded 811.61
Nicene Concell 261.16
Nicene Concell the second.
345.9
Written against by Aluine or
Albine 345.9
Saint Nicholas Priory in Exce-
ster founded 425.65
Nicholas the Popes Legate
commeth into England. 502
Niding, a word of reproch.
448.8
Nigridianus his Coine 263.3
Nimianus conuerted the Picts
to Christian Religion. 204.9

Ninua a Writer. 163.15
Ninurra Empreffe of Babylon
206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others. 46
7
Norwich Priory Church fere
fire in a tumult. 519.16
Norwich wonne by Ke at
the Rebels. 807.7
Fired by them 808.7
Northingham won by the Dan-
es 354
Nonatin

Nonatin Heretikes. See Ca-
thari 206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others. 46
7
Norwich Priory Church fere
fire in a tumult. 519.16
Norwich wonne by Ke at
the Rebels. 807.7
Fired by them 808.7
Northingham won by the Dan-
es 354
Nonatin

Nonatin Heretikes. See Ca-
thari 206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others. 46
7
Norwich Priory Church fere
fire in a tumult. 519.16
Norwich wonne by Ke at
the Rebels. 807.7
Fired by them 808.7
Northingham won by the Dan-
es 354
Nonatin

Nonatin Heretikes. See Ca-
thari 206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others. 46
7
Norwich Priory Church fere
fire in a tumult. 519.16
Norwich wonne by Ke at
the Rebels. 807.7
Fired by them 808.7
Northingham won by the Dan-
es 354
Nonatin

Nonatin Heretikes. See Ca-
thari 206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others. 46
7
Norwich Priory Church fere
fire in a tumult. 519.16
Norwich wonne by Ke at
the Rebels. 807.7
Fired by them 808.7
Northingham won by the Dan-
es 354
Nonatin

Nonatin Heretikes. See Ca-
thari 206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others. 46
7
Norwich Priory Church fere
fire in a tumult. 519.16
Norwich wonne by Ke at
the Rebels. 807.7
Fired by them 808.7
Northingham won by the Dan-
es 354
Nonatin

THE TABLE.

Nonatin Heretikes. See Ca-
thari 206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others. 46
7
Norwich Priory Church fere
fire in a tumult. 519.16
Norwich wonne by Ke at
the Rebels. 807.7
Fired by them 808.7
Northingham won by the Dan-
es 354
Nonatin

Nonatin Heretikes. See Ca-
thari 206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others. 46
7
Norwich Priory Church fere
fire in a tumult. 519.16
Norwich wonne by Ke at
the Rebels. 807.7
Fired by them 808.7
Northingham won by the Dan-
es 354
Nonatin

Nonatin Heretikes. See Ca-
thari 206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others. 46
7
Norwich Priory Church fere
fire in a tumult. 519.16
Norwich wonne by Ke at
the Rebels. 807.7
Fired by them 808.7
Northingham won by the Dan-
es 354
Nonatin

Nonatin Heretikes. See Ca-
thari 206.19
Nummianus Cesar and Augu-
stinus with his father Carus.
307.11
Murdered *ibid.*
Nunnes incontinent 243.3
Nuns of Colingbam disfigure
and deforme themselves to
auide the Danes pollutions
354.5
Non obstant, a detestable
Clause 529.77
Nonnus Philippus Lieutenant
generall in Britaine 238.2
Normans, whence they tooke
name, and first came. 411.2
Great Pirates 411.4
Prayed publicly against by
the French, in Charles the
Great his time *ibid.*
Normanny or Normandy what
Country, and why so cal-
led *ibid.*
Wonne to the Crown of Eng-
land 437.22
Normandy Dukes, the Kings
eldest sonnes of England.
438.84
Normandy lost 493.28
Normandy & other Seigniories
in France demanded of King
Lewis, by King Henry the
third. 512.15
Normans their outrages and
villanies at Winchester. 583
121
In Normandy, the Commons
rebell against the English.
657.22
In Normandy many Townes &
Castles wonne by the English
619.57.60
Normandy lost by occasion of
breaking truce 662.44
From Normans Conquest to
the death of Queen Eliza-
beth what time. 278.2
Sir John Norris Lord Generall
in the Low-Countries vs-
der Queen Elizabeth. 835.
166
Sir John Norris recalled out of
the Netherlands and sent
into Ireland 847.179
His valiant seruice in Galicia
at the Groine 864.31.232
&c.
His valour and victory ouer
the Spaniards. 864.234
Lord Generall of the Forces
in Ireland against the Earle
of Tyr-On and other Trai-
tors 872.290
His death 872.295
Norrisampton taken by K. Hen-
ry the 3. 537.99
Norrisampton battell 670.79
John Norrisampton, alias Cum-
berton, sometime Maior of
London, arraigned, confined
and confiscated 598.43
See more in John Comberton
Northumberland Kingdome &
the circuit thereof. 302.1
Diuided into two Prouinces
ibid.
Their Kings descent. *ibid.*
The continuance thereof. 309
2
Norway Pirats infest & anno-
y Cheshire 375.5
Norwich taken and spoyled by
Hugh Bigot and others.

THE TABLE.

Pennis posthumus Campmaster
killeth himselfe 200.21
Charles Paget a traitor. 846.
91
Ralph Paine burneth *Nottingham*
448.22
Palace of *Westminster* founded
43.131
Sir Thomas Palmer executed.
817.17
Palme Sunday bloudy battell.
675.9
Palmyra a great City. 249.5
Pandulph the popes Legate
landeth at *Doner* 499.46.
His perfwasion to King *Iohn*.
ibidem
Legate in *England* after *Wal-*
lo 511.11
A Panicke feare at the execu-
tion of *Edward Seimor* Duke
of *Somerfet*, and Lord Pro-
tectour 812.71.
Papinianus the famous Lawyer
seated in *Torke* 229.6
Slaine for not defending a
murder 232.4
Lord *Williams Parr* entred *Nor-*
wich 808.38
Forced out of *Norwich* by
Ket and the Rebels. 808.
39
A Parallelization of the Eng-
lish and French States in K.
Richard the 2. his raigne.
601.62
Pardõ of life forfeited for trea-
son, strangely tendered. 662.
41
Sir Edward Parham ended of
treason and acquit. 886.15
Paris yielded vp to K. *Henry*
the 5. 644.59
Lost from the English. 658.
28
Parisians conspire to dispos-
se the English *ibidem*
Parisians practise with *Charles*
the seuenth to deliuer *Paris*
into his hands 651.6
Woodstocke Parke made by King
Henry the first 442.59
Of Courtes of *Parliament* the
foundation laid 439.35
Parliament at *Northampton*.
467.83
Parliament at *Oxford*. 535.
92
Parliament at *Conterre* called
Lacke-Learning *Parliament*
619.42
The Great *Parliament*. 607.
102
The Good *Parliament*. 588.
150
Parley betwixt King *Stephen* &
Hen. Fitz Emprre. 453.44.45
A *Parley* intended betweene
the Queene mother Regent
of *Scotland*, and Queene *El-*
izabeths Agents. 835.19
The fame disturbed by the
French *ibidem*
William Parry his treason. 846.
94
Hee woundeth *Hugh Hare* his
Creditor 846.94
Confesseth his treason. 846.
96.98
His Letter to the Lords of the
Councell 847.99
Arraigned, condemned, and
executed 847.100
Prince of *Parma* oppoeth a-
gainst *England* 759.193
Prince of *Parma* hath a con-
federated sword and hate
sent vnto him from Pope
Sixtus 856.172
Hee aspieth to bee King of

England 861.209
Parsons alias *Dolman* a Iesuite.
849.113
Parthians giue the Romans a
great ouerthrow 197.6
Patcentius *Vortigern* his sonne,
contriveth the poisoning of
Aurelius Ambrosius. 314
Passeline detected of plotting
the ruine of *Richard Earle* of
Pembroke, taketh Sanctua-
ry 51.49
Patrick Cullen vnder taketh to
kill Queene *Elizabeth*. 849.
112
Executed at *Tiburne* *ibidem*
Patrick the Irish Apostle pre-
acheth in *Wales* 204.9
Saint *Paul* the apostle preached
in *Britaine* 203.6
Beheaded 197.5
Pope *Paul* the fourth besieged
in *Rome* 829.108
Saint *Pauls* Church in *London*
buile 300.3
Aforetime, the Temple of *Di-*
ana *ibidem*
Paulus Crosse guarded in Ser-
mon time 817.15
Sir Amias, alias *Iames Paulus*
setteth *Thomas Woffey* in the
Stockes, and repenteth it af-
terwards 757.
Paulinus conuerteth *Edwin* K.
of *Northumberland*. 334.7
Archbishop of *Torke* *ibidem*
Paulinus, See *Suttonium*
Paulus a Notarie, subtilie, and
cruel 263.5
Called *Catena*, wherefore,
ibidem
Henry de Pay a braue Warrior
at Sea discomfitteth the
French Fleet 620.45
Iohn Payne a Priest with other
Resolutes appointed to kill
Queene *Elizabeth*. 845.88
Peace concluded betweene *Don*
Iohn D' Aquila, and *Charles*
Lord Montjoy, Lieutenant
Generall of *Ireland*. 875.
322
Peace throughout the World.
174.188.6
Peace betweene *Dauid* King of
Scots and King *Stephen*. 448.
16.
Peace concluded betweene
England and *Scotland*. 782
121
Peace betweene *England* and
France 758.33.
Peace for a time concluded be-
tweene *Charles* the 6. King of
France, *Henry* the 8. King of
England, and *Philip* Duke of
Burgoyne 641.50
Peace treated of neere Amiens,
betweene *Lewis* K. of *France*
and *Edward* the fourth King
of *England* by their Com-
missioners 687.96
Peace concluded with great
loy of the French *ibidem*
Peace betweene French & Eng-
lish, collly to the French.
737.31
Peace concluded betweene
England and *France*. 781.
131
Peace betweene King *Edward*
the first and *France* 548.36
Peace dishonourable with the
Scots at the *Parliament* of
Northampton 567.13
Peace concluded betweene the
King of *Spain*, and *Iohn* D.
of *Lancaster* 605.85
Peace betweene Great Britain
and *Spain* proclaimed in *Lon-*

don 889.29
Peace settled in *England* be-
tweene King *Henry* the 3.
and his Barons 539.105
A Peace pretended and treated
vpon betweene *Spain*, *Eng-*
land and the Low-Countries
857.182
Peacocks fethers Crowne sent
from the Pope to King *Iohn*
Lord of *Ireland* 497.43
Penda first Christian king of the
Mercians 306.5.307.5
His End *ibidem*
Pearles in the British Seas. 136
183
Don Petro de Valdez yeeldeth
to *Sir Francis Drake*. 860.
204
Pelagius rhe Heretike a Bri-
taine 277.10
Condemned by *Innocentius* 10
ibidem
His Opinions and Doctrines,
ibidem
Pelagianisme brought into
Britaine by *Agricola*. 290
13
Penda King of the Mercians.
306.4
His raigne and Issue. *ibidem*
His nature and manners. *ibidem*
Slaine by *Oswy* *ibidem*
Doctor *Pendleton* preaching at
Paulus Crosse had a Gunne
discharged at him. 825.76
Pentarchie in *Ireland* 462.47
Sir Iohn Perce condemned of
high Treason 848.106
Earle of Perce the French Ge-
nerall vnder Prince *Lewis*
Slaine 510.7
Thomas Percy a Conspirator
drawne into the Gunpow-
der treason 890.41
Pereyre whence they had the
name 430.23
Henry Lord Percie surnamed
Hotspurre sent to *Calais*.
601.61
Taken prisoner. 604.84
Redemeth himselfe, and is
made Lord Warden of the
Marches against *Scotland*.
605.88
Pursued by King *Henry* the 4.
flyeth into *Scotland*. 619.44
Earle of Northumberland par-
doned of life, abridged of li-
berty, &c. 618.38
fully restored 618.40
Slain by the Shiriffe of *Torke-*
shire, and his head set on
London Bridge 620.46
Henry L. Percy Earle of *North-*
umberland in Queene *Eliz-*
abeths dayes, committed
to the Tower vpon suspition
of Treason 848.105
He killeth himselfe. *ibidem*
Sir Ralph Percy a valiant, and
faithfull Knight slaine. 676.
14
His saying at his death. *ibidem*
Thomas Lord Percy Earle of
Worcester, cause of the battell
at *Shrewsbury*. 617.37
Taken prisoner and beheaded
618.38
Thomas Lord Percy Earle of
Northumberland rebelleth.
841.62
Flieth into *Scotland*. 842.68
Sent backe againe into Eng-
land, and is beheaded. 844.
76.
Perennius a great man vnder the
Emperour *Commodus*. 224.
6.
Delivered to the British Soul-
diers to bee put to death.
225.6
William de Peresbouda a great A-
strologer 514.21
Perkin Warbeck a counterfeiter
Richard Plantagenet Duke of
Torke, suborned against King
Henry the seuenth by *Margaret*
Duchesse Dowager of
Burgundy 737.32
Vpon the Coast of *Kent*. 740.
39
He flieth into *Ireland*. 740.14
He flieth into *Scotland* *ibidem*
Hee marrieth into the bloud-
royall of *Scotland* 741.43
His parentage 737.32
Reputed the yonger sonne of
K. *Edward* the fourth. 714.14
Perkin Warbeck his Proclama-
tion 741.45
He flieth and taketh Sanctua-
rie at *Beaulieu* 744.51
Hee yeeldeth himselfe to K.
Henry the seuenth 744.52
Conueied through *London* on
horseback with shame. 744.51
He maketh an escape 744.52
Set in a paire of Stockes, all
a day vpon a Scaffold before
Westm. Hall gate. 745.53
Also in *Cheshape* *ibidem*
He readeth openly his confes-
sion 745.53
His place of birth, parentage
and education. 745.54. &c.
Committed to the Towre, &c.
Condemned vpon a New-
Conspiracy, and executed.
746.60
Persecution of Christians the
second 215.17
Persecution of Christians the
third. 217.2
Persecution the fourth of Chri-
stians 221.2
Persecution of Christians the
fifth 230.15
Persecution of Christians the
sixth 236.3
Persecution of Christians the
seuenth 241.2
Persecution of Christians the
eighth 244.2
Persecution of Christians the
ninth 249.8
Persecution of Christians the
tenth 254.12
Persian and Saxon tongues a-
gree in many words. 284.3
Opposed by the Pretorian
Souldiers 226.4
Helmius Pertinax Lieutenant in
Britaine 225.7
Surnamed *Britannicus*, *ibidem*
Helmius Pertinax Emperour his
Coin. *ibidem*
His meane parentage. *ibidem*
His rising from low degree
225.2
His speech to his Souldiers a-
bout to kill him. 226.2
Murdered by them *ibidem*
His raigne and age *ibidem*
His personage and qualities
ibidem
8.
Pescennius Niger chosen Em-
perour in *Syria* 227
His Coin. *ibidem*
His Coin to good hope. *ibidem*
Why surnamed *Niger* *ibidem*
His feature and complexion. *ib-*
idem
Put downe and killed by *Sept-*
simus Severus *ibidem*
Pestilence in *England* through
scarcity of food. 535.82
Pestilence vniuersall through-
out the world. 243.4
Pestilence in *Rome* 245.2
Pe fi-

THE TABLE.

Pestilence in *London* 746.61
Peter-pence 299.11
Called *Eleemosyne* J. *Almes*
432.34
Peter-pence promised by King
Henry the second out of *Ire-*
land to the Pope 462.48
Peter-pence, alias *Rome-feet*.
345.11
Saint *Peter* the Apostle cruci-
fied 197.5
Hee preached the Gospell in
Britaine 203.6
Saint *Peters* Church in *Corn-*
hill founded by King *Lucius*
223.11
Saint *Peters* Church in *Thorney*
buile 300.3
Some times the Temple of *A-*
pollo 301.3
Saint *Peters* Church in *West-*
minster buile by K. *Edward*
the Confessor, and endow-
ed by him. 401.2
Peter Basilij. See *Bartram*
de *Gordon*.
Peter an Eremitte, leader of an
Army to the Holy-Land, is
slaine. 431.30
Peter of Pomfreit an Eremitte
and Prophet 499.45
Peter de Rupibus Bishop of *Win-*
chester, predominant in K.
Henrie the third his daies.
517.31
Peter, Bishop of *Winchester* go-
uernour of King *Henry* the
third. 511.11
Hee with others removed
from his Councell 520.46
Peter de Rupibus Bishop of
Winchester his plot detected
against *Richard Earle* of
Pembroke, and *Earle* *Mar-*
shall 521.49
He taketh Sanctuery *ibidem*
His commendation 522
Peter Duke of *Bretaigne*, wher-
fore named *Man-Clerke*
or *Mal-dun* J. *Male do-*
ctus 515.23
Peter de Rinalis, detected of a
practise against *Rich. Earle*
of *Pembroke* and *Earle* *Mar-*
shall, taketh Sanctuery. 522
49
Taken into the Kings fauour,
againc 522.54
Peter de Rinalis Treasurer to
King *Henry* the third, in
disgrace. 520.46
Peter King of *Castile* and of
Leon, driuen out of his king-
dome 584.130
His bloudy tyranny. 584.131
Set in the throne of *Spain*
by *Edward* the black Prince.
585.133
His ingratitude to the Prince
ibidem
Peter de la Mare, speaker in
the good *Parliament*, con-
demned to perpetual pri-
son, at the suit of Dame *A-*
lice *Piers* 588.150
Set at Liberty. *ibidem*
Peter Warbeck. See *Perkin*
Warbeck.
Peterborough Church, founded
by *Penda*. 307.5
Peterborough Monastery found-
ed by *Wulfstret* 307.6
Finished also by him. 339.3
Petrus Cerealis L. Deputy in
Britaine 211.8
Frier Peto, alias *Peto* or *Paito*,
consecrated by Pope *Paul*
the fourth Bishop of *Sarum*
326.84
Forbidden to enter *England*.
ibidem

A Petition exhibited to *Richard*
Duke of *Glocester* Lord pro-
tectour to accept of the
Crown of *England* 711.2
Petrus Twiplianus Lieute-
nant Generall in *Britaine*
200.24
His disposition. *ibidem*
Slaine *ibidem*
Philip Earle of *Flanders* fideh
with *Henry* the yong king
against his father King *Hen-*
rie the second 465.65
Philip, the fifth sonne of *Hen-*
rie the second King of *England*
470.106
Philip King of *France*, vpon en-
leaueth King *Richard*
the first, and the voiage to
the Holy Land 466.33
Defeated fundry times by K.
Richard the first 480.48
In danger to be drowned in
his flight from King *Richard*
the first. 481.64
Philip K. of *France*, marrieth the
King of *Denmarke* sister, and
presently putteth her away
480.62
He breaketh amity with King
Iohn, and vseth hostility.
489.16
Pleased with Treason, but ha-
teth Traitors. 491.23
His demands implying his de-
sire to the Crowne of *Eng-*
land 492.25
Chosen by the Pope, King of
England, vpon the disposition
of King *Iohn* 499.46
He prepareth a mighty army
against *England*. *ibidem*
He setteth forth with his na-
uy against *Fernando Earle* of
Flanders 450.50
His nauy defeated by the Eng-
lish. 501.50
He dieth 512.15
Philip de Valois how hee clai-
med the Crowne of *France*
567.17
His motiues to resist King *Ed-*
ward the third claiming the
Crown of *France*. 571.46
The iustificacion of his resi-
stance 571.47
His mighty Army against K.
Edward the third. 573.58
Philip de Valois the French king
tyrannish ouer his Nobles
ibidem
His horse slaine vnder him at
the battell of *Crecy*, and his
flight. 578.96
Philip de Valois the French king
dieth 581.110
Philip of *France*, sonneto *Iohn*
the French King, surnamed
the Hardy. 582.115
Queene *Philip* wife to King
Edward the 3. her Princely
demeanour in her husbands
absence 580.105
Her praifes, death and tombe
589.155
Philip a bafe sonne of King
Richard the first 482
Philip the first King of *Spain*,
cast vpon the coast of *Eng-*
land 749.69
Kindly entertained by direc-
tion from King *Henry* the
seuenth 749.70
Philip the second king of *Spain*
arriueh at *Southampton*. 844.
70
His stile ioined with Queene
Marie 847.73
Agreet friend to the Lady
Elizabeth 848.97
Hee passeth the seas, & is ab-
sent from Queene *Mary* a
yeere and sixe monethes.
848.102
He returneth to *Doner*, and
meetch with Queene *Mary*,
ibidem
Declared enemy to the State
of the Low-Countries. 855
162
He contriues war against the
English, vnder the false
profers of peace 857.181
Philip Duke of *Burgoyne* or
Burgundy a friend to the Eng-
lish Soueraignty in *France*.
651.4
Philip Duke of *Burgundy* break-
eth amity with the English,
and cleaueth to *Charles* the
seuenth and the French. 657.
23
Iulius Philippus Prefect to
Gordianus the third, his trea-
cherie to *Gordianus* 239.4
His parentage 240.1
Slew his leige Lord *Gordian-*
us 240.6
Made Emperour 240.2
Philip the sonne his *Cesar*.
ibidem
His Coin. 240
Iulius Philippus the Emperour
repentant, and is baptized
with his sonne and Wife,
240.3
Philip both father and sonne
murdered for their Christian
profession. 241.3
Philip the sonne *Cesar*, neuer
seene to laugh 241.5
Iulius Philippus his raigne.
241.6
Philopater a Iesuite, See *Cref-*
well
Iohn Philpot knighted, and en-
dowed with lands by King
Richard the second. 596.
25
Sir Iohn Philpot mans out of
Fleet to skowe the seas.
593.5
His fortunate seruice. *ibidem*
Phoenix feathers in a plume set
from the Pope to *Hugh*
Earle of Tir-Oen 874.308.
Henry Picard Lord Maior
of *London* seafed 4. Kings
at once. 582.118
Picards whence they tooke
name 285.8
Picts a Nation in *Britaine* why
so called 167
Picts diuided into two Nati-
ons. 269.4
Piers alias *Peter de Gausson*,
banished 551.54.555.4
Reenterained 555.4
His description 555.5
His scoffing misbehavior to-
ward the great peeres of the
land 556.6
Earle of Cornwall banished
for euer 555.8
Abooue measure powerfull
with King *Edward* the se-
cond 555.7
He misleadeh the King. 556
10
Reuoked out of exile. 556
9
Made Principall Secretary,
ibidem 10
Taken by *Gay Earle* of *War-*
wicke, and beheaded. 556.
14
His funerals celebrated. 558.
28.
Pontius Pilate being banished,
killeth himselfe 199.4
The holy Pilgrimage, or Re-
bellion of *Torkshire*. 773.
96.
Their demands 775
Pinkie a Frier prouinciall, and
a flattering preacher. 705.
57
Piso Licinianus chosen by *Gai-*
ba his *Cesar* and Successor.
202.4
Slaine 202.4
Pius Quintus the pope his Bul
to dethrone Queene *Eliza-*
beth 842.72.73
His Bull hanged vp at the Bi-
shop of *London* gate. 844.
76.
Placidia taken prisoner by *A-*
luricus, and married to *A-*
thauphus King of the *Goths*
279.4
Plague in *London*. 581.109.
885.9
Plague in *Newhauen* spreadeth
from thence into *England*,
826.30
Plaife Colledge in *Essex* found-
ed 590
Richard Plantagenet Duke of
Torke weddeth *Anne Morti-*
mer his neckles daughter,
590
Edward the last Male *Planta-*
gener, Earle of *Warwicke* ar-
raigned, condemned and be-
headed 746.61
Heire to *George* Duke of *Clare-*
ncester, imprisoned 729.6
Ruined by *Perkin Warbeckes*
Conspiracy. 746.61
Plautius or *Plotius* set by *Claud-*
ius Cesar against the Britans
193.3
His Souldiers first vniwillig,
were encouraged by a signe
from heauen 193.4
The first Lord Deputy in *Brit-*
tain 194.12
A fortunate Conquerour in
Britaine 175
Pleas in law made in English.
584.126
Plinius secundus, *Trasian* Tu-
tor entreateh for the Chri-
stians 217.2
Plotting betweene *Richard*
Duke of *Glocester*, Lord
Protector, and the Duke of
Buckingham 702.40
Poistiers battell 582.116
Poistun lost 513.17
Poistun recovered by K. *Iohn*.
593.55
Poistouns commanded to de-
part the Realme of *England*
526.66
They fle out of the land.
515.93
Sir Edward Poinsins with ma-
ny other slain neere *Bullloign*
783.121
De la Pole family how it was
first raised, 600.55
William de la Pole of a Marchant
made Knight Banerier. *ibidem*
William de la Pole Marquess of
Suffolke made Duke. 662.43
Committed prisoner to the
Tower & enlarged. 663.46
Accused by the Commons in
Parliament 663.47
Going into banishment is wick-
edly murdered 663.49
Michael de Pole, See in *de la*
Pole
William de la Pole his noble and
great deserts 661.49
Iohn de la Pole Earle of *Lin-*
colne

THE TABLE.

colne proclaimed Heire apparant to the Crowne. 720. 38
He flyeth into *Flanders* to the Dutcheffe of *Burgundie*. 732
His Title to the Crowne. *ibidem*.
He with *Lambert* the Idoll, aduanceth in battell array agaynst King *Henry* the seuenth. 733.20
Slaine at the battell of *Stoke*. *ibidem*.
William de la Pole in trouble for his brother *Edmund*. 743
Edmund de la Pole, Earle or Duke of *Suffolk*, his willfull killing of a man. 743.66
Pardoned, yet flyeth out of *England* twice. 748.66
He bringeth many into troubles and to confusion. 748.67
Putteth himself into the protection of *Philip* the King of *Spain*. 749.69
See more in *Edmund*.
Pellesworth Nunery before time at *Timberley*. 362.15
Poliphon an ancient Greeke Historian. 160.7.17.1.
Polyeustus sent to reconcile *Glafianus* and *Sutonius*, in *Britain*. 200.23
Polydor Vergil taxed for partiall writing. 486.9
Pomponia Gracina, the wife of *A. Plautius*, first Lieutenant in *Britaine* became a Christian. 204.8
Ponthion reuolted from the *English*. 586.136
The reason why *ibidem*. 136
Pontior besieged by *Charles* the seuenth King of *France*. 660.37
Wonne by him at a second siege. 660.36
Pontois or *Ponthois* surprisid and wonne by the *English*. 639.59
Pooles in *England*, a family of what descent. 779.103
Henry Poole Lord *Montacute* with others beheaded. 779.104
Reginald Poole Cardinall about to be set vp King of *England*. *ibidem*. 103.
His death the same day that *Q. Mary* died. 832.4
Reginald Poole sent for home, by Queene *Mary*. 826.83
Made Archbishoppe of *Canterbury*. 826.84
See more in *Reginald*.
Poore of three sorts. 814.85
The Popes absurd collections out of the Scripture. 223.9
The Pope dispofeth of Crownes. 315.3
Popes of *Rome* two at once. 431.33
Pope to bee Antichrist, no new opinion. 475.24
The Pope denied entrance into *England* and *France*. 527.70
Denied any more contributions in *England*. 528.
Flieth from *Rome* for feare of *Fredericke* Emperour. 529.76
The Popes exactions and extortions repelled in *England*. 550.50
Popes of *Rome* three at once. 629.34

Pope curfeth King *Henry* the eighth and his Realme. 770.80
The Popes authority called in question. *ibidem*.
Port or Porth a *Saxon*. 292.2
Portsmouth how it took name. *ibidem*.
Port-Tritulense i. *Richborew*. 215.15
Portugall voiage. 864.231
Gilbert Port loofeth his eares for words. 816.6
Pottier his words vpon King *Edward* the fourth his death. 694.7
D. *Powell* a British Writer. 164.
Poysoning suspected against the Barons. 535.94
Precedency of place in women the ouerthrow of their husbands. 809.53
Predictions and signes of the Lord *Hastings* death. 703.
Predictions fantastick inhibited by Act of Parliament. 164.18
Prelates of *England* ready to submit to Duke *William* of *Normandy*. 415.2
Prelates against their prince detested euen by Monks. 535.93
A preface to King *Stephen*. 453.44
Prefages of King *William Rufus* his death. 433.39
Prators in prouinces their iurisdiction. 218.6
Praiers and intercessions publike for King *Edward* the third his good successe in the warres of *France*. 574.
Prasutagus King of the *Iseni*. 176.13
His Testament. 198.10
Maurice de Prendergast entred *Ireland*. 463.55
Whence hee tooke name. *ibidem*.
His Coat of Armes. *ibidem*.
A Priest of *Ware* drawne and hanged for practising agaynst King *Henry* the fourth. 616.26
Priests married fauoured by the Nobles. 373.2
Priests marriages moue debate. 373.4
Referred to the answer of a Rood. 374.4
Priests marriage inhibited by Pope *Gregorie*. 422.48
Prime of the *Druides*. 168.8
Principality of *Wales* downefalling from the Welsh line. 544.11
Priory of the Trinity within *Algate* in *London* founded. 454.51
Prior thereof, is Alderman of *London*. 454.51
Priory of *S. Martins* in *Douer* founded. 294.1
Priory of *Saint Johns* without *Smithfield* burnt by the Rebels vnder *Lacke Cade*, and *Wat Tyler*. 595.19
Probus elected Emperour. 251.1
His descent. *ibidem*. 2
Compared with *Annibal* and *Julius Caesar*. *ibidem*.
His single fights and Ensignes of victory. 252.2
His exploits. 252.2.3.8c.
Hee flyeth in one battell, 400000. Germans. *ibidem*

Murdered. 252.9
His Sepulchre. *ibidem*.
Proclamation made to publish *William* the Lord *Hastings* treasons. 704.48
Procopius an vsurper beheaded. 269.2
His Coine. *ibidem*.
Proculus a Rebelle against *Probus*. 252.6
A vassall to *Venus*. 252.7
His death. *ibidem*.
Prodigious and presaging apparitions of warre betwene *Bedford* and *Bickelwade*. 616.31
Prodigies preceding *Italian* the Emperour his death. 267.7
Prodigies before *Ioulianus* the Emperour his death. 268.5.
Prodigies forgoing the *Danes* invasion. 388.10
Prodigies in King *Britrichs*, or *Bubrick* his time. 300.16
Prodigious portents in *England*. 608.104
Prodigies in *Valentinian* the Emperour his time. 271.11
Prodigies dayly scene. 198.1
Prodigies strange and hideous. 245.2
An old prophesie in all the East parts. 210.4
Prophecie of *E. G.* deceiueth *George Duke of Clarence*. 689.105
Prouinces of *Rome* reuolt. 198.11
Statute of Prouisors enacted, vpon what occasion. 575.75
Prutenia. 159.6
Prutenia. 159.6
Prutania whence deriued. 159.6.
Pryd. Cain, or *Prydain*, the original name of *Britaine*. 158.6
A *Pseudo Richard* in *K. Henry* the fourth his time. 730.13
A *Pseudo Nero* among the *Parthians*. *ibidem*.
Papienus Maximus Emperour with *Clodius Albinus*. 237.6
His parentage. 238.3
They enuy one the other. 238.4
Both slaine by the Pretorian Cohorts. 238.5
Their raigne. 238.6
Pitta Bishoppe of *Rockester*. 341.2

Q *Quadratus* a Disciple of the Apostles. 219.8
Saxon *Queenes* debarred by law from all Royalty. 300.16.
Queenes Colledge in *Cambridge* founded. 731.16
Endowed with lands by king *Richard* the third. 726.60
Queenes Colledge in *Oxford* founded. 731.16
Queene of *Scots* wife to *K. Malcolm* the third, diswaied *William* King of *Scots* to invade *England*. 486.9
Queenburg King *Edwins* wife. 303.8.33.11.
Quendred murdereth her innocent brother *K. Kenelm*. 308.14
Dieth for sorrow. 347.7
Procureth the murder of King *Ethelbert* her sonne in *Law*. 311.14
Quendred alias *Petroneilla*, wife to King *Offa*. 345.14

Her Coine. *ibidem*.
Her treacherie. *ibidem*.
Quendred as one would say, *Queene Drida*. 345.14
Quinchelinus associate with his father in the West-Saxon Kingdom. 297.7
Quinchelme or *Quinchelme*, K. of the West-Saxons, plotteth the murder of King *Edwin* King of *Northumberland*. 334.4
Quintilius chosen Emperour. 248.1
Hee letteth himselfe bloud to death. 248.2
His short raigne. *ibidem*.
Saint Quintins taken by King *Philip* and the *English*. 829.111

R *Radagofus* King of the Gothes maketh hauocke of the Roman Empire. 476
Ragman Rowle, an euidence deliuered vpp to the *Scots*. 567.3
Raimund Earle of *Tholous*, married *Joan* King *Richard* the first his sister, Queene of *Cicilie*. 480.62
Raimund de Grose leader of forces into *Ireland*. 461.56
Raimund Earle of *Provincie* his foure daughters all *Queens*. 522.53
A *Raineboke* reuerfed scene at *London*. 824.67
Rainold a third naturall sonne of *Henry* the first, Earle of *Cornwall* &c. his issue. 443.68
Ralph Bishop of *Durham*, General of the field against the *Scots*, winneth the day. 448.14
Imprisoned. 434.2
Breaketh prison. 435.7
Ralph Archbishop of *Canterbury* a paralyticke, but cholericke Prelate. 240.42
Edward *Randolph* a braue warrior slaine in fight against *Shao O'Neale*. 827.45
Frier *Randolph* Confessor to *Q. Ioan*, wounded to death. 637.49
Ranulph alias *Randal*, Earle of *Chester* against king *Stephen*. 449.42
He ioineeth with Earle *Robert*, and both of them encampe neere *Lincolne* against King *Stephen*. *ibidem*. 23.
His Oration vnto his confederates before the battell. *ibidem*. 24
Surprised by King *Stephen*. 449.42
Sauteh *Habert* de *Burgh* his life. 516.27
Sir *Richard Ratcliffe*, the Protector of *Richard* Duke of *Gloucester*, his Instrument to doe villany. 705.51
Robert Ratcliffe beheaded about *Perkin Warbeck*. 739.37
Sir *Walter Rawleigh* condemned for treason. 886.13.
Reading Abbey founded. 492.57
Reas in the *Danes* Banner taken. 357.14
Rebels executed to the number of 1500. vpon the Commotion of *Wat Tyler* and others. 596.29
Rebels

Rebels of *Cornwall* put to flight & ouerthrowne thrice. 806.25.80.27
Their last & vtter ouerthrow at *Saint Mary-Cliffe*. 807.
Rebels of *Norfolk*, vnder the conduct of *Ket*, yeeld and receiue the Kings pardon. 808.46
Rebellion in the North for maintenance of Papall religion. 809.48
Rebells breaking out at *Harlowe* faire in *Norfolk*. 844.
Rebellious traitors executed. *ibidem*.
Reconciliation between three Brethren, *William Conquerors* sonnes. 429.14
Reading the wife of *K. Edward*. 349.17
Redwald king of the East Angles, and Monarch of *Kent*, fifteth *Edwin*. 303.7.309.3.
Redwald Monarch of the *Englishmen*. 332.
His Coine. *ibidem*.
His raigne and issue. 332.5.7
Redmore, alias *Bosworth* field. 725.58
Rees alias *Rhees* ap *Tewdor* prince of *South-Wales* slaine. 429.15
Regency of the *English* in *France* how far it extended. 655.5
Regent of *Scotland* slaine by shot, as hee rode in *Lithgow*. 851.132
Reginald alias *Reiner* entralled *Metropolitan* by the Monks of *Canterbury* at Midnight. 493.31
He forgoeth his new dignity. 494.31
Reginald Earle of *Bulloigne* adnereth to King *John*. 501.50.
Reginald Poole his life & story. 825.70
Deane of *Excester*. *ibidem*.
Cardinall. 826.77
Legate of *Viterbium*. *ibidem*. 78
Chosen Pope twice. *ibidem*. 79
See more in *Poole*.
Register bookes of Christnings and burials kept in Churches. 778.100
Reinhere king *Redwalds* sonne slaine. 333.4
Reinburne Earle of *Warwick* his Combat with *Colbrand* the Dane. 365.16
Reinold sonne of the Danish *Gurmo* baptized. 366.3
Reinold Earle of *Cornwall* affisteth *Maude* the Emperesse. 452.36
Doctor *Reinold* speaker before King *Lamer* for the complainants, about Reformation in the Church and Leiturgie. 887.23
Religion Christian when first planted in *Britaine*. 202.1
About Religion a free disputa-tion in *Pauls* Church. 824.65
In *Oxford* also. 824.66
Religion proceedeth and is aduanced in *Scotland*. 834.13
Religious houses what a number in *England* now suppressed. 778.100
Religious houses ouerthrowne in *Scotland*. 834.15
Renard Duke of *Lorraine*, and of *Barre* taken prisoner. 656.21

Renwald King of the *West-Saxons*. 339.2
Reese alias *Rheese* the *Welshman* slaine and beheaded. *ibidem*. 11
Restitutus Bishoppe of *London*. 206.19
Reub a Souldier his moderate behaviour in the battell of *Brigerac*. 80.107
Renley Abbey founded. 507.68.
Rheese alias *Rees* ap *Gruffith*, Prince of *South-Wales*, refuset to visite King *Richard* the first for want of som complementall seruice on his part. 473.12
Rhuwipi. *Ribchester* or *Richborew*. 263.6
Ricebanks abandoned by the *English* for feare of the Duke of *Guize* and the *French*. 829.113
Rice alias *Rhees* ap *Thomas*, fitheth with *Henry* Earle of *Richmont*. 724.46
Richard the Hardy, third Duke of *Normandy*. 413.22
His wiues and Issue. *ibidem*.
Richard the second, or the good fourth Duke of *Normandy*. 413.23
His wiues and Issue. *ibidem*. 24.
Richard the third, fifth Duke of *Normandy* thought to bee poysoned. 413.25.
Richard a legitimate sonne of King *Henry* the first. 443.64
Richard a second sonne to King *Henry* the second, contracted to *Alice* the French Kings daughter. 457.10.475.23
Richard a younger sonne of King *Henry* the second fitheth agaynst his Father. 465.65
Humbleth himselfe, and is reuiewed in sauour. 466.79
Richard a second Naturall or bafe sonne of King *Henry* the first, thought to be drowned with his brother *William* neere *Barfleeke*. 443.67
Richard a younger sonne of *K. Henry* the second, fortieth agaynst his father. 469.93
Cometh in *ibidem*.
Hee hath remorte for his vnaturall behauiour to his father. 470.100
Richard a third sonne of King *Henry* the second, afterward King *Richard* the first, wherfore 470.104.482.70
He is styled King *Richard* the first, and is wholly deuoted to recouer Christianity. 472.12
His Broad Scale, Armes and Coine. *ibidem*.
His choice of friends and seruants. 473.4
His Coronation and oath at *Westminster*. 473.5
He purueth treasure for his pilgrimage or voiage to the holy land. 473.7
How hee settled the state of his Kingdom during the pilgrimage. 473.9
King *Richard* the first and king *Philip* of *France* set forward to the Holy-Land. 474.15
He refuset to visite the Popes Holinesse. *ibidem*. 16
His mighty power and forces at *Messina*. *ibidem*.

His voluntary and ferous repentance. 475.23.
He confers with *Isidore* learned Abbot. 475.24
Hemarieth Berengaria daughter to *Saunder* King of *Namur*. 475.25.28.
His Navy royall to the Holy-Land. 475.25
King *Richard* the first and *K. Philip* of *France* competitors of glory at the siege of *Acon*. 476.31
He winneth the rich Conny or Caravan of the *Saladine*. 477.38
His exploits in *Palestine*. *ibidem*. 39
Forfaken by the Duke of *Tur-gundie*. *ibidem*.
Trauailing disguised like a Merchant in *Germany*, he is discouered, & yeeldeth to *Le-pold* or *Limpold* Archduke of *Austria*. *ibidem*. 43
Imprisoned by *Henry* the Emperour. *ibidem*.
His liberty procured vpon what Articles. 478.46
Crowned King of *Prance*. 478.47
Set at liberty by the Archbishoppe of *Mentz*, and *Col-leine*. 478.48
Helandeth in *England*. *ibidem*. 50
Crowned again at *Wincheffer*. 479.56
His new Broad Scale. *ibidem*.
His regall Armes. 479.57
He forgives his brother *John*. 480.59
His victories agaynst *Philip* King of *France*. *ibidem*. 60
His amendment of life and daily exercises. 480.
His pleasant question to the Pope. *ibidem*. 61
His noble valour performed in his owne person. 481.69
His courteousnesse and want of mercy punished by God. 481.68
Vvounded to death at the Castle of *Chalus* or *Gallard*. *ibidem*. 102
Hee forgives the author of his death. *ibidem*. 69
His last Will and Testament. *ibidem*. 70
His death. 482.70
How hee bequeathed or bestowed his body. 481.70
His present resolution like to that of *William Rufus*. 479.58
K. Richard the first his wiues and Issue. 482.
His 3. Metaphoricall daughters. *ibidem*.
How hee bestoweth them. *ibidem*.
Richard William Conquerour his sonne, goared by a Deer. 421.46
His Monument in *Wincheffer*. 421.69.
Richard second sonne of King *John*, crowned king of *Romans* and of *Almain*, his death and buriall. 507.68
His wiues and Issue. *ibidem*.
Richard a naturall sonne of *K. John*. 507.74
Richard Earle of *Cornwall* sent with a power into *Galesioin*. 513.19
Author of the Barons rebellion in *K. Henry* the third his time. 515.24
Y y y y y

Appeased and satisfied by the King. *ibidem*.
Hee with the Barons reuolt from King *Henry* the third. 523.58
Richard Earle of *Cornwall* elected King of *Romans* accepted thereof. 533.89
How rich hee was in Coine. 534.89
Crowned King of *Romans* taken prisoner by *Simon Montfort* at the battell of *Le-wis*, and emprisoned in the Tower of *London*. 537.101
Richard E. of *Gloucester* thought to bee poysoned. 535.94
Richard of *Bordeaux* afterward King *Richard* the second borne. 584.4.30
Made Prince of *Wales*, & the Nobles sworn to his succession. 588.151
Made Knight of the Garter. 580.133
Richard the second his Coronation, his Armes, Broad Scale and Coine. 591
Taken to wife, *Anne* the daughter of *Charles* the 4. Emperour. 597.33
By eniching *Bohemians* and strangers, growne distastfull to the State. 597.37.
Hee assembleth an Army of 30000 *English* to ouerrunne *Scotland*. 599.49
A friend to the Clergy. 600.
Declareth himselfe to bee of age, and taketh the government vpon him. 604.81
A great spender in hope to bee Emperour. 609.66
K. Richard the second creates himselfe Earle of *Chester*. 607.102
He addeth to his escheuon Royal, the Armories of *S. Edward* K. and Confessor. *ibidem*.
His deposition from the crowne. 609.113
His government vnuerfally hated. 608.105
Hee offereth to resigne his crowne vpon conditions. 609.110
His iourney to *Ireland* with a nauy of 400. saile. 608.107
His resignation of the crown. 609.111
His friendes disfenable for his deposition. 612.7
Articles published agaynst him. 609.112
His death at *Pamfrant* Castle. 614.18
Thought to bee sterued to death for hunger. *ibidem*.
His dead corpes shewed openly at *London*. *ibidem*.
Conuiced to *Langley*, and translated afterwards to *Westminster*. 614.19
His Epitaph. *ibidem*.
Being dead oftentimes voiced aloue. 619.41
Reuiued againe by the *Scots*. 616.44
K. Richard the second a counterfeit, sleeth to *Robert* K. of *Scotland*. 614.18
Died

THE TABLE.

Died and is buried in *Strimling*.
Richard Earle of *Pembroke* and marshal, with *Emglif* Peeres confederat against the *Poitiounis* and *Britons*; strangers 518.37
 In armes against *K. Henry* the third 519.39
 Confederate with *Llewelyn* Prince of *Wales* *ibid.*
 His great valour and agilitie 519.41
Richard Earle Marshall and of *Pembroke*, discomfited *K. Henry* the third and the *Poitiounis* 519.41
 Hee is discomfited of his posselions in *Ireland* 520.44
 Taken and wounded to death 520.47
 His buriall *ibidem*
 His armes in *Kilkenny* *ibid.*
Richard Earle of *Arundel* with others, take an hundred faile at sea 602.69
 Their victorie depraived by *K. Richard* the second his fauorites *ibid.*
 Malignant construction made of his seruice and theirs 602.69
 He is arraigned, condemned and beheaded 607.101
Richard Plantagenet Earle of *Cambridge* his conspiracy with other detected 629.31
 The conspirators beheaded *ibidem*
 His title to the Crowne from *Edmund Mortimer* Earle of *March* 632.8
Richard Earle of *Cambridge*, knighted and created Duke of *York* 653.11
 Made Countable of *England* 655.49
 Made regent of *France* 658.28
 Employed in *Ireland* 662.45
 He goeth with an armie into *France* 659.29
 Taketh armes openly upon pretence to reforme, but intended to gaine the Crowne 665.55
 Made Regent againe 660.37
 His pedigree & claime thereby to the Crowne 670.67
Richard Duke of *York* practiseth and reacheth at the Crowne of *England* 662.43
 His solemn oath to be true to *K. Henry* the sixth 605.58
 He causeth *Edmund Duke of Somerset* to be arrested and somerseth his overthrow 665.59, 666.61
 Createth himselfe Protector of the Realme 667.65
 Discharged from it *ibid.* 66
 He persweth *Q. Margaret* and the Prince into the *North* 671
Richard Duke of *York* returneth out of *Ireland*, & openly in Parliament claimeth the Crowne of *England* 670.84
Richard Duke of *York* claimeth the battaile of *Walsfield* 671.89
 His head crowned with a paper, sent to *Queene Margaret* 672.90
 His younger sonne Earle of *Rutland* a childe slain by the Lord *Clifford* 672.89
Richard Duke of *York* second son to *K. Edward* the fourth, conueined with his brother *Edward* to the Toure 701.

Richard *Nimil* Earle of *Warwick*, with *George* Duke of *Clarence*, proclaime *Henry* the sixth King againe 681.47
 He is made gouernour of the Realme during ciuill troubles, with *George* Duke of *Clarence* 1682.53
Richard Duke of *Glocester* inuadeth *Scotland* 689.111
 His description for person & qualities 694.56
 He killeth *K. Henry* the sixth with his owne hands *ibid.*
 Causeth the death of *George* Duke of *Clarence* his brother 694.7
 Hee forecasteth to be King in his brother *K. Edward* the fourth time *ibid.*
 His deepe policy to attaine the Crowne 694.7
 He with the Duke of *Buckingham* imprisoneth the Lord *Rivers*, at *Northampton* 696.16
 Made protector of *K. Edward* the fifth and of the Realme 697.24
 Intreated to accept of the Crowne 709.60
 Saith, Nay, and would haue it 709.63
Richard Duke of *Glocester* accepteth of the Crowne 709.63
Richard the third beginneth his raigne 710
 His armes and broad seale *ib.*
 Compared to *Galba* the Emperour 713.5
 A bad subiect, but a good Prince *ibidem*
 His Clemency and affability in the beginning of his raigne 713.6
 His coronation in great State 714.12
 His progresse towards *Glocester* 714.15
 He plotteth the death of his Nephewes *Edward* and *Richard*, *K. Edward* the fourth his sonnes 715.15
 He maketh peace with *Scotland* 720.38
 His vnquiet conscience for murdering his Nephewes 716
 He refraineth *Queene Ann* his wives bed 621.42
 Hee courteth the Lady *Elizabeth*, daughter to King *Edward* the fourth his brother 722.43
 Marcheth in order of battaile to *Leicester* 723.48
 His manner of embattailing in the field 723.43, 55
 His Oration to his Soldiours 723.24
 Slaine in battaile valiantly fighting 725.57
 Being dead attainted in Parliament 729.9
 His dead body how vfed and entered 725.59
 His stone coffin made a drinking trough for horses 725.59
 His description 725.60
 His works of deuotion 726.60
 His issue 726.62
Richard a name ominous to the Kings of *England* 710.1
Richard of *Saint Albaine* renounceth Christianity, and turneth to the Sultan of *Ba-*

Saladin 469.93
Richard Earle of *Gloucester* first created 426.73
Richard the Kings house built out of the ashes of *Shene*, or *Shine* 746.61, 75.1
Nicholas Ridley Bishop of *London* burnt in *Oxford* 824.66
Nicholas Ridley Bishop of *London* defendeth *Queen Ianes* title in a Sermon 817.10
Rie Towne fired and rifled by the French 593.3
 Lord *Rivers* King *Edward* the fifth his vncle, with others sent to *Pomfret* Castle, with the Lord *Richard* Grey *Edward* the fifth his half brother 705.51
 Beheaded ther without order of Law, at the very instant when the Lord *Hastings* was beheaded in the Toure of *London* 696.19, 705.51
 Roan true to King *Richard* the first 478.45
 Euer true to the English crown 492.27
 Befieged by the French King *Philip* 492.27
 Lost 493.27
 Roan dismanteled of her walls 493.28
 Befieged and assaulted by the English 638.5
 Vpon what Articles to be redred to the English 638.5
 Won by them 639.57
Robert surnamed *Curtoise* *William* *Conquerours* sonne, claimeth *Normandy* and warreth against his father 420.39
 Why so surnamed 421.44
 Imprisoned and bereft of his sight, by his brother *Henry*, 425.68
 Possessed of *Normandy* 427.3
 His gentle disposition 428.3
 He releueth his brother *Henri* an enemy 429.14
 He mortgageth land for supply of money, to gaine the kingdom of *England* 428.5
 Constrained to make peace with his brother *William* *Rufus* 429.12
 Mortgageth *Normandy* to his brother 430.26
 He goeth to *Jerusalem*, to the holy warre *ibid.*
 Returneth into *Normandy* 435.7
 Attempteth the Crowne of *England* *ibid.*
Robert *Curtoise* remitteth his yearly pay out of *England* 426.15
 Sueth submissively to his brother King *Henry* for peace 436.18
 Not regarded of him *ibid.*
 Prepareth forwarre 437.21
 Taken prisoner by his brother *Henry* 437.22
 His valour & raffineffe 437.32
 Escapeth out of prison, istaken againe and bereft of his eye-sight 437.34
 Dyeth in prison vpon sorrow 442.56
 Buried in *Glocester* *ibid.*
Robert the fixt Duke of *Normandie*, magnanimous and liberrall 413.26
 Marrieth *Arietta* *ibid.*
 His death in pilgrimage *ibid.*
Robert Earle of *Mellent* attempteth to make *William*, *Robert Curtoise* his sonne, Duke

of *Normandie* 440.44
 Both taken prisoners by *Tanqueruile* 440.45
Roberts, the third bafe sonne of King *Henry* the first, his illuse, death and buriall. 443.66
Robert the fourth bafe sonne of King *Henry* *ibid.* 69
Robert Earle of *Glocester* half brother to *Maunder* the Emperesse riseth against king *Stephen* 447.13
 He flieth into *France*, 448.15
 He denouneeth *Stephen* an open enemy to the state, and foreworne 447.12
Robert Earle of *Glocester* his bold attempt for the crowne of *England* 484.19
 He spoileth *Worcester*. 448.22
 His speech before battell. 449.25
 True to *Maunder* the Emperesse, taken prisoner 452.36
 He and King *Stephen* redeme one another. 452.37
Roberts Earle of *Glocester* dieth. *ibid.* 40
Robert Earle of *Leicester* fideth with young king *Henry* against his father 465.65
 He affronteth his souteraigne dishoially 465.69
 Vanquished in fight and taken Prisoner. 465.68, 70
Roberts of *Artois*, Earle of *Richmond* Raie 575.74
 Sir *Robert* *Rout*, a braue warrior his exploits 594.9
Robert of *Riddisdale* Captaine of *Northerne* Rebels. 679.35
Robin of *Ridale* the leader of *Northerne* Soldiours against the Coronation of *Richard* the third 713.7
Robert *Dreux* Earle of *Essex* sent into *France* to aide *Henrie* the fourth King of *France*. 867.256
 His answer to the Lord *Keepers* letter 877.231
Robert *Dreux* Earle of *Essex* his valiant seruice at *Lisbon* 865.238, 240
 See more in *Denmark*.
Roche befieged by the French. 587.145
 Manfully defended, continueth English. *ibid.*
Roche remaineth true to the English 494.33
Roche in *Xainton* taken and sent the English by *Lewis* the French King 513.17
Roche Cathedral Church built 32.12
Jane *Rochford*, widow to *George* *Bullen* Lord *Rochford* beheaded for concealing adultery 880.109
Roderick king of the *Pisits* conquered by *Marius* a British King. 217.3
Roger Bishop of *Salisbury* and other prelates come to a Council armed. 428.17
 Hee with the rest refuse to yeeld vp their Castles to King *Stephen* 428.18
 He with *Alexander* Bishop of *Lincolne* apprehended. *ibid.*
Roger yeeldeth vp *Denizes* and *Sherborne* Castles, with a great summe of money to King *Stephen*. *ibid.*
Roger Mortimer opposeth *Simon* *Montfort* and the rebellious Barons 538.103
 Roi-

Roi-Cresse, a Meere mark betweene *England* and *Scotland*. 419.32
 Rollo the Dane discomfited in *England*, passeth into *France* 357.10
 His adventures and descent 411.56
 His dreame 412.7
 The same expounded. *ibid.* 8
 He sendeth an Embassage to *Alfian* alias *Arthurs* king of *England* 412.9
 He cometh to King *Alfians* Court. 412.10
 He entrench into league with King *Alfians* *ibid.* 13
 His faith to King *Alfians*. *ibid.*
 Rollo the first Duke of *Normandie* how hee did homage to King *Charles* the Simple. 413.19
Romania i. *Britaine*. 160.8
Romane Writers best directors for the Antiquity of *Britaine*, and the *Britaines*. 157.1
Romans downefall cause of many kingdomes rising, 160.9
Romane neuer defended of the *Troians* 166.25
Romane long vnkowne to *Hystorographers* 169.9
 The *Romans* bafe Original 170.13
Romans second possessours of *Britaine*. 183.1
Roman Soldiours die of ficknesse in *Britaine* 229.6
Roman Empire diuided 257.1
Roman Monarchie of what continuance 272.2
Romans fate from *Tarquinius* vnto *Jul. Caesar* of what continuance. 278.2
Roman Empires. dissipation. 278.2
Romans vnable to defend their owne. 279.8
Romans giue *Britaine* a final farewell. *ibid.*
Roman Empire ouergreat. 188.3
 King of *Romans*, a title equiualent to *Caesar*, in the time of the late Emperours of *Rome* 534.89
Romes birth-day solemnized 240.2
Rome sacked by *Goths* and *Vandals* 277.9
Rome taken and sacked againe 761.54
New Rome built. 261.12
Romans the Original of the Old *Romans* 166.25
Romans insolvency and oppression in *England*, causeth insurrection 516.29
Roman strangers or Popelings, in *England*, infect the Realme much in King *Henry* the 3. 522.51
Romish rites, and Idolatrous reliques restored in *England*. 826.85
Rome-*Scot*. See *Peterpence*
 Road of *Grace*, or of *Boxley* in *Kent*, broken in peeces. 778
Rofammud, daughter of *Walter* Lord *Clifford*, Paramore to King *Henry* the second. 471
 Her Tombe and Epitaph. *ibid.*
Red-Rose, badge of the *Lancastrian* house 682.59
White-Rose, badge of *Tork* family *ibid.*
Rotherham Archbishop of *Canterbury*. 721.42

Rothebach the great Prince of *Conaught* flieth himselfe King and Monarch of *Ireland* 462.46
 He doth homage to *K. Henry* the second, 464.60
 Received into King *Henry* the second his protection, becometh Tributary. 467.83
Rond Table erected at *Windsor* 575.76
Rond Table erected in *France*, *ibidem*.
Romena alias *Roxena*, *Hengists* daughter 289.4.225
Roxburgh or *Roxburgh* Castle wonne. 547.29
Roxburgh rased by the Queen of *Scotland* in reuenge of her husbands death. 670.83
 Fyred by the *Scots* 593.3
Royall exchange in *London* built. 852.140
Ruffins fellow martyr with *Wulfald* 340.8
Ruffins Gouernor of *Constantinople* 274.1
 His Ambition 275.3
 Slaine and beheaded 276.3
Rufus marrieth *Claudia* the British Lady. 201.7
 He is surnamed *Pudens*. *ibid.*
Runing-Mead. Council and Charters 503.56
 Sir *John Russell* Lord Priuy Seale his valiant seruice against the *Cornish* Rebels. 806.25
Rufandus the Popes Agent in *England*, his fetch to gather money 535.86
Rutland Castle in *Northwales* recovered by King *Henry* the second. 456.8
Rutters or *Routs* what they be 480.93

THE TABLE.

Samoseth, alias *Meseth*, the first inhabitant of *Britaine*. 177.3
 Sanctuary priuiledges, debated in Council 698
 Sanctuaries deuiled the second time 749.69
Sanders maintaineth *Queene Elizabeth* deprivation. 844.78
 His letter to Doctor *Allen* 845.89
Sanders the Irish Legate his miserable ende 843.81
Sandwich taken by the French 667.67
Sanguelac, alias *Senlac*, the place where *William* of *Normandy* fought, with *K. Harold* 423.54. 424.63
Sapor or *Sapores* the bloody King, or Tirant of *Persia*. 244.5
 Submiteth to *Theodosius* the Emperour 272.4
Saracens whence they came. 333
Safones a people where seated 280.2
Saturninus elected Emperour against his will 252.3
 His speech to the Electors *ibid.* 4
 His death. *ibid.*
Sauary de *Malleon* deputed Lieutenant in *Aquitaine* vnder King *Henry* the third. 511.12
 Ouerthrowne in battel by *K. Lewis* of *France* 513.17
 He turneth French *ibid.*
Sauay an Hospital founded. 751.70
 Burnt by Rebels 595.29
Saxo, the supposed Stockfather of the Saxons 284.2
Saxons, the word whence deriued *ibid.*
Saxons enter into *Germany* *ibid.*
 Their originall *ibid.*
 The Saxons Prophecy, to possess *Britaine* 300. yeeres 283.8
 They picke quarrels with the *Britaines* 289
Saxons in old time valiant and aduenturous. 285.8
 Fearefull to the *Romans*. 284.5
Saxons Heptarchy of what continuance 278.2
Saxons Monarchy of what continuance. *ibid.*
Saxons called into *Britaine* for friends, proue enemies. 281.1
 Great warriors and fortunate 283.7
 The Saxons answer to the *Britaine* Embassadors. 283.7
 They do good seruice at their first coming. *ibid.*
 Their first arrival 283.8
Saxons in *Britaine* conceale all victories against themselves 313
Saxons superstitious 288.8
 Their names and customes. 286.2
Saxons described. 286
 Became Christians first, in *Britaine* 205.16
 Famous for Piracies. 270
Saxons apparel 286.3
 Great punishers of adultery & incontinency 287.6
 Their manner of Gouernment and iurisdiction 288.10
 Valorous. 287.5
 Their weapons 287.5
Saxons of *Germany* thirsted af-

ter the Conquest of *Britaine* 178.
 Their manner of warre and battell 287.5
 Their resolute courage 287.5
Saxons Empirique *England* denide 408.51
Saxons vanquished in battell, and driven out of *Thanes*. 290.10
Saxons and *Britans* treaty and agreement vpon *Salisbury* Plaine 200.12
 They murder the *Britaines*. *ibidem*
Saxonie Dukes their descent. 597.64, 225
Saxonie Dukedom whence it came. 285.8
Saxum Iacobi a stone of high esteeme among the *Scots*. 885.10
 Lord *Say* beheaded at the commandement of *Jacke Cade*. 663.48
Scema a bolde *Britaine* and fugitive 184.5
 Lord *Scales* murdered by the side of the Earle of *Warwicke*. 670.8
Schifme vpholden by *Frederick* Emperour against Pope *Alexander* the third 458.18
Since surrendered 857.180
Scotia and *Scotland* whence they tooke name 160.9
 The partition thereof, *ibidem*.
Scotish men more Ancient Christians than any other *Britans* 204.9
Scots in desition rhyme vpon King *Edward* the first. 546.26
 They inuade the Borders of *England* 547.28
Scotland vnder Interdict. 560
 Absolued *ibidem*.
Scots inuade the North parts of *England*. 594
 Enuironed by King *Edward* the third, escape by the treason of *Roger Mortimer*. 566
 They inuade *England* in King *Henry* the fifth his absence. 636.44
 Discomfited, 637.45
Inuade *Northumberland*. 667
Scotish Noblemen taken at *Solem*-*Moff*-field, deliuered without ranfome, and richly rewarded at their departure. 78.3, 20
Scotland and *England* vnited by King *Lamer* the sixth of *Scotland*, and first of Great *Britaine* 884.3
Serege and *Halden* leaders of *Danes*, entrench at *Reading* 355.7
 Sir *Richard* *Seroupe* Chancelor of *England* surrendred vp his Broad-Scale to King *Richard* the second. 597.35
Richard *Seroupe* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for a conspiracy loofeth his head. 619.
 Sir *William* *Seroupe* knight Earle of *Wiltshire* beheaded at *Bristol* 612.6
Henry *Seroupe* Lord Treasurer 620.47
 Sir *John* *Soudmore* his two sons beheaded by the Earle of *March*, vpon the battell and victorie at *Moummer* Crosse 672.92
 Scythians whence they tooke name

THE TABLE.

name, 385.8
Scythian Empire of a poore be-
ginning 170.14
The Sea by low ebbs giues
place to the fands, 438.34
Seedles of ciuill warres towne
in King Richard the second
his dayes 601.46
The fyse Scales in the Apoca-
lypse opened 256.14
Broad Seale first vsed, 401.25
Great Seale deliuered vnto E-
lizabeth mother of King Ed-
ward the 5. 697.72
Seauen Sleepers 242.3
Sebbia King of the East-Saxons.
301.9
Giueh ouer his royall robes,
and becometh professed, 301.9
His death and tombe 301.9
The miracle of his coffin or
tombe 301.9
Sebbia King of the East-Saxons
entombed, 380.3
Sebert King of the East-Saxons
300.3
Conuerted to Christianity 300.3
His raigne, issue and buriall,
301.3
Sebred King of the East-Saxons
301.3
His raigne 301.3
Segburg King of the West-
Saxons 298.8
Abbe of Ely 301.11
Segfrid King of East-Saxons
301.11
Segonax a King in Kent, 173.3
Segontians where feared, 173.3
Stephen de Segreane Lord chiefe
Iusticiar, taketh Sanctuary
for practising against Ri-
chard Earle Marfall, 521.49
Received againe into fauour,
322.54
John Lord Segreane Coffer of
Scotland 549.42
Thomas Seimer Lord Admirall
married Queene Katharine
Parr Dowager 800.53
Thomas Seimer Lord Admirall
beheaded 809.54.55
His entremise 332.2
Edward Seimer Lord Protector
articled against by the Lords
809.56
In what points 809.60
Emprisoned in Beauchampes
Towre at Windsor, & thence
fent to the Towre of London
810.59
Released out of the Towre.
810.60
Priuitly armed, cometh to
the Councell-Table, 811.67
Sent to the Towre 810.60
Arraigned of treason, and of
felonie 811.67
Condemned of felony, 810.68
His speech vpon the Scaffold,
812.70
Beheaded 812.70
Selby Abbey, or Saint German
Abbey founded 435.65
Semi progenie planted in Afri-
ca 261.12
Semiramis mother of Heloga-
batus 235.8
Slaine and dragged with him,
234.6
Seminary Priests banished by
Proclamation out of Great
Britaine 889.31

Semiramis Monarch of the Af-
fricans 199.19
Sens in France rendred vpon
composition to King Henry
the fifth, 644.56
Sir Thomas Sentleger King Ri-
chard the third his brother
in law put to death, 720.56
Sennalch, see Kenwald. 297.8
Sered, Seward & Sigbert, joint-
ly Kings of the East-Saxons,
301.4
Slaine 301.4
Sergeants at Law, and Lawyers
plead in Westminster-Hall
armed 819.36
Sergius a Monke instructed
Mahomet 322
Serto a fauourite of King Rich-
ard the second, preadeth the
Imposture of his being aliue,
619.41
Drawen from Pomfrait and
hanged at London 619.40
Seruices at Coronation accord-
ing to sundry Tenures, 591.1
Iulius Senerus fent to suppress
Commotions in Britaine, 592
Lord General of the forces in
Britaine 225.8
Septim. Senerus Cesar to Gale-
rius 257.2
Septim. Senerus chosen Empe-
rour in Germany 227.3
He wageth warre for the Em-
pire 227.3
He banisheth the souldiers for
betraying Pertinax 227.1
His description 20.17
Cometh into Britaine in
perlon with his sonnes Tas-
sianus and Geta 228.4
His good parts 230.17
Desirous of glory 228.6
Consecrated to God, 221.2
Surnamed Britannicus Maxi-
mus 229.8
His Coines, 227.229.9
Falleth sicke in York 229.9
His speech to his Councell &
Captains, 230.14
His death, 230.16
His birth 230.16
His vertues and vices equally
compoled 230.17
His raigne and age, 230.17
Senerus his porch 332.2
Sexburga Abbe of Ely, 310.7
Edmond Shaa Lord Maior of
London of Councell to Ri-
chard Duke of Gloucester, &
Lord Protector 705.53
John Shaa Clerke (brother to
the forsaide Edmond Shaa)
Doctor of Diuinity a flatte-
ring preacher, made for Ri-
chard Lord Protector, 705.52
He dieth for very shame of a
sermon 705.53.706.55
His shamelesse assertions at
Pauls Crosse 706.54
Shan-O-Neal his forces broke,
837.45
Slaine by Alexander Oge and
his brother 837.46
Shan-O-Neal taketh rebellion
in Ireland 836.37
His parentage, and vnnatural
cruelty 837.40
His title to Vflter, 837.42
He tyrannizeth in Vflter, 837.40
His outrages 837.43
His manner how hee was in-
augurated O'Neal 872.41

Submitteth to Queene Elizabeth
beth 837.44
Doeth good seruice in Ire-
land 837.44
He falleth off againe 837.44
Sheepe of Cottesfold transpor-
ted into Spaine, hurffull to
England 676.17
Lord Sheffield slaine at Nor-
wich 808.39
Shene or Shine, now Richmond,
burnt 746.61
Shiffes of Shires, their extor-
tions and practises looked
into by the Barons 535.95
Shipwracke of Prince William
his brethren, sister, and other
Gallants 439.40.41
Ships of Britaine 169.11
Shirburne an Episcopall See.
353.4
Pride in Shooes reformed, 626.17
(Jane) Shores wife, spoyled of
all that wee had by the Shi-
riffes of London 704.49.
Shee doth penance 705.50
Her description 705.50
Her qualities 705.50
When shee died 704.50
Her poore estate 705.51
Shoreham in Suffex why so cal-
led 326.5
Shrewsbury battel 617.36
Siarclos a Britaine marieth
Emgaine sister to Joseph of
Arimathia 203.4
Sicilie one Continent with Ita-
lie 155.4
Cains Sidius Gets his valour,
194.3
Sir Henry Sidney Lord Deputy
of Ireland 837.45
Sir Philip Sidney slaine neer to
Zmuphen 86.175
Sigebera deuout and learned
King of the East-Angles, 309.5
He promoteth Religion and
learning 310.5
Becometh a Monke, 310.5
Slaine 310.5
His raigne 310.5
Sigebert King of West-Saxons,
299.14
Giuen to viciousnes, and op-
pression 310.5
Killed 310.5
His raigne 310.5
Sigebert King of East-Saxons,
301.5
Sigibert King of East-Saxons,
301.6
Restored the Christian faith, &
was baptized 301.6
He is murdered 301.6
His Raigne and issue 301.6
Sigeferth and Morcar brethren
murdered by Edrick, 383.20.
Sigeherd King of East-Saxons,
3101
His Coine, 3101
Siger de Courtney sieth with
K. Edward the third against
France 570.41
Sighere King of the East-Sax-
ons becometh an Apostata
301.8
Reclaimed againe 3101
Sigismund King of Polonia
Embassadour to Queene Eli-
zabeth 870.281
His message 3101
Sigismund Emperor traueleth
into England for to make
peace betweene France and
England 634.31
Honourably entertained and
stalled, Knight of the Garter
634.33

He entreth a league with Eng-
land vpon articles 635.35.36
Signes prefiging the end of K.
Henry the sixth his raigne and
translation of the Crowne,
671.88
Siliures descended from Spaine,
162.7
Siliures i. those of Southwaies,
withstand the Romans, 195.13
They become the more re-
solute vpon Claud. Cæsars
threats 196.18
Simon Zelotes martired in Bri-
taine 202.3
Simon Earle of Ilampton taketh
part with King Stephen 449.
His description 35
Simon a Monke of Swinfield
Abbey poisoneth King John,
506.62
Is poisoned himselfe there-
with, 506.62
Richard Simon Architect of
Lampier Symnel, the Idols
conspiracy 730.13
Another Simon taken prisoner
at Stokefield 733.23
Condemned to a Dungeon
and perpetuall shackles 733.
Simon Tibald Archbishop of
Canterbury beheaded by
Rebels, 195.19
Simoniole of patronage for
euer 467.82
Simonie in the Popes, 474.16
Simon Montfort Earle of Leice-
ster refuseth great honour
in France, to auoide suspiti-
on of disloyalty, 531.82
Reconciled to King Henry the
third, 531.82
Possessed of King Henry the
third, Richard King of Ro-
mans, and their two eldest
sonnes 538.101
See more in Montfort
Oliuier Sinclore Lieutenant
General of Lanes the fourth
king of Scotland his forces,
in uadeth England 781.117
Disdained of the Nobles, loo-
seth the Field, 781.117
Sirricus Archbishop of Can-
terbury perfwiseth com-
pition with the Danes,
376.7
Sithricke a Danish King of Nor-
thumberland, 364.4
His sonne Godfrey and Anlaf
disquiet the English, 364.4
Pope Sixtus the fourth his Bull
against Elizabeth Queene
of England 857.187
Sixtus Quintus the Pope, his
Cynado 856.195
His contribution to the inua-
sion of England, 856.195
Six Articles deuised by Stephen
Gardiner 779.105
Enacted, 780.111
What they were, 780.111
Repealed 805.18
In some sort repealed in King
Henry the eighth his time:
reuiued and executed by Q.
Mary 826.86
Slaughter of the Scots at Dup-
line or the water of Erne, 568.
Slidda king of the East-Saxons
his marriage, death and issue
300.2
Marke Smeton consenseth a-
gainst Queene Anne Bullen,
and his owne conscience,
yet was executed, 771.88
A Smithes

THE TABLE.

A Smiths francke speech in the
behalf of Hubert de Burgh
Earle of Kent 517.34
Sir Thomas Smith Embassador
into France to demand Ca-
lais according to covenants,
475.29
His pleading for Calais be-
fore King Charles the ninth,
the Queene mother &c. sit-
ting in state, 838.819.
Social warres, what it is, and
the Law or right thereof, 468.
Solem-Masse Field, 781.118
John Lord Somerset slaine at
Temkesbury Field, 684.71
John Somerle a Traitor stran-
gleth himselfe in Newgate,
845.83
Sophie termed Sushet 659.9
A Sophisticall equiuocation
deuised for the killing of
K. Edward the second 568.7
Soules immortal, 568.8
Southampton burnt by the
French, 571.44
South-Saxons kingdome the
circuit of, 295.1
The end thereof, 296.4
Spaine so named of Hispania,
157.2
Compared to an Oxe-Hide,
155.3
Spalding a Traitor betrayeth
Berwick to King Robert
Bruce and by him was put
to death, 559.34
Spaniards long vnkowne to
the Historiographers 109.9
Spaniards in Ireland discom-
fited and slaine 875.319
Spaniards rather die then yeeld
581.10
Spanish fleet vanquished by K.
Edward the third, 581.110
Hugh de Spenser both father &
Sonne in high fauour with
King Edward the 2. bani-
shed, 559.35
Both reuoked out of exile,
559.37
Hugh de Spenser the elder cruelly
cut vp aliue and quartered
562.62
Hugh de Spenser the younger
another Piers Gausson 559.
Hanged on a Gallows fifty
foote high, headed & quar-
tered 503.67
Hugh Spenser the elder created
Earle of Winchester 560.47
Spensers sell the Kings fauour
and pardon at a high rate
561.51
A Spirit speaking in the Walle
825.76
Sperma youth, Neroses wife,
201.2
Edward Squire his treason and
execution, 849.120
Sir Humphrey Stafford slaine by
Jacke Cade, 664.51
Thomas Stafford with others
stirre rebellion 828.105
Beheaded, 829.105
Sir Humphrey Stafford rebelleth
against King Henry the 7.
730.12
He taketh Sanctuary, and is
executed at Tiburne, 849.120
Humphrey Lord Stafford Earle of
Devonshire repelled by Sir
John Coniers & the rebels of
the North 679.32
Hee and the L. Herbert Earle
of Pembroke fall out for
their Inne in Bambury, 679.
33

Hee leaueth with his archers
the Earle of Pembroke, 679.33
Beheaded at Bridgewater, 679.33
Stambolis, sometime Constanti-
nople, 475.29
A Star or Measure first or-
dained, 435.4
Lord Stanley wounded at the
Councell Table 703.44
His fearefull dreame 845.45
Lord Stanley set at liberty out
of the Towre 713.7
Thomas Stanley Earle of Darby
husband to Margaret Cot-
telle of Richmond suspected
of Richard the third, 722
He refuseth to come vnto K.
Richard the third and his an-
swere vnto him 723.53
Sir William Stanley Lord Cham-
berlain to King Henry the
seuenth accused for conspi-
racy with Perkin Warbeck
739.37
Beheaded, 740.38
Stanley a fugitiue, plotteth Q.
Elizabeths death 849.112
Sir William Stanley made Cap-
taine of Denemur 856.176
Traiterously selleth it to the
Spaniards 857.177
Staple of wooll translated out
of Flaunders into England,
581.112
Walter Stapleton Bishop of
Excester beheaded 562.60
Strange Starres appearing
432.39
The Starre badge of the E.
of Oxford at Barnet field, 683.64
Stephano Ibarra the King of
Spaine his secretary complot-
teth the death of Queene
Elizabeth 849.115.118
Stephen Earle of Mortaigne
and of Bullioigne King of Eng-
land his Armes broad Seale
and Coine, 445
King Stephen his descent 445.
His Princely parts 445.
Fealty tworne vnto him 445.2
His personage and good en-
dowments 446.3
Free from all exactions of his
subjects 446.3
His perurie 446.4
Crowned 446.4
His Charter at his first en-
trance 446.4
Recouered of a lethargy, 447.9
He entreth Normandy 447.9
Maketh league with Lewis
the seuenth King of France
447.9
Hee buieth his elder brother
Theobald his title to Norman-
dy and England for money
447.10
Hee compoundeth also with
Geffrey Earle of Anjou for
money 447.10
He returneth out of Norman-
dy into England and winneth
the Cattle of Bedford 447.11
His vniuersal oth 447.11
He subdueth Scotland 448.16
His great valour in fight, 450.
28
Taken prisoner in battell, 450.28
He defies liberty and northe
Crown 451.32
He protesteth that hee would
be a Monke or Pilgrime 451.
Loden with yrons &c. 451.33
King Stephen his death 454.49
His commendation 454.
His deeds of deuotion, 454.
His wife, his honours and
death 454.54

Hee leueth with his archers
the Earle of Pembroke, 679.33
Beheaded at Bridgewater, 679.33
Stambolis, sometime Constanti-
nople, 475.29
A Star or Measure first or-
dained, 435.4
Lord Stanley wounded at the
Councell Table 703.44
His fearefull dreame 845.45
Lord Stanley set at liberty out
of the Towre 713.7
Thomas Stanley Earle of Darby
husband to Margaret Cot-
telle of Richmond suspected
of Richard the third, 722
He refuseth to come vnto K.
Richard the third and his an-
swere vnto him 723.53
Sir William Stanley Lord Cham-
berlain to King Henry the
seuenth accused for conspi-
racy with Perkin Warbeck
739.37
Beheaded, 740.38
Stanley a fugitiue, plotteth Q.
Elizabeths death 849.112
Sir William Stanley made Cap-
taine of Denemur 856.176
Traiterously selleth it to the
Spaniards 857.177
Staple of wooll translated out
of Flaunders into England,
581.112
Walter Stapleton Bishop of
Excester beheaded 562.60
Strange Starres appearing
432.39
The Starre badge of the E.
of Oxford at Barnet field, 683.64
Stephano Ibarra the King of
Spaine his secretary complot-
teth the death of Queene
Elizabeth 849.115.118
Stephen Earle of Mortaigne
and of Bullioigne King of Eng-
land his Armes broad Seale
and Coine, 445
King Stephen his descent 445.
His Princely parts 445.
Fealty tworne vnto him 445.2
His personage and good en-
dowments 446.3
Free from all exactions of his
subjects 446.3
His perurie 446.4
Crowned 446.4
His Charter at his first en-
trance 446.4
Recouered of a lethargy, 447.9
He entreth Normandy 447.9
Maketh league with Lewis
the seuenth King of France
447.9
Hee buieth his elder brother
Theobald his title to Norman-
dy and England for money
447.10
Hee compoundeth also with
Geffrey Earle of Anjou for
money 447.10
He returneth out of Norman-
dy into England and winneth
the Cattle of Bedford 447.11
His vniuersal oth 447.11
He subdueth Scotland 448.16
His great valour in fight, 450.
28
Taken prisoner in battell, 450.28
He defies liberty and northe
Crown 451.32
He protesteth that hee would
be a Monke or Pilgrime 451.
Loden with yrons &c. 451.33
King Stephen his death 454.49
His commendation 454.
His deeds of deuotion, 454.
His wife, his honours and
death 454.54

Sterling money who fitt coin-
ed, 506.63
Stermold a valiant Capitaine
vnder Earle Gode 376.6
Robert Stewart Sonne of Maria-
rie Bruce daughter to King
Robert Bruce, maketh head a-
gainst Edw. Balliol, in claime
of the Crowne of Scotland,
509.33
Stigand Archbishop of Canter-
bury his counsell to the Ken-
tish 416.6
Degraded 418.19
Hee and other Prelates depri-
ued, in fauour of the Normans
418.19
Stilicho gouernour of Italie
after hee had beene employed
in Britaine 274.7
He hazardeth the whole Em-
pire 276.4
Doctor Struuing sent in Em-
bassage to Francis Duke of
Britaigne for to haue away
Henry Earle of Richmond but
effected nought 688.99
Stoke battaile 733.22.23
Stonar, Vorimers monument
314
A precious Stone hauing vertue
to make one inuincible, 517.
32
Stones Church in Staffordshire
why so called 339.3
Stonsberg erected by Amelius
Ambrosius 314.3
The description of it, 315
Doctor Story his story 844.79
How hee was taken in his
owne grinne and executed
845.80
Stour a water in Britaine,
186.3
George Stradoll, a graue Citi-
zen of London his oration in
the commo Councell 810.58
George L. Strange pledge with
King Richard the 2. for his
father Thomas Stanley, 722
How hee escapeth 753.21
Strangers aduanced by King
Henry the third 518.36
Discontenteth his Nobles
thereby 518.36
Strangers commanded to de-
part the Realme 513.18
Strieling taken 547.29
Richard Strongbow, Earle of
Pembroke of Cheshew or Shi-
gil, solicited by Dermot Mac,
Murgh for Ireland 462.52
Entreth Ireland with his for-
ces 463.56
Marieth Lady Ena, Dermots
daughter 464.67
He winneth Dublin 464.58
Gilbert Strongbow Earle of
Strigul 438.32
Tho. Sunkley filled Marquisse
of Ireland 853
Subsidie granted by the Pell
of both Sexes occasion of
mischiefe 524.16
Subsidie denied to King Henry
the third 527.69
Subsidie denied to be paid, 761.
52
Succession of the Crowne to a
brother in what case 553.5
Suetonius Paulinus gouerneth
Britaine 197.7
His Acts 197.8.8c.
He prepareth against Bonduca
199.17
Suetonius Beatus a noble Bri-
taine became a Christian, 204.
9
The Sunne in his brightnesse
badge of Edward Earle of
Yyyyyy 2

March vpon what occasion,
672.92
Suffolkshire the first that aide
Queene Mary 816.5
Sinnac a Towne in Fostland and
name of a Familie 481
Two Sunnes scene at once in
the Skie 844.67
Flute Sunnes or Parheliens ap-
peare at once in the Skie in
April 518.37
Oath of Supremacy enacted,
780.111
A Surcoate of British Pearles
187.11
Surtia a Goddess, 222
Earle of Suffex his honourable
carriage toward Lady Eli-
zabeth 825.51.52
Suthred K. of East-Saxons, 301.
14
Expulshed by Egbert 301.
Siluer Swans the Badge of
Prince Edward son to Hen-
ry the sixth 668.72
Sweating sicknesse, 811.65
Whence cauled, 158
Swaine Earle Goodwin sonne
for the slaughter of his bro-
ther Beorn goeth in Pilgri-
mage to Ierusalem 400.
18
Coronell Swart slain in the bat-
telle at Stoke 733.22
Sweyne or Swaine sonne of Ca-
nutus King of Norway con-
quered from Saint Olaffe,
293.21
Sweyne King of Denmark his
descent 399.9
Sweyne or Swaine King of Den-
mark enuadeth England, 377.
17.18.19
Put to flight 377.28
Sodainly stricken, whereof
hee dieth 379.32
A Swine fete vpon the gate of
Ierusalem 219.7
Swithehime King of East Saxons
baptized 301.7
Saint Swithune 296.3
Saint Swithune Bisshoppe of
Winchester 350.2
Syluester Giraldu Cambrisis
when hee flourished 164
Lambert Symnel erected as an
Idoll against King Henrie
the seuenth 730.13
Proclaimed and crowned K.
of England at Dublin, as heir
to George Duke of Clarence
731.13.14.132.17
Lambert Symnel erected as son
to King Edward the fourth,
732.18
He with an Army landeth at
Fowdrey Pile in Lancashire,
732.18
He with Richard Simon taketh
prisoner at Stokefield, 733.
22
Lambert Symnel condemned
to the Kings kitchen, and be-
came one of the Kings Fal-
coners, 733.22
A Synode at London in the pre-
sence of the two kings, Hen-
ries, Father and sonne, 467.
82
The Canons thereof, 467.
A Synode prouinciall holden
at Oxford by Stephen Langton
Archbisshoppe of Canterbury,
512.13
A Synode at Castile for refor-
mation of the Irish Church,
464.61
A Synode about celebration of
Easter 331

THE TABLE.

T
Landius Tacitus elected
 Emperor 259.3
 After much *ibidem*
 His virtues 250.5
 A great fauourer of learning,
 and learned men *ibidem*,
 His raigne and death 250.6
Cornelius Tacitus his bookes
 carefully preferred 250.5
John Lord Talbot first Earle of
 Shrewsbury sent into *Gales*
 666.60
John Lord Talbot slaine with
 his sonne *Vicount Lisle* 666
 60
 His commendation, *ibidem*
 A famous warrior 653.12
 His sword *ibidem*
 Sir *Gilbert Talbot* ioyneeth with
 Henry Earle of *Richmond*,
 722.47
Taliesin a Briton Poet 163.12
Tuircrid King of Scythia 474.18
Tamias an addition to *Countri-*
cies 159.7
 Given by the *Greekes* *ibidem*
 Tanned leather serueth for ar-
 mour 730.12
Tamisiy law in *Ireland* what it
 is 837.42
Taporus See *Magnetus*
Tunefoke Abbey founded 372
 17
Taus Frith thought to be *Tued*,
 512.5
Taximagat a King in *Kent* 173
 3
 Tēples of *Mercy*, i. Sanctuaries,
 487.11
 Temple Church in *London* de-
 dicated 468.89
 The Inscription ouer the dore
ibidem,
 Templers abolished through-
 out Christendome 556.12
 Templers 54 with their great
 matter burnt at *Paris*, 556,
 12
 Temporing betweene King
Edward the fourth, and *Rich-*
ard the fourth, & *Richard*
Neuill the fourth Earle of *War-*
wicke 678.26
Terah the first Recorded *Ido-*
later 166.24
Terwin besieged by King *Hen-*
ry the eighth 754.7
 Won by the *English* *ibidem*
Teiricus Emperour 246.4
 He commeth in vnder *Aureli-*
us his protection 249.7
Tewkesbury field 684.71
 Thames Riuier fortified with
 stakes sharpened, &c. 186,
 8
 Thetis the land inhabited by
Hengist and *Horfa* 289.1
 Th. Thanie Blewbeard executed
 for treason 663.46
Theodinus Bishop of *London*
 driven into the deserts of
Cornwall and *Wales* 207.20
Iesser Theodor Earle of *Pen-*
broch, sonne to Sir *Owen The-*
odor 672.92
 Sir *Owen Theodor* taken and be-
 headed *ibidem*
Theobald Earle of *Blois* in
 Arms against *Lewis* the French
 King 439.36
 Aided by King *Henry* the first
ibidem,
Theobald Earle of *Blois* layeth
 claime to *Normandy* 447.8
 Hee claimeeth *England* also,
 447.10

Theobald Earle of *Blois* holdeth
 with King *Henry* the sonne
 against King *Henry* the fa-
 ther 465.65
Theobald Archbishop of *Can-*
terbury refused to consecrate
 Prince *Edulf* the sonne of *K.*
Stephen for King 453.42
Theodora the Christian Virgin
 242.3
Theodorus entred into *Britain*
 and *London* 270.5
 Highly commended and belo-
 ued 270.10
Theodorus fellow Emperour
 with *Valentinian* the younger
 272.3
 Vanquished by the *Goths*,
 272.4
 After fasting and prayer mi-
 raculously obtaineth victory
 274.5
 His death 274.6
Theodorus Emperour with *Val-*
entinian the younger, his
 virtues 275.8
 He submitteth to the Church
ibidem
 How hee suppressed cholera,
ibid.
 His progenie, raigne and age,
 275.9
Theodorus the second, Empe-
 rour in the East 278
 Governed vnder the Persian
 King 278.3
Theodorick King of *Bernicia*,
 302.6
Theodwald King of *Bernicia*,
 302.4
Theonus Bishoppe of *York*, dri-
 uen into the deserts of *Corn-*
wall and *Wales*, 207.20
Thira wife to Earle *Godewin*,
 her auarice and base mar-
 chandizing 403.9
 Killed with a thunderbolt,
ibidem
 Thirty vsurping tyrants or
 Emperours at once against
Gallienus 245.5
 Earle of *Tholon*, and his peo-
 ple hold of the *Albigenses*
 514.21
Thomas the Holy an English
 Schoole in *Rome* rebuilt, 351
 6
Thomas of *Brotherton* sonne to
 King *Edward* the first, 552,
 71
 His wiues and issue 553.7
Thomas Earle of *Lancaster* the
 greatest subiect of *England* in
 King *Edward* the second his
 dayes 556.11
 His wife stollen away, con-
 fesseth her incontinencie, 558
 30
Thomas Earle of *Lancaster* and
 King *Edward* the second at
 peace 558.32
 Confined 559.42
 Called in scorn King *Arthur*,
 and whereupon 560.42
Thomas of *Woodstocke* his ho-
 nours and virtues 590,
 Willfull and obdurate, *ibid.*
 Murdered at *Calis* *ibidem*
 Entombed in *Westminster*,
ibidem
 His issue *ibidem*
Thomas of *Woodstocke* created
 Duke of *Glocester* 600.56
 His death conspired 602.69
 Overbold in checking his so-
 ueraine 606.96
 Surprised and emprisoned,
 607.99
Thom. Earle of *Lancaster* ta-
 ken prisoner 559.39

Condemned of high treason,
 and beheaded 559.40
Thomas Rascally Earle of *Suffolk*
 leadeeth the Earles of
Northumberland and *West-*
land being in open rebellion
 842.68
S. Thomas Hospital in *South-*
mark giuen to the City of
London with reuenewes, 314
 16
Thor an Idol of the Saxons,
 288.8
Thored an English Duke did
 good seruice against the
 Danes 380.40
George Thorne a Champion for
Thomas *Parment* 841.135
 Thracians come from *Tyrras*,
 162.6
 Sir *Nicholas Throgmorton* ar-
 raigned for *Kets* conspiracy,
 and quit 821.47
Francis Throgmorton his trea-
 sons, 847.90.91
 Apprehended, confesseth his
 conspiracy 846.93
Thule what land 160.7
 Thunder in a cleare skie, 469
 98,
 Ominous to *Robert* *Demerius*
 when hee set forward to *Ire-*
land 873.102
 Thursday whence it seemeth to
 be named 288.8
Thursan Archbishop of *York*
 consecrated by Pope *Calixt*,
 against King *Henry* the first
 his command 440.42
 Entailed without subiection
 to *Canterbury* *ibidem*
 Banished 440.43
Thursan & *Feader* Collectors
 of Tribute slaine 397.7
Thyre King *Etheldred*s daughter
 wife to *Gormon* King of
 Danes 355.12
Tiberius *Cesar* his parents, 190
 1.
 Hee murdereth *Agrippa*, *ibid.*
 His tyranny 190.2
 He fought to conuert the no-
 bility *ibidem*,
 His Hypocrisie 190.3
 His libidinousnesse, *ibidem*
 His Epicurisme *ibidem*
 Termed *Biberius Nero*, *ibidem*
 Carelesse in state government
ibidem,
 His raigne and death, 191.6
 His person & bodily endow-
 ments *ibidem*,
 Times motions of three seueral
 parts, 163.4
Timothy his heresie 277.10
 Time plentiful in *Britaine*,
 168.9
John Tiptoft Earle of *Worcester*
 Lieutenant of King *Edward*
 the fourth in *Ireland*, behea-
 ded 681.53
Tirell killeth King *William* *Ru-*
fus in *New-forseth* 433.40
Lames Tirel King *Richard* the
 third his instrument to mur-
 ther King *Edward* the fourth
 his sonnes 715.16
 His parts 715.17
 Knighted for seeing King *Ed-*
ward the fifth and his bro-
 ther murdered 715.19
 Executed at *Tower-hill* for
 treason 716.20
Tarulus king of the East-Angles
 his raigne 309.2
Titus *Pespassan* made Emperour
 without all contradiction,
 212.1
 The darling and delight of
 Mankind *ibid.*

His herocall vertues *ibidem*
 His youth how employed
 212.2
 His Coine 213.2
 His faulcs 213.4
 His repentance at his death,
ibid.
 His government, 212.7
 His vertues *ibidem*,
 His age raigne and death by
 poylon *ibidem*,
Togodannus a British Prince
 slaine in a bloody battell
 175.9.194.8
Tomarys the valiant Scythian
 Queene 249.199.19
Tost deprived of the Earldome
 of *Northumberland*, 403.7
 Cruel to his brother *Harold*s
 seruants 403.7
 He assaileth the coasts of *Eng-*
land 405.19
Lames Touchet Lord *Whalley*
 slaine 668.72
Lames Touchet alias *Twichell*,
 L. *Andley* Captain of the Cor-
 nish in rebellion, 742.49
 Executed 742.47
 Tower of *London* founded, 420
 41
 VValled about 431.3
 The battell at *Towton* on *Palm-*
sonday 675.7
Traian Emperour, 217
 His Coine *ibidem*,
 His descent and praise, 271
 1
 Hee raised the Romans Em-
 pire to the highest glorie,
 217.2
 Persecuteth Christians *ibidem*
 Maffaceth the *Iewes* 217.3
 His death 217.4
 His portraiture and description
 on 217.5
Traile-Basson Iusticiars what
 they were 430.46
 Translation of the New Testa-
 ment into *English* by *Tin-*
dal 771.86
 Traitors executed 844.78
Cn. Trebellius Lieutenant in *Brit-*
aine 218.3
Trebellius Maximus Lieu-
 tenant in *Britaine* 200.24
 He fideh with *Vitellius*, 208.3
 Triobantes submit to *Cesar*,
 186.8
Robert Trifilian Lord Chief
 Iusticiar of *England*, 598.47
 Executed at *Tiburne*, 604,
 78
 Triumphin, *London*, and about
 for defeating the Spanish in-
 uincible Armado 863.222,
 &c.
 Triumvirate erected betweene
M. Antonius, *Emilius Lepi-*
dus and *Octavianus*, 188.2
 Triumvirs of *England* three *Rich-*
ard, *York*, *Warwicke* and
Salisbury 668.72
Andrew Trollope a valiant cap-
 taine drawne to be a *Turk*,
 668.73
 He abandoneth the *Turks*
 669.74
 Trophees in *London* erected,
 stood long vnfinisied, by
 reason of the plague, 885,
 9.
 Truce betweene *England* and
Scotland vpon what points,
 783.43
 Truce for 18. months betweene
England and *France* 601.20
 Truce betweene the Kings of
England and of *Scotland*, 559,
 35
 Truce between *Philip* de *Valois*
 and

THE TABLE.

King *Edward* the third, in the
 question of little *Britaine*
 575.70
 Truce betweene King *Stephen*
 and Prince *Henry Fitz-Em-*
pre, 453.45
 Truce or peace betweene *Lewis*
 the French King, and the two
 thes of *England*, fa-
 ther and sonne 468
 Articles thereof 467.79
 Truce betweene King *Richard*
 the first and the *Salandine* for
 three yeeres, 477.39
 Truce betweene *Philip* the
 French King and *Henry* the
 third King of *England*, 511
 12
 Truce for three yeeres betweene
England & *France* in *K. Hen-*
ry the third his time 516.29
 Truce betweene *England* and
France concluded at *Burges*,
 preiudicial to the *English*
 588.148
 Trumpetter commanded to
 sound before King *Offa* and
 his successors 245.8
 Sir *William Truffel* a Iudge, in
 behalfe of the *Realme* re-
 noueeth all homage and
 allegiance to King *Edward*
 the second 564.74
Tufa what it is 263.8
Tufa or *Thumf* the Roman Stan-
 dard 334.3
Lames Tucher, See *Toucher*,
 A Tunn of Tennis balles sent
 from the *Dolphin* of *France*
 to *Henry* the fifth King of
England 682.35
 How it was promised to be
 repaid, *ibid.*
Tunis in *Affricke* built out of
 the ruines of *Carthage*
 541.2
 Besieged by King *Lewis* of
France *ibid.*
 The feige raised vpon Capitu-
 lations 542.3
 The *Turkish* Engage, 479.57
Turks come from *Togorum*,
 162.6
Turkys Empire of a meane be-
 ginning 170.14
Turk a leader of the *Danes*,
 378.26
 Proceeth the *English* for pay
 379.31.32
Torlegh *Leining* vsupeth the
 title of *O-Neale* 853.150
 A tyrant to his neighbours
 the *Irish* 853.151
Turney besieged by King *Hen-*
ry the eighth 755.10
 Won by the *English*, *ibid.*
 The strength of *Turney*, *ibid.*
 Yielded to King *Henry* the
 eighth *ibid.*
 Delivered vpon composition
 to the French 757.20
Tyders or *Tiders* after three
 descents *English*, and fue
 Princes, now vanished, 746,
 61
 V
V. Alden, See *Albigenses*,
Valens partner in the Em-
 pire with *Valentinian* 271
 His death 271.14
Valentia the name of *Britaine*,
 160.8, 270.9
Valentinus rebelleth against *The-*
odius 270.7
 Put to death *ibid.*
Valentinian elected Emperour,
 269.1
 His death age and raigne 271
 12
 His birth and parentage, 269
 2
 A Christian, *ibid.*
 His personage and vertues
 271.13
 His defects, *ibid.*
Valentinian the elder marrieth
Justine during the life of
Seuerus his owne wife, 272
 2
Valentinian the younger, Empe-
 rour with his brother *Grati-*
an *ibidem* 1
 Strangled in his bed, 273.10
 His raigne and age, *ibid.*
Valentinian the third Emperour
 in the West 279.3
 His descent *ibid.*
Valerianus Emperour, 244.1
 His descent, *ibid.*
 A protector of Christians at
 first *ibid.*
 Taken prisoner by *Saporus*
 King of *Persia* *ibid.*
 His miserable seruitude, *ibid.*
 Cruelly tortured and murther-
 ed by *Saporus*, *ibidem* 4
 &c.
 His raigne and age 244.5
Vandals sent to inhabit *Brit-*
aine 255.2
Vandals infest *Denmarck* in the
 absence of King *Cannius*, 391
 9
 Variance betweene *England*
 and *France* 758.35
Varronianus a very infant de-
 clared *Cesar*, 268.5
L. Varrus Cere Deputie of *Calais*
 vnder *Richard* *Neuill* Earle of
Warwicke impeacheth his lan-
 ding 680.41
 Taxed for playing with both
 hands, *ibid.*
Balfard of *Vannus* hanged on a
 tree which himselfe had na-
 med *Vannus* 647.76
Volsa the Saxons Temple all
 of gold 438.8
Vellius *Volanus* Deputie in *Brit-*
aine 209.7
Velluriones Eastern *Pills*, 269
 1
Volloctus *Paramour* to *Caris-*
mundus, 196.20
Vennius a famous King of the
Brigantes rebelleth in *Britaine*
 196.20
 His Coine *ibid.*
John de Vere Earle of *Oxford*,
 surprised St. *Michael*s Mount
 against *K. Edward* the fourth
 688.85
 Strictly imprisoned in
Normandy *ibid.*
John de Vere Earle of *Oxford*
 ioyneeth with *Henry* Earle of
Richmond, and in great fauour
 with him now King 721,
 40
Robert de Vere Marquesse of
Dublin and the first in *England*
 600.56
 Duke of *Ireland* 604.65
 Died in *Brabant* exiled, *ibid.*
 82
 Buried in *Coln* Priory, 606.92
Robert Vere Earle of *Oxford* &c.
 forsaketh his wife *Philippa*,
 and marrieth *Lancaster*, 602,
 90
 His banishment and death in
 penurie *ibid.*
Vernon battail in *Perth*, 653.
 7
Vernulium, or *Verulamium* a
 famous Citie neere the place
 where *St. Albans* standeth,
 168.9
 Sacked by the *Scots*, 178,
 198
L. Vorn associate to *M. Aure-*
lius in the Empire 281.2
 His Coine *ibid.*
 He persecuteth the Christians
ibidem,
Vespasian his rising and by what
 Abbettors 209.3
 Succeedeth *Vitellius* in the
 Roman Empire, 210.1
 His worth, *ibid.*
 His original *ibid.*
 His imploiment in youth
ibid.
 Chosen Emperour by the *Ma-*
rian Souldiers 210.5
 Proclaimed Emperour at *Ca-*
saria and *Alexandria* 211,
 6
 A great scourge of God against
 the *Iewes* *ibid.*
 His peaceable death, *ibid.*
 His endowments of body,
ibidem 16
 His vertues *ibidem*
 His valiant seruice in *Britaine*
 194.6
 Rescued by his sonne *Titus*
ibid.
Vetricius Proclaimed Emperour
 262.2
Vffa first King of the East-A-
ngles 309.2
Uffius who they were *ibid.*
Robert Ufford Earle of *Suffolke*
 taken prisoner by the French
 573.55
Vicount de *Melun* bewaileth
 the Frenchment intended
 treachery 505
 Victory at *Sea* against the
French 573.56
Victorinus, See *Aurelius*,
Victorinus a Moor: his Sta-
 tagem 252.8
Victorinus Lieutenant in *Brit-*
aine 276.8
Villa *France* sacked by the
English 676.280
Julius Vindex opposeth *Nero*
 200.24
Virgil the Poet alludeth to the
 winterfall when *Christ*
 was born 389.6
 Hee alludeth to the birth of
Christ *ibidem*
 Virgins eleuen thousand sent
 with *Vrsula* into *America*,
 cast away at *Sea*, & perished
 280.9
 In *Virginia* a Colony of *Brit-*
ains seated 157.13
Virius *Lepus* President in *Brit-*
aine 228.3
Hil-Vites, i. *Helvetians*, 286,
 9.
Vitellius how hee came to be
 Emperour 208.3
 Glad of *Orbs* his death 209.1
 His magnificent entrance in-
 to *Rome*, *ibidem*, 2
 His descent diuersly reported
ibid.
 His father in great fauour with
 former Emperours *ibid.*
 His excessive gluttony & ex-
 pences 209.4
 His raigne and ignominious
 death, 209.8
 His age 210.9
 His person, *ibid.*
 Libelled against by *Alt* olo-
 gers, *ibid.*
Vlster spoiled 876.24
Vlysses his Alter in *Caledonia*
 was born 160.7, 168.9
 Whether he visited *Britaine*
 168.9
 Sir *Robert Vnfrail* discomfi-

teth the *Scots*, 628.26
Vnderwood betrayeth his Master
 the Duke of *Suffolke* in *Attley*
Parke 818.22
 Vnion treated of at *Blois* for
 the French State 866.244
 Vnion of *England* and *Scotland*
 before time attempted but ef-
 fected by King *James* 884.3
Uobadela King of *Granada*
 lootheth it, 746.62
Vodine Archbishop of *London*
 reprooueth King *Vortigern* 290
 8.
 It cost him his life *ibid.*
Vologeses a Persian Prince 197
 6.
Volusenus Iul. *Casars* spie in
Britaine 183.2
Volusenus Emperour with his
 father *Trebi*, *Gallus* 242.4
 His Coine *ibid.*
Vortigern King of *Britaine*,
 281.1
 His raigne full of troubles,
ibid.
 Chosen King by the *Britaines*
 to repell the common Ene-
 mie 282.6
 His descent *ibid.*
 Sendeth for the Saxons, *ibid.*
 Why hee sent for the Saxons
 289.3
 Giueth himselfe to sensuality,
 289.3
 Enamoured of *Romena* and
 weddeth her 289.4
 He marrieth his owne daugh-
 ter by *Romena* 313.
 Deposed by the *Britaines* his
 owne subiects, 290.8
 Deposed and imprisoned
 313
 Restored to the Crowne 290,
 314.11
 Taken prisoner 290.12
 He fliceth into *Wales* 291.14
 His Castle in *Wales* *ibidem*
 Burneth his incestuous wife
 in his Castle 313.29.15
 His issue 313.
Vortimer chosen King by the
Britaines in lieu of his father
Vortigern 290.9.313.2
 Poisoned by *Romena* 290.10,
 314.
 A valiant Prince, 313.2
*Vortimer*s batailles in what
 places fought 313.2
*Vortimer*s monument, 314
Vortimerus King of the *Britains*
 210
Gildas his censure of him, *ibid.*
 Vrbane the Pope raiseth warre
 for the Holyland, 430.46
 Pope *Vrbane* the fifth laboureth
 to vnite the Kings of *England*
 and *France* against the com-
 mon Enemie of Christen-
 dome 587.41
Vskfen King *Edwins* sonne,
 335.15
 Vsurers called *Cannus* in
England 522.52
 Vsurers not knowne in *London*
 522.53
 Vsurers of the West Empire,
 6.
 With their monies, 245.445,
 3.
Vter *Pendragon* King of *Britaine*
 215
 In loue with Lady *Igen*, *ibid.*
 How hee obtained her, 216
 Poysoned & buried in *Stone-*
heng *ibid.*
 Why surnamed *Pendragon*
ibid.
 A valiant Capitaine of the
Britains

THE TABLE.

Britaines 291.15
Vired forsaketh Prince Ed-
mund and submitteth to Can-
nus. 380.37
Valere Monarch of the Eng-
lish. 333

VV

Bataille of Wakefield 677. 89
A Wall in Britaine from Time
to Carleil. 220.2
A Wall made by Severus from
Sea to Sea. 229.8
A Wall devided by the French
for the inuasion of England.
601. 61
Walbrook in London when it
tooke name. 255.9
Wales ruled by English Lawes
and Officers. 545.15
Wales Princes do homage vn-
to Williams Conqueror. 420.
Wales by whom first fastened
to the Crowne of England.
506.63
Let out to ferme. 530.78
Walker a Citizen and Grocer
of London beheaded for
words bearing a double con-
struction. 675.4
William Wallace alias Wallis
executed. 550.47
Wallingford Castle besieged by
King Stephen. 453.43
Walle the Popes Legat his
good feruice for expulsion of
Lewis and the French 508.2
Our Lady of Walsingham and
of Ipswich with other Images
burnt. 778. 100
Waltham in Essex named Holy-
Croffe by King Harold. 409.
Walthoe Earle of Northamp-
ton discouereth a conspiracie
and tooke his head. 420.34
His great estate. 36.
Walter Deuere Earle of Ef-
sex his expedition vnto Ef-
sex, and his vtinely death.
833.149
Walthey Bishop of Conterbury,
only allowed King Edward
the second his affection to
Piers de Gausson. 556.11
William Watworth Maior of
London killeth Wat Tyler 595
22.
Knighted and endowed with
Lands by King Richard the
second. 595.25
Wannes dich how called be-
fore time. 328.6
Wark Castle rased by the Q.
of Scots. 670.83
Wark Castle besieged by the
Scots. 761.49
John de Warren Earle, Cnysse
of Scotland. 548.33
John de Warren Earle of Surrey
killeth Alan le Zouch Lord
Chiefe Iusticiar in Westmin-
ster Hall. 539.105
Warren Earle taketh part with
Stephen against the Nobles.
450.26
VVarham's speech to the Duke
of Burghunde to ouerthrow
Perkin Warbeck, his feigned
title. 739.36
Warres in all parts of the Em-
pire. 269.2
Earle of Warwicke condemned
of high treason and banished
607.100
Counterfeit Earle of Warwicke

in King Henry the seuenth his
time hanged. 745.59
Earle of VVarwicke defig-
ned to die. 745.60
See more in Edward Plantage-
ner last male of that house 746.
61
VVilliam Wallace a leader of
Outlawes in Scotland driueith
William Ormeby King Ed-
ward the first his Iusticiar
in Scotland, out of Scotland.
547.32
He putteth to flight John War-
ren Earle of Surrey, and the
English forces. 548.33
War Tyler his rebellion 595.20
The Idoll of Clownes. *ibid.*
Slaine in Smithfield 595.21
Watches of the night foure.
184
Waters or bourne bursting out
of the earth. 886.85
Waterford alias Porthlagon won
by Richard Strongbow. 464.
Watson a Priest condemned for
treason and executed. 886.
Weare or Ware fortresse built
by the Danes. 338.23
John VVesthamsted Abbot of
Saint Albans when he wrote.
164
Hee disproueth the discoure
or narration of Bruce. *ibid.*
Weights & measures who first
ordained and fetled. 506.63
Wels Cathedral Church foun-
ded. 298.11
A Welof bloud in Barkeshire.
431.30.
Sir Robert Wells, sonne to the
Lord Wells faithfull a Commo-
nion in Lincolneshire 680.39.
Taken and beheaded. 680.40
Wellesbourne a family in Eng-
land whence descended. 507.
70
Lord Wells beheaded 680.
Welshmen come from Cim-
briae Chersonesus. 161.
VVelshmen resitt King Stephen
446.6
VVelsh hostages hanged at
Nottingham for their fathers
disloyalty to King John.
498.45
VVelsh Lords in Armes soone
repelled by King Henry the
third. 511.11
VVelsh in Armes againe in K.
Henry the third his dayes.
515.25
VVelsh rise in Armes for op-
pression. 533.88
Their resolution in defence of
liberties. *ibid.*
VVelsh voluntary aide against
Scotland. 547.29
VVelshmen in Armes against
King Henry the first subdu-
ed. 438.32
VVelsh tumults. 448.43
Lord Wenlock slaine by Ed-
mund Duke of Somerset for
not following him at the bat-
telle of Tewkesbury. 684.7
William de Warren first Earle
of Surrey. 426.75
Lord Wentworth late Deputy
of Callis arraigned for the
losse of Callis. 833.9
Werewburg a Nunne in Ely. 307.
6
A professed virgin. 340.9
Saint Werewburgs the Cathed-
rall Church in Westchester
built. 340.9

Robert Westbrome an Arch-De-
bell in Suffolke killed King
of the Commons there. 595.
20
Westminster Abbey Church
newly founded by K. Henry
the third. 511.11
Westminster Church enlarged
and enriched. 431.1
Westminster Hall built. 431.1
301.12.
The East part of it rebuilt.
428.71
Westminster Statutes first en-
acted. 543.10
Westminster Chappell built.
751.3
First by King Edward the 3.
and enlarged by King Henry
the 7. 589.154
VVest Saxons Kingdome. 296
The circuit thereof. 297.2
Wethercock or Eagle of Pauls
Church blowne downe by
tempest. 749.70
White-rose a title giuen to Ka-
therine Gordon Perkin War-
beckes wife. 744.41
Thomas Weyland Lord Chiefe
Iustice seuerely punished.
545.17
Weyford in Ireland rendered &
giuen to Robert Fitz-Stephe.
461.56
It reteineith still English at-
tice and language. 463.55
Weyford speech. *ibid.*
Whorwell Abbey founded. 374.
17
Sir Thomas Wiat his conspira-
cie and rebellion. 818.28
His proclamation against Q.
Maries marriage with Phi-
lip the 2. King of Spaine.
819.28
His demands. 819.35
How answered by Sir Edward
Hastings. 819.35
Hee marcheth toward Lon-
don. 820.38
Hee and his company spoyle
Winchester house. *ibid.*
Hee remoueth from South-
warke to Kingston vpon
Thames. 820.40
Hee passeth the Thames.
ibid.
Commeth to Ludgate. 821.
43
Yeeldeth to Clarentienx. 821.
45.
Beheaded on Tower-Hill.
821.46
Wibba King of the Mercians,
his Issue, raigne and death.
306.2
Wiccings a Company of Danes.
357.17
William Wickham Bishoppe of
Winchester hath the Broade
Seale giuen vnto him. 604.
81
John Wickliffe of Oxford the
lampe to many noble Di-
uines. 207.22
His doctrine spreadeth, and
is embraced in England in
King Richard the second
histime. 610.117
Approved especially by the
Vniuersity of Oxford. *ibid.*
Opposeth the church of Rome
at Oxford. 588.152
His followers called Lollards.
John Wickliffe calumniated &
defended. 610.118
Hedieth of a palse. *ibid.*
His slanderous Epitaph deu-
ised by a Monk. *ibid.*
The principall points of his

doctrine. *ibid.*
His bookes condemned as he-
reticall. 620.35.
Wicklitiens burg and strug-
led. 626.15
Widoware Vicount of Limoges
findeth an hoare of gold and
siluer. 481.68
Part thereof sent by him to
King Richard the first, is not
well accepted. 481.68
Wight Isle surprised by the
French. 193.3
Wight Isle why is named.
285.9
Wigted or Withred king of Kent
his raigne and death. 294.11
Blacke Will alias Will. Slaughter
appointed to sue priuie
Edward the 5. and his brother
715. 18
Ralph Wilford a counterfeite
Earle of Warwicke, in King
Henry the seuenth his time
hanged. 745.59
William de Wilfrd a valiant
Sea Captaine his exploits
and prizes. 618.39
William a promoting calumi-
nator of great men to the king
hanged. 524.60
Wilsfide Bishoppe of Selsey. 296.
3.
His speech as touching cele-
bration of Easter. 331
William of Malmibury when
hee wrote. 163.13.
William of Newborough when
hee liued. 163.16
Hee enuiegheth against Gef-
frey Ap-Arthur. 164.18
With what deuileitis put by
ibid.
William Long-Espee, Duke of
Normandie his parentage.
213.21
After Baptisme named Roberts.
ibid.
Murdered through the practise
of Lewis the French King.
ibid.
William Longespee first naturall
sonne of Henry the second
by Rosamond. 471.111
His marriage, Issue, death and
buriall. *ibid.*
William Alberic cruelly whip-
ped and hanged guiltlesse.
430.23
William of Anco for conspi-
ring William Rufus his death
bereft of eyesight and villi-
tie. 430.23
William Earle of Mortaigne
taken prisoner. 437.21
William Tyres created Earle of
Kent. 451.35
He and his Flemings fauored
of King Stephen. 447.13
Embattelleth against his
peeres. 450.26
William de Tyres true to King
Stephen. 450.29
William Long-champe Chancel-
lor of England for his infi-
nite Tyrannie thrust out of
the Realme by John Sans terre.
476.36
Bishoppe of Ely viceroy or
Prince and Priest in England,
in King Richard the first his
absence. 473.10
William eldest sonne to King
Henry the first, created D.
of Normandy. 438.34
His death and buriall. 470.
303
William sonne of Robert Cur-
ruoise to be possessed of Nor-
mandy. 439.36
Hee

Hee weddeth Sibyll daughter
of Foulke Earl of Anjou. 440.
44
Possessed of the Earledome of
Flanders. 441.50
His great valour. 441.52
He dieth of a small wound.
ibid.
William de Fracie a sixth base
sonne of King Henry the 1.
443.71
William a third sonne of King
Stephen conspireth against
Henry Fitz-Emprese. 454.
48
Hee breaketh his legges. *ibid.*
Hit wife, honors and death.
454.53
William a naturall sonne of K.
Stephen. 454.56
Prince William king Henry the
first his sonne, weddeth the
daughter of Foulke Earle of
Anjou. 439.39.
Doeth homage to King Lewis
of France for Normandie.
443.62
Drowned in the sea with his
brethren, his sister, and many
Gallants. 439.40.443.62
His pity to his sister collect
him his life. 439.40
William the sonne of Robert
Duke of Normandy, after-
wards the Conqueror, com-
mitted to the tuition of Earle
Gilbert and protection of
Henry the first, K. of France,
during his minority. 413.27
His stratageme to escape fro
Henry the French King. 414.
31.
Hee enioyeth the Dukedome
of Normandy. 414.31
His Embassage to King Har-
old for the Crowne of
England. 404.14
His claime thereto. 404.16
Hee prepareth for England.
406.39
Hee is Conqueror and Mo-
narch of England. 415.
His Armes, Broad Seale and
Coine. *ibid.*
Crowned at Westminster.
416.5.
His Seales inscription. 418.
20.
Hee fortieth against inuasi-
ons. 416.5
Saileth ouer into Normandy.
416.9.
His policy to weaken the
English. 417.17
His rigorous dealing with the
English his Subiects. 418.
18
He putteth downe learning.
416
Swoone to keepe K. Edward
the Confessors lawes. 418.23
Wounded in fight and vnhor-
sed by his owne sonne Ro-
bert Curruoise. 420.40
Hee oppresseth the English, &
maketh their name reproch-
full. 427.43
His depopulations. 421. 46
Hee inuadeth France and bur-
neth Mance, or Manteux.
422.52
Heinuadeth and wasteth Nor-
thumberland. 466.73
Taken prisoner. 466.76
Compoundeth for his ransom
467.79.80
Sir John Williams Lord Tame,
joined with Sir Henrie
Banfield in commission for
the keeping of Lady Eliza-
beth after Queene of Eng-
ibid.

His counsell to his children.
ibid.
The dispose of his States.
ibid.
His Legacy to Henry his son.
423.53
His death. 424.56
His dead Corps forsaken of
all. *ibid.*
His Herse abandoned of all.
424.57
Buriall place denied him vn-
till it was bought. *ibid.*
Entered with a foule stench.
ibid.
His description for lineaments
and qualities. 424.59
He nameth himselfe in a char-
ter. 424.61
King William Rufus sonne to
King William the Conque-
rour why he called 425.7.
Pleasing to his father. *ibid.*
His Broad-Seale, Armes and
Coine. 423
Crowned King of England.
427.2
His policy to winne the peo-
ples hearts against Robert
Curruoise his brother. 428.7
Compoundeth with his brother
Robert for the crown of
England. 428.9
A cunning Time seruer. 428.
10.
His loose gouernment and
couetous grasping. 428.11
Heinuadeth Normandy. 428.
12
ouerthrowne in a Sally. 429.
13
Hee preferreth the Knight that
ouerthroweth him. *ibid.*
Hee and Malcolm King of
Scots enterleagne. 429.16
In sicknesse, hee repenteth, and
voweth newuells of life. 430.
19
Hee soone repenteth of his re-
pentance. 430.10
His exactions. 430.26. &c. 26
His magnanimity. 431.31
King William Rufus his valo-
rous resolutions in warre.
431.33
His sonne killed in New-forest.
431.
Opposeth against the Popes
authority in England. 431.
33.
Denieth allegiance to the
Popc. 432.34
Denieth the Popes power Li-
gandi & Iohandi. 432.35
Against praying to Saints. *ib.*
His pride and couetousnesse
vntuly taxed by some Wri-
ters. 432.36.37
His incontinencie. 432.38
In his time strange Accidents.
432.39
Slaine in New-forest. *ibid.*
Entered in Winchester. *ibid.*
His raigne. *ibid.*
His person. 433.41
Why named Rufus. *ibid.*
His workes of deuotion. *ibid.*
William King of Scotland a fast
friend to King Richard the
first. 473.13.478.44
Heinuadeth and wasteth Nor-
thumberland. 466.73
Taken prisoner. 466.76
Compoundeth for his ransom
467.79.80
Sir John Williams Lord Tame,
joined with Sir Henrie
Banfield in commission for
the keeping of Lady Eliza-
beth after Queene of Eng-
ibid.

Land 823.61
His dutifull loue to her. *ibid.*
Richard Williams a Traitor ex-
ecuted. 849.119
Wilmoat a notorious router. 377.
22.
Wineth King Harold's sonne re-
leased out of Prison. 427.1
Wilson Bataille won by Danes.
356.3
Wilson fired. 452.39
Winborne Nunery built. 304.
13
Winchcombe Monastery founded.
307.13
Winchcombe Abbey Church
built. 347.3
In Winchester, the terme kept.
885.11
Winchester Cathedral Church
founded. 398.8
Winchester house in Southwarke
spoiled by Wyat. 820.39
Winchester sacked by Danes.
353.2
Winds in London. 432.39
Wine made in Britaine. 252.8
Sir John Wingfield or Winkfield
slaine in Cadix. 869.272
Thomas Winter sent into Spain
to negotiate with King Phi-
lip the second to send an ar-
mie for the English Catho-
likes. 889.33
Wimbolden alias Wimbleton
field. 293.5
Witch Castle built. 419.38
Witcher-king in the Ile of
Wight. 297.2
Witthig, daughter of King
Anna, a mention or min-
chin in Ely Abbey. 310.7
Witblafe by intrusion King of
Mercia. 308.18
His issue. *ibid.*
Witthindus a writer of the Bri-
tish History. 282.7
Woden a Prince, esteemed by the
Saxons a God. 285.12
Wodens fue sonnes their names
and feignories. 285.13
Woden worshipped by the Sax-
ons for Mercury. 288.7
Woden an Idol of the Saxons
how portraied. *ibid.*
Woden/day or Woden/day why
so termed. *ibid.*
Wolfsild a Nunne carnally a-
bused by King Edgar 370.11
Thomas Wolsey King Henry
the eight his Almoner made
Bishop of Turney 755.10
His birth and rising &c. 756.
23.
Entertained in Court. 757.
25.
Cardinal and Legate a Inter.
ibid.
Lord Chancellour of Eng-
land. *ibid.*
Bishop of seuen Bishopricks.
ibid.
His accusatory speech against
Girald Fitz-Girald Earle of
Kidare. 762.56
His pompous Embassage into
France. 766
Excused by King Henry the
eight for suing diuorce with
Katherine of Spaine. 767.70
His speech to Queene Kath-
erine. 768.73
Thomas Wolsey Cardinal, be-
ginneith to decline. 769.74
The cause thereof. *ibid.*
His greatnes and state. *ibid.*
Found in a Frenuaine. *ibid.*
Arrested by the Earle of Nor-
thumberland. *ibid.*
His death and buriall. *ibid.*
XXXXX 2

Hee suppresseth forty Mona-
steries for his Colledges.
769.77
Wolstan a Saincted Bishop of
Worcester true to King Wil-
liam Rufus. 506
Wolues paid for tribute out of
Wales and so destroyed. 370.
5.
Women employed in warres.
170.2
Women gouerne and leade
armies in Britaine and else-
where. 199.19
Women inherite their fathers
possessions by the Law of
God. 527.19
Sir Roger Woodhouse inhu-
manely dealt with by Ket
and his Rebels. 807.34
Lord Woodville affisteth Francis
Duke of Britaine against
Charles the French King &
is slaine. 734.24
Richard Woodville Earle of Ri-
uers elpoueth the Dutch-
esse Dowager of Bedford, sis-
ter to the Earle of S. Paul.
659.33
Richard VVoodville Earle of Ri-
uers with his sonne Antho-
ny Woodville taken prisoners
at Sandwich by the Yorkists.
669.76
Both of them surprised by
Northern Rebels and be-
headed. 679.33
VVool rained from heauen.
271.11
Woolfane Archbishop of Yorke
towing sedition is imprison-
ed, and released by King
Edward. 367.5
Worcester burnt. 397.7
World compared to a Cloke.
155.3
John Wraw a lewd priest, a
bellows in time of War Ty-
ler, and Jacke Strawes rebel-
lion. 595.20
Christopher Wright sent into
Spaine to signifie the death
of Queene Elizabeth, and to
procure inuasion of
England. 889.15
Wriothesley Lord Chancellor
forward enough to persecute
Gopellers. 780.114
Saint Wulfald his Colledge in
Stone. 340.7
Wulfald Martyr, a Christian
young Gentleman slain by
his father Wulfhere. 340.
7.3
Wulfere or Wulphere King of
Mercia a Noble Prince.
306.2
His raigne, wife, and Issue.
ibid.
Wulfhere Monarch of the Eng-
lishmen. 339
Killeth his two sons, whiles
they were in diuine contem-
plation. 339.3
Wulfhere Monarch of the Eng-
lish, his repentance and con-
uersion. 339.3
Taxed for Simonie. 340.3
His raigne. 340.4
Wulfer Hampton, alias Wul-
fran-Hampton why he called.
392.19
Wulpher Edilwalch his Godfa-
ther. 296.3
Saint Wylstan a Martyr. 308.19

X

Xaints in Xaintoing, reuol-
ueth from the English.
525.

THE TABLE.

Xenophon a Physician of a large
conscience 525.65
196.22

Y

Y *Esse* of the Guard first in-
stituted, 729.9
York Cathedrall Church built
334.7
York burnt by the the *Danes*
354.3
Burnt by her owne souldiers
417.16
Edmund York a Traitor execu-

ted, 849.119
Rowland York made Gouvernor
of *Zutphen* 856.174
He selleth it traitorously to
the *Spaniards*, 857.177
Yorkshire summation, 773.96
Yorkists repaire to *King Hen-*
ry the 6. with strong troups
667.68
Fly before the *Lancastrians*,
669.74
Diuers *Yorkists* attaint in Par-
liamēt of high treason, 669.75
Yorkists send plausible Articles
into *Kent* to seduce the peo-
ple *ibidem* 77

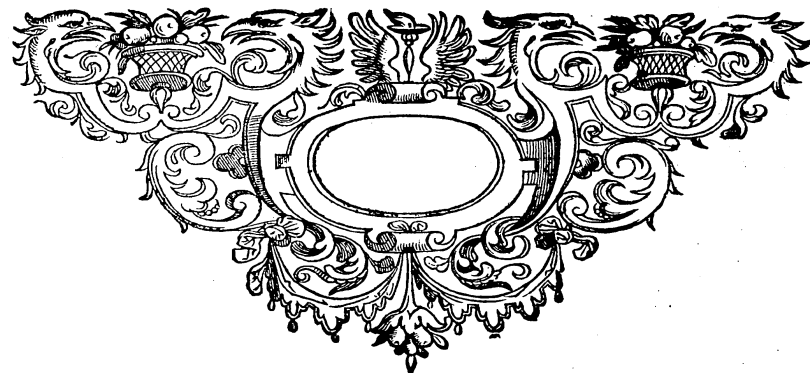
Yrene. See *Newforest*.

Z

Z *Elenders* thankfulnesse to
God for defeating the
Spanish inuincible Armado
863.223
Their new Coine and impreffe
vpon what occasion, *ibid.*
Zenobia a famous Lady, 246.4
Her warlike exploits 249.4
Her letter to *Aurelius* the Em-
perour 249.5
Vanquished and taken priso-

ner 249.6
Her beauty, feare and ver-
tues *ibidem*
Her studies of good littera-
ture, 381.350
Her high authority and re-
pue *ibidem*
Zisfe the scourge of Papacy,
630.36
Lost both his eyes yet his name
terrible to his enemies, *ibid.*
Alan de Zouch, Lēd Chiefe
Iusticiar slaine in *Westminster*
Hall, 539.105
Zutphen sold by *Rowland York*
to the *Spaniards* 857.177

FINIS.



Faults escaped.

Pag	Column	Line	Head	Pag	Column	Line	Head	Pag	Column	Line	Head
7	a	67	Metropolitan	207	a	44	Jerome of Prague	571	a	62	Robert
8	b	34	Bolensam	208	b	38	Trebellius	570	b	41	in their rising
9	a	39	Penney	209	b	30	(S)	571	a	15	D'Arcelle
10	a	44	Plautus	210	a	35	Domitia	571	b	34	Gynocratic
11	a	46	Rungwood	210	a	35	he, (or one) that	572	b	44	Treacy
12	a	53	inforested.	211	a	42	Suul	572	b	38	a thousand
13	a	17	Scille	211	b	37	Galen	573	a	52	Pyrenan
14	a	15	Suare	212	b	47	Damianus	574	b	34	Mots on foot
15	b	45	Narbone	213	b	12	Caelion	574	b	38	Who aspired
16	b	73	Glattenbury	213	b	14	Mallaine	575	a	46	Sir Nicholas Bramber
17	a	37	Page 27 for 25	214	b	13	Lauatze	576	a	47	belay
18	a	37	raied a new	215	b	13	Thracians (standing,	577	a	30	Beaufort
19	a	18	Floracensis	215	b	13	These miferies nowwith	577	b	43	at Rautenpurre
20	a	44	Audrey	216	b	10	not of the Philipps	578	a	67	William Heron, To Spaitie
21	b	76	Geldable	216	b	19	Comanded by Saporos	578	b	3	Palaeologus
22	a	45	Hyga	217	b	40	Iberians	579	a	17	Kinderton
23	b	16	Vrus	217	b	13	confusion.	580	a	46	Her greouances were flow
24	a	67	Colchis and Egypt	218	a	12	Palmerines	580	b	3	growne inuoluerable
25	a	79	eugiteene	218	a	19	Narbone	581	a	38	five thousand, & eight hundred
26	b	88	decifion	219	a	14	betwene the mouthes	581	b	18	who, as he lay
27	a	64	Berkley	219	b	56	Constantinus	582	a	21	omit (with)
28	b	11	At Redmore	220	a	4	the Duke	582	b	71	Beaufort
29	a	48	Swalead	220	b	75	Conitans	583	b	43	Predariffimus
30	b	72	Whalley	221	b	77	Amiballanus	583	b	73	Turne the dce.
31	a	77	thirty six	221	b	30	Firmitus	584	b	3	in London
32	a	29	neither the relation	222	b	18	Conitans	585	a	19	Armies ful of veteran souldiers
33	a	12	porphyrite stone,	222	b	31	ruine	585	b	16	needed quiet-Commissioners
34	a	12	loping	223	a	60	Ecquis nocens esse pate-	586	b	33	hostily
35	a	43	Island fish	223	b	62	Acusasse iussit	586	b	55	Sir Ralph Percy
36	b	60	Binouium	224	b	29	Conitantiu,	587	a	24	that the wanton King
37	a	42	Lithanthracas	224	b	31	but hee opened	587	b	46	King Edward
38	a	62	Gabrofenatum,	225	a	39	damned	588	a	58	Vntill the end of King Richards
39	a	64	Fut	225	a	38	Babylas	588	b	28	Richard Earle of Warwicke
40	b	51	Fut	226	a	14	Pythionit	589	a	28	Might from youth
41	a	23	Dimetæ	226	b	13	Louianus	590	a	23	brigandines such as no man
42	a	25	as in those countries	227	b	30	Vedurionus	590	b	63	grey Amices
43	a	24	Dimetæ (thalbe said	228	a	17	Batauians	591	a	22	in great pompe entred
44	b	19	Alauus	228	b	37	Artoys, [or rather Aras]	591	b	18	Zouch
45	b	117	Harlech	229	b	39	was sent	592	a	58	of a great subiect
46	a	60	reckoned of, than	230	b	16	puffed	592	b	32	hours
47	a	17	promontories	230	b	56	leauenty	593	a	16	John Lesley
48	b	51	Thurlheads	231	a	19	hath by way	593	b	23	who possed backe againe
49	a	52	Barrow	231	b	58	Earle Eldol.	594	a	55	and will not
50	a	70	S. Patrick	232	a	53	Cherdicke-Shore	594	b	42	The befeegers
51	a	69	rell	232	b	40	Igbert	595	a	39	I was not lo worthy
52	a	82	lle	233	a	30	Thorny	595	b	48	felonies
53	a	17	in the Portrait	233	b	20	Alared	596	a	48	five and thirty thousand strong
54	a	26	Non alias aliquaque yet	234	a	19	And Abbey of Amphibitus	596	b	72	when hee couced
55	a	31	estitute Pote ?	234	b	18	UTER-PENDRAGON	597	a	12	Lunithquo
56	a	27	and flares,	235	a	38	Couneries	597	b	4	Mutterell
57	b	10	A Colonie	235	b	38	Eldol	598	a	4	Stuck downe
58	a	40	Cliffes	236	a	39	to leaue	598	b	31	of white Marble.
59	a	46	Cliffes,	236	b	43	Kenwald	599	a	37	not as dead
60	a	49	Antoninus	237	a	42	the younger, Emperour	599	b	37	Item on the right hand
61	a	50	Alpion	237	b	40	Vontasse	600	a	47	of Hertford
62	a	41	Prytania	238	a	15	as Hydrcas	600	b	13	Sergeant Catlin, and
63	b	14	is yet	238	b	18	at Glattenbury	601	a	4	and he taken away
64	a	74	Baltania	239	a	7	who as well picafed	601	b	8	for whole maintenance
65	b	74	Belcus habergeon.	239	b	6	Baldwine	602	a	47	through Shordich, Where
66	a	7	Afer	240	a	79	the fist Duke	602	b	67	Tertingham
67	a	43	Britan	240	b	79	in raiment	603	a	64	backe againe
68	a	66	Gordianus	241	a	51	Meremarke	603	b	47	by commition, That, sooner
69	a	37	Eridhonius, Tros, Ilus	241	b	37	of Conitance	604	a	71	fearfull Ponceffe
70	a	30	growth is	242	a	8	Leffyn	604	b	76	if hers were
71	a	48	plenteouly	242	b	39	Cenomania	605	a	43	and Daulphin
72	a	47	Carnutes	243	a	39	imposed vpon her	605	b	76	were carried
73	b	22	Surget	243	b	14	Ealedome	606	a	29	Proticles
74	a	20	(16)	244	a	74	Deufes	606	b	17	breaking forth
75	a	71	were both taken	244	b	71	Elisir	607	a	27	omit (for)
76	a	62	more re'pected,	245	a	15	de Monfort	607	b	37	suspicious intents
77	a	61	medal	245	b	20	Limoges.	608	a	51	in zcland
78	a	39	Antona, or Aufona	246	a	49	Sans-terre	608	b	13	whom vpon his reurne
79	a	42	Silures	246	b	14	pieced	609	a	24	Cardinall of Guile.
80	a	42	Sicambri	247	a	49	Elismor	609	b	37	Our Zenobia
81	a	69	Britaine	247	b	69	Coffers.	610	a	39	iam insuliam
82	b	31	Quintilius Varus	248	a	1	To fcew himselfe,	610	b	17	Martialist
83	a	7	Decianus	248	b	72	ground.	611	a	50	in a Martialist
84	a	74	Ethelbert	249	a	36	Alm de Zouch	611	b	62	Fimbria his complaint,
85	a	206	Antonius Pius	249	b	5	Dycentery	612	a	50	Physician
86	a	61	Gentile gods								
87	a	207	Hangor								
88	a	3	Ezechiel								

